THEODOR F. HIRSCH, PRESIDENT

MARYON T. HIRSCH, SECRETARY

MARYON HOSIERY MILL, Inc.

The Best in Craftsmanship

CARROLLTON, GEORGIA

MR. JOHN J. BREWBAKER,
545 MAYFLOWER ROAD,
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA.

1-12-61.

DEAR MR. BREWBAKER:

IT WAS MY PRIVILEGE TO BE ONE OF YOUR LISTENERS, THIS NOON, AT THE MEETING OF THE CARROLLTON, GA., LIONS CLUB, AND I WANT TO SAY TO YOU, SIR, THAT YOU ARE PERFORMING AN OUTSTANDING, INVALUABLE SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE RESIDING IN STATES SUCH AS GEORGIA.

IT IS A REAL TRAGEDY THAT THE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA, AND OTHER SOUTHERN STATES, ARE BEING MISLED BY POLITICAL LEADERS WHO APPEAR TO BE MORE INTERESTED IN HOLDING ON TO THE VOTES OF UNINFORMED, BUT SIZEABLE GROUPS, THAN IN TELLING THE HONEST TRUTH AND IN FURNISHING SOUND AND CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP.

IF OUR LEADERS TELL US TO DISREGARD THE RULINGS OF THE SUPREME COURT, THEN THEY ARE ADVOCATING ANARCHY, AND THE FUTURE OF OUR LAND WOULD INDEED BE DARK.

MAY GOD'S RICHEST BLESSINGS COME TO MEN SUCH AS YOU WHO DEVOTE THEIR TIME AND EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF TRUTH AND GOOD, PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT.

THANKING YOU, AND WITH KINDEST REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

T. F. Hirsch

TED HIRSCH, PRES.,
MARYON HOSIERY MILL, INC.

TFH:AT

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date 2/6/61

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

1 HCF ✓

2 PA ✓

MA

3 LWD ✓

MM

EW

SM

4 PR ✓

5 JC ✓

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

6 MF

FILE

February 6, 1961

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

The report of your January travels was an exceptionally good and encouraging one. It reinforced the impression I had already gotten from your verbal account that the Southern climate in education is changing for the better and that your own good efforts are contributing importantly to this progress.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 30, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is my report of my trip January 8 - January 28, 1961 through North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

I'm looking forward to seeing you on February 2.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker,
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 9, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed you will find my expense account for February 2 - 4 and my Revoling Office Expense Account from September 26, 1960 to February 10, 1961.

Enjoyed seeing all of you on my recent visit.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker,
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./2

March 2, 1961

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

Your letter of February 28 found Harold away from the office for several days. Therefore, I'm sending on to you a copy of the Mary Ellen Goodman report which you requested.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosure - 1.

PHI DELTA KAPPA

NEWSLETTER

ALPHA BETA CHAPTER

Peabody Hall, University of Virginia

Vol. 5 No. 1 Charlottesville, Virginia March 1961

BREWBAKER SERVING AS PUBLIC SCHOOL CONSULTANT

John J. Brewbaker, who retired last June 30 as superintendent of schools in Norfolk, Virginia after thirty-three years with the public school system of that city, accepted the position of public school consultant for the Southern Regional Council. He assumed his new post on last July 1.

The Southern Regional Council, headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, is a non-profit, educational organization concerned with improving race relations in the twelve Southern States. Mr. Brewbaker's services are available to school authorities and other groups, public and private, concerned with school desegregation.

Mr. Brewbaker's tenure as superintendent of schools in Norfolk included the difficult period of "massive resistance" in Virginia and the closed-school episode of 1958. He received national recognition for the orderly manner in which the Norfolk schools were reopened and desegregated under his direction in 1959. The Alpha Beta Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa presented him its 1960 Distinguished Service Award in recognition of his outstanding contribution to education.

In accepting the award, Mr. Brewbaker addressed the Alpha Beta Chapter using as his

Continued - page 3

CHAPTER MEETINGS EMPHASIZE RESEARCH FINDINGS

During the current academic year Alpha Beta Chapter is emphasizing educational research with speakers at its monthly meetings reporting recent developments in their field of specialization. To date we have had the following interesting meetings:

In September, Dr. Frank W. Banghart, director of the University's bureau of educational research, spoke on recent findings in the general area of educational research; in October, Dr. William C. Lowry, associate professor of education, presented a summary of experimental programs in the teaching of mathematics; in November, Dr. Arthur J. Bachrach, associate professor of neurology and psychiatry, spoke on research in educational psychology; in December, Mr. George Tramontin, director of instruction in Charlottesville, gave a report on research regarding team teaching; and in January, Dr. C. Jackson Salisbury, associate professor of education, spoke on research in Administration.

The three remaining programs are as follows: February 16 - Dr. James Beaber, assistant professor of education, will speak on Research in Special Education; March 16, Dr. Emery P. Bliesmer, associate professor of education and director, McGuffey Reading Clinic, will present the program on Research in Reading; April 20, Dr. Marvin B. Perry, Jr.,

Continued - page 2

LOCAL OFFICERS ATTEND DISTRICT CONFERENCE

Area Coordinator, Dr. James Bash, president Henry Goff, Jr., and second vice-president Joseph Sellers, attended the District VII Conference of Phi Delta Kappa, which was held in Atlanta, Georgia on October 28-29.

The Conference was high-lighted by addresses from Dr. Charles Foster, national president of Phi Delta Kappa, Dr. A. G. Clark, first vice-president, and Dr. Maynard Bemis, executive secretary. All three addresses were strong in the belief that the public schools must be kept open no matter what happens.

About 40 delegates and alternates from 10 southern states were in attendance.

DR. BASH'S DUTIES ARE EXPANDED

Dr. James Bash, who has been area coordinator for Virginia for the past five years, now serves as area coordinator for Virginia and North Carolina. Dr. Bash's additional responsibility came as a result of re-districting which took place at the District VII Conference in Atlanta. Dr. Bash is to be congratulated on his new position and we wish him well as he continues to serve Phi Delta Kappa in his expanded role.

****

CHAPTER MEETINGS - continued

professor of English and Dean of Admissions University of Virginia, will speak on Research Regarding Admissions programs; and May 18, John C. McLaughlin, associate director of research, Baltimore County, Maryland, will explain procedures in setting up research programs.

****

LOSSES TO EDUCATION

The University and the School of Education in particular feel a keen loss in the passing of Dr. Ullin W. Leavell and Dr. George B. Zehmer.

Dr. Ullin W. Leavell

Dr. Ullin W. Leavell, who had been Director of the McGuffey Reading Clinic at the University since 1946 died last September. At the time of his death the Ullin W. Leavell Memorial Scholarship, to be awarded to a graduate student in the field of remedial reading, was established. At the request of the family, interested persons made contributions to the scholarship fund instead of remembering Dr. Leavell with flowers. Anyone who wishes to do so may still make a donation by addressing it to the Bursar, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. Alpha Beta Chapter made a contribution of $25.00 to this fund in recognition of Dr. Leavell's outstanding contribution to Phi Delta Kappa. He was at one time national president.

Dr. George B. Zehmer

Dr. George B. Zehmer, professor of education, and former dean of the University extension division, died in George Washington University Hospital January 13, after suffering a stroke while attending the National Conference on the Aging in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Zehmer had been associated with the University of Virginia since 1925, when he was appointed director of the extension division. He retired from his position as head of the extension division in 1958, but continued to serve as consultant in special programs as well as retaining his professorship in the School of Education. Dr. Zehmer was well known for his extension work and his classes in history and philosophy of education.

NOMINATIONS ARE IN ORDER

Alpha Beta will initiate new members in May and it is not too soon to be thinking of those persons who you think will meet the necessary requirements and should be invited to join Phi Delta Kappa. Nominations should be in by April 1st in order that nominees may be screened and contacted by May 1st. Brothers in the field may secure the appropriate nominating form by dropping a card to the local Chapter. Let us remember that prospective members should not know they are being considered until they receive an official invitation. By so doing an embarrassing situation may be avoided.

It is also time for nominating new officers and the recipient for the 1961 Distinguished Service Award. There will be more about the Distinguished Service Award in the next newsletter but let us be thinking about this important nomination.

****

MR. BREWBAKER - continued

topic "Save the Public Schools." In his address he related his experiences in the Norfolk City public schools as a result of the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court. In summarizing his remarks, Mr. Brewbaker said: "I am convinced that this is a problem in the South that can best be solved by Southerners. It is more acceptable to the people for those of us who were bred, born, educated and all our lives have been living and working in the South to take the lead in trying to solve the problem. We cannot hide our heads in the sand like the ostrich and wait for the problem to disappear - it is with us to stay."

****

THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS

It is the opinion of your president that every teacher should read "Teachers Must Discipline Their Professional Colleagues" by Gerald R. Firth which appears in the October issue of the Phi Delta Kappan. It describes the efforts in a few places to solve a problem that must be solved if teaching is ever to be considered a true profrssion. It would appear to be a truism that two characteristics of a profession are provisions for discipline of its members by the group and requirements that must be met in order for an individual to be allowed to practice that profession.

It is difficult to estimate the improvement in morale of classroom teachers and the improvement in professional relations between classroom teachers on the one hand and administrators and supervisors on the other if these two proposed practices could become a reality. At present the responsibility for enforcing the code of ethics is left up to principals, supervisors and superintendents. As long as administration and supervision has this responsibility it will be difficult for teachers to feel completely free to come to them for aid with professional problems.

Attention is called also to our programs for this year. All of them are centered around the theme of educational research. It is high time that we begin basing more educational practice upon soundly conceived and well-conducted research. The time has come to think less about the "word" from authorities. All too often the "word" is based upon nothing more than current general practice. The philosophy appears to be that if a lot of people are doing it, it must be good.

We hope that every brother in the state will find it convenient to attend one or more of the meetings. Please note that the professional portion of the meetings is open to any teacher who would like to attend whether or not he is a Phi Delta Kappan. The ladies too are welcome if they are teachers.

Alpha Beta Chapter
Phi Delta Kappa
School of Education
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

WHERE ARE THEY?

Phi Delta Kappans who have departed from the Grounds in the last year are located as follows:

Harold Spraker - Assistant Professor of Mathematics, Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee
David Redfield - Science Coordinator, Roanoke City Schools, Roanoke, Virginia
Paul Flynn - Supervisor of Audio-Visual Aids, State Department of Education, Raliegh, North Carolina
Harry Beck - Director of Psychological Education Clinic, Iowa State College, Cedar Falls, Iowa
George Bradley - Studying abroad - Paris
Charles Cullop - Assistant Professor of History and Political Science - Davis Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia
Sherman Dutton - Head of Science Department, Orange County High School, Orange, Virginia
Joe Earnest - Assistant Professor of Educational Administration, Clinch Valley College, Clinch Valley, Virginia
William Gilliam - Social Studies, Chatham New Jersey School, Chatham, New Jersey
Stafford Haga - General Supervisor, Highland County Schools, Monterey, Virginia
Thomas Madsen - English Teacher, Edison Township Public Schools, Edison, New Jersey
Robert O. Morrow - Assistant Professor of Psychology, Northeast Louisiana State College, Monroe, Louisiana
Earl Skeens - Assistant Principal, Radford High School, Radford, Virginia
Michael Wade - English Teacher, Annandale High School, Fairfax, Virginia

If there are other Alpha Beta members who have recently relocated the local Chapter would like to have information regarding their location and employment. Please send such information to Alpha Beta Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa, University of Virginia, Peabody Hall, Charlottesville, Virginia

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1961

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 28, 1961

Dear Harold,

Thank you for copies of letters relative to Front Royal and Prince Edward County. Sounds encouraging.

Sent 3/2/61 WT

I can't find a copy of the Special Report on Virginia's New Private Schools by Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman. I'd like to have one.

I'm enclosing copies of the March issue of Phi Delta Kappa Newsletter. I sent Ben Muse a copy.

If you find at any time places that I should visit, please let me know. I'm planning to attend the ASSA Meeting in Philadelphia, March 25-28.

Sincerely,

Brew

March 21, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

It is my plan to attend the American Association of School Administrators meeting in Philadelphia March 25 - 28.

My next trip, it seems to me should be Chattanooga and some other cities and counties in that area. I should like to go by Davidson County, Tennessee since they desegregated their schools after my visit there the first of last December, and I did not have an opportunity to talk with the superintendent due to an emergency, but he sent an assistant to meet with me. I should like to talk with Superintendent Moss of Davidson County and drop by while there to see again Superintendent Oliver of the Nashville Schools.

It was last August when I visited Chattanooga, and I talked with the acting superintendent. The new superintendent, Dr. Carmichael, reported for duty there a few days after my visit, and of course, I would like to meet and talk with him about the situation as it now is.

So, I have in mind a visit about the first of May to Chattanooga, Davidson County, Nashville and probably Knoxville and Clinton. Knoxville has desegregated since my visit there last August, and I have never been to Clinton. On this trip, I should like also to have the breakfast meeting with Superintendent Cherry of DeKalb County, Superintendent West of Fulton and Superintendent Letson of Atlanta. The four of us have decided to do this the next time I go to Atlanta.

Ben, if you and/or Harold have any suggestions as to places, time, etc., I should like very much to have them. There may be other places I should go in Tennessee or in this area of Virginia, North Carolina or Georgia. I'm sending a copy of this letter to Harold.

Mrs. Brewbaker and I are planning to leave Norfolk on April 5 for a vacation trip through South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. We expect to be back home by April 24. The only definite reservation I have on this trip is at the Lindsey Hopkins Hotel, N. E. Second Avenue at 14th Street, Miami, Florida, April 12 and 13. You can reach me there in case you need me before we return April 24.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab
C/c: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

April 3, 1961

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Thanks for your report on the regional meeting of the A. A. S. A. It sounds as though it was a fruitful occasion.

I appreciate your congratulatory word on my new position. I will miss the working association with you and all my other co-workers in SRC. But Washington is not far, and I expect to be in close touch with all of you.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- The clipping about Reginald Young of Maury High is heartening indeed; you have every reason to feel proud.

HCF

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PR
MF. file

May 1, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your letter of April 25 has been received, and I am planning to attend the meeting on May 12 to hear you. By the way, Mrs. Brewbaker and I should like for you to have dinner with us on the evening of the 12th or breakfast the morning of the 13th. You see we are giving you a choice.

I am enclosing a Trip Memo of my next trip, and I have included the suggestions which Paul Rilling sent to Ben Muse. I've had a very satisfactory telephone conversation also with Miss Katherine Jones of Nashville.

In my report of March 31, 1961 of the Philadelphia meeting of AASA, I noted that Roy K. Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer of the National School Public Relations Association of the N.E.A. told me he would carry a paragraph about me and my brochure in the next issue of his publication, "Education U.S.A.", of which he is Editorial Director. He carried the enclosed paragraph in the April 11 edition with the result that I received 324 requests for the brochure through May 1. I am enclosing a tabulation showing the states and the number from each, also a tabulation of the organizations which requested them.

It is interesting that I received one each from Hawaii and American Samoa. The three from Alabama were from Auburn University, a parochial school and a public school. The one from Mississippi was from the University of Mississippi. California and New York were the "biggest requesters". The interest of so many people of so many different organizations is encouraging.

I am looking forward with pleasure to seeing you on May 12, and also to working under your direction as our new Executive Director.

P.S. I'll see you Monday morning, May 8. Brew

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab
Enc./4

TRIP TO SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA, TENNESSEE AND ATLANTA

May 15 - 27, 1961

* Lynchburg

May 15 at 2 P. M. ~~Prince Edward County~~
Superintendent T. J. McIlwaine, Farmville, Virginia

May 16 at 11 A. M. Pulaski County
Superintendent Frank Critzer, Pulaski, Virginia

May 16 at 3 P. M. Galax, Virginia
Superintendent M. C. Sutphin, Galax, Virginia

May 17 at 11 A. M. Anderson County
Superintendent James A. Newman, Clinton, Tennessee

May 17 at 4 P.M. Murfreesboro, Tennessee
Superintendent Baxter E. Hobgood

May 18 at 11 A. M. Davidson County
Superintendent J. E. Moss, Nashville, Tennessee

May 18 at 3 P. M. Nasvhille, Tennessee
Superintendent W. H. Oliver

May 19 at 11 A. M. Montgomery County, Tennessee
Superintendent John M. Matthews, Clarksville, Tennessee

May 22 at 9 A. M. Atlanta, Georgia
Breakfast with Superintendent Jim Cherry of DeKalb County, Superintendent Paul West of Fulton County and Superintendent John Letson of Atlanta

May 22 Rest of day will be spent with Superintendent Letson and at Southern Regional Council Headquarters.

May 23 at 2 P. M. Chattanooga, Tennessee
Superintendent B. E. Carmichael, Chattanooga

May 24 at 2 P. M. Knoxville, Tennessee
Superintendent Thomas N. Johnston, Knoxville

May 24 During the morning have conference with Galen Martin.

May 25 at 11 A. M. Sevier County
Superintendent Roy L. Ledwell, Sevierville, Tennessee

May 25 at 3 P. M. Kingsport, Tennessee
Superintendent Dana F. Swick, Kingsport

May 26 at 2 P. M. Montgomery County, Va.
Superintendent Evans L. King, Christiansburg, Virginia

* Lynchburg, Va. Supt. Paul Munro called since I made up this schedule and said that he and his school board would like to see me very soon. I may go by there May 15 or before, depending on his wishes.

April 11, 1961

TO EDUCATION U.S.A. SUBSCRIBERS:

The authors of two recent reports are making reprints available to EDUCATION U.S.A. subscribers:

(1) For Every Child: The Story of Integration in the Philadelphia Public Schools. This report, originally published last fall, has just been reprinted. For your copy write to Leon J. Obermayer, President, Board of Public Education, 1418 Packard Building, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania.

(2) Desegregation in the Norfolk Public Schools, by John J. Brewbaker, who retired last year as superintendent of schools in Norfolk and who now serves as public school consultant to the Southern Regional Council. You may obtain your copy of the 16-page booklet by writing directly to John J. Brewbaker, Public School Consultant, Southern Regional Council, 545 Mayflower Drive, Norfolk, Virginia.

The Editors, EDUCATION U.S.A.

TABULATION OF REQUESTS FOR BROCHURE BY STATES

States, with number given for each, from which requests were received for Brochure, "Desegregation in the Norfolk Public Schools", after the announcement of its availability in "Education U.S.A." on April 11, 1961 through May 1, 1961. Requests were from District of Columbia, American Samoa and all states except five.

State	Number	State	Number
Alabama	3	Nebraska	0
Alaska	0	Nevada	0
Arizona	3	New Hampshire	1
Arkansas	3	New Jersey	13
California	36	New Mexico	3
Colorado	5	New York	27
Connecticut	4	North Carolina	5
Delaware	4	North Dakota	1
Florida	7	Ohio	14
Georgia	8	Oklahoma	4
Hawaii	1	Oregon	4
Idaho	2	Pennsylvania	15
Illinois	12	Rhode Island	2
Indiana	5	South Carolina	6
Iowa	6	South Dakota	3
Kansas	3	Tennessee	7
Kentucky	4	Texas	18
Louisiana	6	Utah	2
Maine	2	Vermont	0
Maryland	5	Virginia	7
Massachusetts	9	Washington	13
Michigan	20	West Virginia	2
Minnesota	9	Wisconsin	5
Mississippi	1	Wyoming	0
Missouri	8	Washington, D.C.	4
Montana	1	American Samoa	1
		TOTAL	324

TABULATION OF REQUEST OF BROCHURE BY ORGANIZATIONS

	Number
Office of Superintendent of Schools	110
Office of Principal of Schools	99
Colleges and Universities	47
School-Community Relations Groups	7
Departments of Guidance and Placement	5
Education Associations	11
Private and Parochial Schools	9
Radio and Television (CBS News and KYW 3 T.V.,Cleveland)	2
Newspapers and other Publications (Topeka State Journal; National Review, N.Y.; Milwaukee Journal; The Record, Hackensack,N.J.; School Management, Greenwich, Conn.; Reading Times, Reading, Pa.; Pine Bluff Commercial, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Library Journal, N. Y.; The Houston Post)	9
Book Publishers (A. J. Nystrom & Co.; John C. Winston Co.; McGraw-Hill Book Co.)	3
State Department of Education	4
School Boards	2
Parent-Teacher Associations (This includes the National)	4
National Council Y.M.C.A. (Southern Area Council)	1
New England School Development Council	1
Dunbar Association, Syracuse, New York	1
Phelps Stokes Fund, New York	1
Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.	2
U. S. Information Service	1
Private Citizens	5
TOTAL	324

Libraries 23
(These have been included in various departments above.)

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Sunday - 6/11/61

Dear Les,

I'm making a hurried visit to Atlanta this week. The Supt. (Blakeney) and School Board Chairman of Gainsville are quite anxious for me to spend a day with them to go over their plans for next year. They want me to come before July 1. So I shall arrive in Atlanta on Wed. morning via the Seaboard. Mr Blakeney will meet me at the Dinkler Plaza about 8, have breakfast with me, and take me back with him to Gainsville to spend the day. He will bring me back to Atlanta sometime Wed evening.

I shall be by to say "hello" to you and your group about 10 A.M. Thurs. I shall return to Norfolk Thurs. evening.

Sincerely,

Brew

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

June 19, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing report of my visit to Gainsville and Atlanta.

I have talked with my daughter-in-law from Eastern Shore, and she suggests that you write to Prettyman Realty Company, Exmore, Virginia. She thinks they will have some cottages on Silver Beach which are very nice and which is on the Eastern Shore half way between the southern tip and Maryland line.

If you come up on your vacation, be sure to stop by to see me.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

P. S. I am enclosing report on the Warren County High School by Q. D. Gasque, Superintendent of Schools. I enjoyed reading it.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 2, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing my expense account for my trip attending the annual meeting of the Associated Public School Systems and returning via Washington, Fairfax County and Manassas from July 23 - 29, 1961.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

P.S.
See you Aug. 11.
Had a nice talk with Sicleoff. He thinks Aug. 21 & 22 will be fine.
B.

November 17, 1961

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

I can't remember whether I have ever before congratulated you on receiving the 1960 Distinguished Service Award from the University of Virginia, Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa. If not, I do now, and herewith.

T'was good seeing you at the meeting and to get an oral report once more on the fine work you are doing.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

January 5, 1962

John J. Brewbaker LWD

Statement for Ken Morland.

Dear Brew:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your statement written for Ken Morland. It is very good.

LWD:mbb

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PA ✓
PR ✓
return to LD

January 31, 1962

Dear Leo,

It seems to me that the enclosed clipping is good evidence that Virginia is still doing all right — and a good begining for Lynchburg.

The enclosed article was written for Ken Morland who is doing some research in the South for the Potomac Institute. They are gathering the opinions of selected southern school administrators as to the type of help and information they feel they need if any. He requested that I make a statement reflecting my experiences and reactions to be used in their study. They paid me $100.00 for the statement. I thought you might like a copy for your files.

Sincerely,

Brew

Nov. 30, 1961

J. O. Brewbaker

"My Reactions To the Changing South"

2 pages only

Fowler, William Warde, 1847-1921.

Virgil's "Gathering of the clans" ; Aeneas at the site of Rome ; The death of Turnus / W. Warde Fowler. — New York : Garland Pub., 1978.

302 p. in various pagings ; 19 cm. — (The Garland library of Latin poetry)

Reprint of 3 works published by B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, the 1st in 1916, the 2d in 1917, and the 3d in 1919.

ISBN 0-8240-2969-0 : $35.00

1. Vergilius Maro, Publius. Aeneis. I. Fowler, William Warde, 1847-1921. Aeneas at the site of Rome. 1978. II. Fowler, William Warde, 1847-1921. The death of Turnus. 1978. III. Vergilius Maro, Publius. Aeneis. English & Latin. Selections. 1978. IV. Title. V. Series.

PA6825.F7 1978 873'.01 77-70815

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Library of Congress 78

MY REACTIONS TO THE CHANGING SOUTH

by

J. J. Brewbaker

In order to give a sound basis for my reactions, I wish to state that since July 1, 1960, I have visited superintendents, school board members, and often other interested citizens in the major cities of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and Tennessee. In Louisiana, I have visited New Orleans and Baton Rouge; in Texas, I have visited Dallas and conferred with the superintendent of Houston; in Arkansas, I have visited Little Rock and Pine Bluff; and in Alabama, I have made a more or less social visit in Montgomery. I have visited also the superintendent of schools in the District of Columbia. I have not visited in Mississippi.

In a number of these cities, I have made two or more visits. Since July 1, 1960, I have traveled 32,305 miles, about two-thirds by automobile and the remainder by train. During this period, these activities have consumed 186 days of my time. I have planned no more visits until early in 1962.

Practically all the superintendents whom I have visited welcomed the availability of information and the opportunity to exchange experiences with some one who had been active in working on the problems which they have before them now or would be facing soon. They desired to know the best procedures to follow and the advantages and disadvantages in desegregating on a voluntary basis or through the Courts. The small brochure, "Desegregation in the Norfolk Public Schools", which I prepared before beginning my work as a Consultant, was accepted by them with much interest. They, in most cases, requested copies for their school board members and key members of their staffs.

This brochure describes in some detail what both Norfolk and the State of Virginia attempted to do and how three years of litigation ended by our having to admit Negro pupils to each of our six high schools under a Federal Court order after the schools had been closed for six months. Stories like this have a sobering effect and greatly influence school people from making the same mistakes.

It seems to me that agencies domiciled in the South are most welcome and trusted. However, these agencies must impress the school people with the fact that they consider all phases of the problem, both from the viewpoint of those who are opposed as well as those who favor the change. They also must show a genuine interest in helping those concerned to comply with the law in solving their problems and are not solely interested in desegregation or integregation per se. The approach has to be adapted to the emotional climate of the community. More encouragement to desegregate voluntarily can be given in places where the climate is favorable to the change.

The Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, is regarded more and more by superintendents with confidence. They comment favorably on the "New South"

and other publications sent out by the Council. The New Peabody Center for Southern Education Studies at George Peabody College, Nashville, has the potential to do a wonderful service.

In my opinion, a consultant can do much more than printed material. Printed material gives facts which may seem cold; whereas, a consultant can be warm, sympathetic, and has the opportunity to lessen resistance which may be present. Often a point of view based on personal feelings and prejudice, rather than on intelligent, logical reasoning, can be influenced by a consultant who is warm and sympathetic. I found superintendents, in general, cordial, interested, and when I departed, expressed warm appreciated for my visit.

In some of my visits, when I first started in the work during the fall of 1960, I found some superintendents who would say, "We do not intend to integrate", then begin a lengthy discourse of uncomplimentary expressions about the Supreme Court. Now, without exception, they say, "We know the change is inevitable" and a few will add, "We are not going to make it until we have to."

Recently, especially in Virginia, the superintendents are taking the position that we have to do this, regardless of how we feel about it, so why lose much of our freedom of school administration by working under a Court order, which is also time consuming and an unnecessary expenditure of taxpayers' money. The voluntary procedure is fast gaining favor.

Area conferences would be difficult to organize and I believe impracticable, and at this time fraught with danger. It would be difficult to hold a conference of any size without attracting public attention and criticism. It seems to me the most effective procedure is to meet with a superintendent, his school board members, and the school board attorney. It is often effective to meet with the superintendent alone, or the superintendent and the chairman of his board or the superintendent and key members of his staff. It is also effective to meet with two or three superintendents from neighboring school divisions. For example, I have had a luncheon meeting with the superintendent, his school board, school board attorney and key members of the staff in Roanoke, Virginia; and several other luncheon meetings with two or three superintendents on different occasions in Virginia. I have had a luncheon meeting with two superintendents in Charleston, South Carolina, a dinner meeting with the superintendent and his staff in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and a breakfast meeting with three superintendents in the Atlanta area. In New Orleans, I have had a luncheon meeting with the superintendent, his board members, and school board attorney; and a dinner meeting with the officers and directors of the Committee for Public Education. All of these, I feel, have produced good results.

On the other hand, I have been the speaker at public meetings on several occasions. In Louisiana, in August of 1960, when Governor Davis said he would open the schools in September on a segregated basis, I spoke at Tulane University in New Orleans and at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. I have made a number of talks before Parent-Teacher groups and other groups in the Atlanta area, including the Lions Club at Carrollton, Georgia. However, I feel this is different from meeting superintendents in large groups even to discuss the same things I discussed in the

public meetings. The public was invited to hear what I had to say which provokes a different kind of criticism if there is any.

Many people are working on this problem, and the changes that are taking place in the South, both in attitudes and actions, are most gratifying.

November 30, 1961.

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Fidelity Onion Skin
100% CELLULOSE
FLUORESCENT

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PR -

this is result of our suggestion that Brew advise us of his schedule sufficiently in advance to permit us to background him on the places he'll visit. Next move is yours.

[State Councils written - 2/22/62]

MMB - file

January 5, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ben and Les:

This letter is in reply to your letter, Ben, and Les' request. I think it is an excellent idea. You may think that I am "long-winded" and dwell on too much detail, but I want both of you to know some of my thinking in planning these trips as I think it is information you should have and will be helpful to you in giving me the advantage of some of your thinking and suggestions.

From now until June, I have 39 more working days which have been assigned to me. For the first year, from July 1, 1960 to June 31, 1961, I had 125 days, and for the second year from July 1, 1961 to May 31, 1962, I had 100 days, making a total for the period of 225 days. Up to the present time, I have used 186 days, leaving 39. Of these, I planned to use eight or nine attending the Annual National Meeting of the Association of American School Administrators in Atlantic City in February and the Annual State Meeting of the Virginia Superintendents in Roanoke in April.

Last Thursday, December 28, 1961, Assistant Superintendent Estes of Chattanooga called me and asked if I could attend a series of meetings and conferences January 18 and 19, preparatory to the admission of Negro pupils in the Chattanooga schools at the beginning of their second term, January 22 or September 1962. I told Mr. Estes that I would be there. Since the weather is so uncertain, I have decided to make this trip by train via Atlanta. This will give me an opportunity to visit Southern Regional Council Headquarters and Superintendent Letson also whom I have not visited for sometime.

My tentative plans consist of three trips which I shall try to outline in some detail, and I would like very much for both of you, Ben and Les, to make suggestions as to deletions, additions, other people to see, and any others that may occur to you. Les, I shall talk with you on January 16 on my way to Chattanooga. Ben, please write me your ideas and suggestions.

FIRST TRIP - WEEK OF JANUARY 15, 1962.

On this trip, I intend to spend one day in Atlanta visiting Southern Regional Council Headquarters and Superintendent Letson of the Atlanta Schools and two days, January 18 and 19, or more, in Chattanooga working in meetings and conferences with the Chattanooga school administrators and teachers preparatory to their admission of Negro children in the white schools on January 22, 1962 or September 1962. They are hoping for September, but the Court may require this to be done in January.

SECOND TRIP - PROBABLY IN APRIL

My plan is to visit the following cities, most likely in the order listed: Charlotte, Spartanburg, Greenville, South Carolina, Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, Tallahassee, Savannah and Raleigh.

THIRD TRIP - PROBABLY IN MAY

Durham, Columbia, Athens, Atlanta; and in Alabama, Gadsden, Decatur, Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia, and Huntsville; and Chattanooga, Tennessee.

COMMENTS:

Trip No. 1 has been explained.

Trip No. 2 - I have not visited Charlotte since the merger with Mecklenburg County. They have elected a new superintendent there, Craig Phillips, but I'm not sure he has taken over. I feel I'd like to check on the climate again in Spartanburg and Greenville.

In Birmingham, I shall make an appointment and call on Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations. Paul Rilling told Mr. Jimerson about my proposed visit to cities in Northern Alabama, which I appreciate, and Mr. Jimerson very kindly wrote me some suggestions and offered to meet with me at my convenience. I'm not sure now whether I shall visit the Superintendent of Birmingham schools at this time. If nothing more, I shall call him to extend greetings.

Since I plan to go as far south as Mobile and Pensacola, I feel I should go on to New Orleans. I am sure those "stout-hearted" people down there need all the encouragement they can get. I know the

leaders of the groups very well who are working to keep the schools open. My visit to Mobile is prompted by a statement in Mr. Jimerson's letter that he was of the opinion that Superintendent J. Cranford Burns of Mobile would welcome a visit. Then, too, I met a young lawyer from Mobile in Washington last September who gave me a cordial invitation to visit him the next time I was down that way.

Pensacola has to desegregate next September, and Tallahassee is one of those "tough spots". I know the State Superintendent of Public Education, Dr. Thomas Bailey, quite well, and I shall arrange to see him on this trip. After I talk with him, if he thinks well of it, I shall go by to see Superintendent Amos P. Godby, who is Superintendent of Tallahassee and Leon County. Mr. Godby was rather indifferent when I saw him last year.

I missed Savannah last time because Superintendent McCormac was quite busy getting ready for the opening of schools. I shall arrange to see him this time. In Raleigh, I shall see the State Superintendent Charles Carroll, whom I know very well and whom I have not called on since I have been a consultant. I shall try to see also Superintendent Jesse Sanderson of the Raleigh Public Schools.

<u>Trip No. 3</u> - Durham is on my list for two reasons: first, I told Mr. John H. Wheeler I would see him the next time I came that way, and I feel there are many problems there. I will call on the superintendent of schools also. My visit to Columbia is more or less a check on climate. I wish I felt as encouraged about Columbia as I do about Charleston. Athens has been on my mind. Do either of you think I could accomplish anything by visiting here? Maybe you have in mind some other places in Georgia which I should visit; such as, Columbus.

The Alabama cities listed were suggested by you, Ben, and Mr. Jimerson wrote me about them. You will remember, I'm planning to visit Mr. Jimerson before I visit these. I know the Superintendent in Gadsden very well, and since I plan to visit him first, he may be of some help to me before I visit the other superintendents.

Chattanooga, it seems to me, should be checked on this trip since it will be three or four months since desegregation was started there, if they began in January.

There are other places I have in mind, including Baton Rouge, Jacksonville, Sumter and Florence, South Carolina. Please be frank about

deletions, additions and other suggestions. Ben, if I add many more places, I'm sure I shall run out of days. I may have to eliminate or postpone some of these listed for a later time.

I wish for both of you and your families a most pleasant, happy, and successful New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

TR - any briefing required before any of these visits? (Paschall will be in office 4/20, 4/21)

already sent?

April 4, 1962

MJ - file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing a copy of my schedule for my next trip which shows some minor changes from the original draft. Since the administrators in Pensacola wanted to see me for more than one day, I changed my plan to visit Birmingham to a later date. This was agreeable with Mr. Jimerson with whom I had an appointment. I also had to change my schedule to see Superintendent Burns of Mobile who could not see me on the suggested date, but was interested in seeing me while I was down that way.

Although my letters did not require a reply, it is interesting to note that I have received a favorable communication from each superintendent except Baton Rouge. I understand they have changed superintendents there very recently, and there is quite a bit of turmoil. I shall probably go over to consult with a school group of parents with whom I met in August 1960, and hope I shall be able to see the superintendent, who I understand is a strong segregationist.

Les, I received some very interesting reports from Mrs. Eliza Paschall. I have written to her informing her that I shall be in Atlanta April 20 and 21 and should like to talk with her. I told her that I would be in your office on the morning of April 20. I hope to be able to see you then. Mrs. Paschall may call you to make an appointment with me. I gave her that privilege.

I wrote Paul Rilling a letter about my conversation with Assistant Superintendent Orr of Pensacola. Dr. Orr was most complimentary of Paul, and I want to talk with Paul while I'm in Atlanta April 20 or 21.

I am enclosing three editorials from the Virginian-Pilot. I'm sure you'd like to have them.

Mrs. Brewbaker and I had a nice vacation in Florida, but I'm glad to be home again and back to work.

I'm looking forward to seeing you April 20.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brebaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab (Enc./4)

P. S. On my way to my secretary, I received Paul Rilling's interesting report on Pensacola. Paul did a good job. You will note from the enclosed schedule that I shall visit Pensacola April 23 and May 1.

SCHEDULE OF TRIP
APRIL 18 - MAY 5, 1962

April 18	Leave home early and drive from Norfolk to Spartanburg, S. C.
April 19	Spartanburg and Greenville, South Carolina Visit Joe McCracken, Superintendent of Spartanburg Schools and in afternoon visit Mr. T. Anderson, Superintendent of Greenville Schools.
April 20 & 21	Atlanta Visit in Atlanta, Southern Regional Council Office and Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Executive Director Atlanta Council on Human Relations
April 22	Drive to Pensacola
April 23	Pensacola Confer with Citizens groups interested in working on the problems of desegregation.
April 24	Drive to New Orleans
April 25 - 28	New Orleans and Baton Rouge Spend time in New Orleans and Baton Rouge - Visit Superintendent Perry in New Orleans and Mrs. Coffey, Mrs. Sands, and Dr. Lancaster, leaders in Citizen school groups. Hope to visit new superintendent in Baton Rouge and Citizens group -- some confusion there.
April 29	Drive to Mobile
April 30	Mobile Visit Superintendent Burns of Mobile and a young lawyer whom I know there.
May 1	Pensacola This time I shall meet with school administrators and others. Assistant Superintendent Orr wanted me to visit with them two days. His and my schedules both worked out better by dividing the time - one day on my way to New Orleans and the other returning and on my way to Tallahassee.
May 2	Tallahassee Visit Dr. Thomas D. Bailey, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Florida.
May 3	Savannah Visit with Superintendent McCormac. I missed him on my last trip.
May 4	Raleigh Visit State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Charles Carroll. I am visiting two state superintendents on this trip and hope to see others as time goes on.

RA ✓

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MJ-file

March 8, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing some interesting editorials from the Virginian-Pilot and also clippings from the Pilot reporting the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals decision on the Prince Edward case. It seems the Federal Courts will have to open these schools after all.

We have selected the month of March as vacation month, so I'm not working this month. Yesterday, our home was surrounded by water. A "Noreaster" has blown in the highest waves we have had since living here. I understand Ben is snowbound.

Before leaving on our vacation, I shall attend the Twelfth Annual Conference of National Organizations called by the American Association of the United Nations, March 11, 12, 13, in Washington, D. C. I am one of the Vice-Presidents of the local chapter AAUN and membership chairman. I have two hobbies, the AAUN, and the National Conference on Citizenship. These are not included in my SRC activities.

Mrs. Brewbaker and I shall leave for a vacation in Florida March 16 and return the first week of April. We shall not be at any one place long except March 25, 26, 27, we expect to be in Miami at the Hotel Lindsey Hopkins, 1410 N. E. 2nd Avenue.

Upon my return, I shall start to work and be busy in April and May.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

PR ✓
MLV
~~JM~~ ✓
PA ✓
MJ - file

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Rec'd 4/17

April 16, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing the reports from my Fredericksburg trip and my Roanoke trip.

Due to the serious illness of one of my sisters (cancer), I am cancelling my appointments scheduled for April 18 - May 5, 1962. The doctors give no encouragement, and the end maycome any time or she may last for a month. I am writing to each one with whom I have an appointment explaining the reason and telling them I shall ask for another appointment as soon as the crisis is over. The April 30 and May appointments will not be cancelled for about a week as I may be able to keep them.

Les, since I shall not visit Atlanta April 20, I may be able to see you when I come later.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PRV
TAV
MJ
file

May 2, 1962

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I thank you for the copies of the most interesting communications to the Honorable James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary, Health, Education and Welfare.

With a few telephone calls and a few letters, I have re-scheduled my trip. I shall leave Norfolk May 8 and plan to return May 26. My May trip differs from the April one, which schedule you have, only in dates and one addition. While in Baton Rouge, I expect to see Dr. George H. Deer, Dean of the Junior Division of Louisiana State University, who has expressed a wish to talk with me.

Briefly, my schedule is as follows:

> May 9 and 10, Spartanburg and Greenville, South Carolina; May 11 and 12 in Atlanta; May 14, Mobile; May 15 - 19, New Orleans and Baton Rouge; May 21 and 22, Pensacola; May 23, Tallahassee; May 24, Savannah; and May 25, Raleigh.

I may be contacted on this trip most easily in Atlanta at the Atlantan Hotel May 11 and morning of May 12; in New Orleans at the Sheraton-Charles Hotel, May 15 - 19; and in Pensacola at the Town House Motor Hotel, May 21 and 22.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you on this trip.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

P. S. My sister passed away last Friday.

6

NORFOLK LEDGER-DISPATCH
AND
The Portsmouth Star

TUESDAY, MAY 24, 1960

Mr. Brewbaker's Fire-Tested Skill

In the Norfolk school turmoil of 1958-1959, Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker was the man who had to wrestle with the day-to-day realities, while still trying to look to the future and the price the community might pay for any wrong turns.

This experience is one of the more important qualifications which he will take to the part-time post he is assuming following his retirement from the superintendency June 30. His new work, he disclosed on the occasion of an award by the University of Virginia's education fraternity, will be with the Southern Regional Council. He will be a consultant in the Southern Leadership Project, which is concerned with the development of community leadership in an orderly adjustment to the problems arising from the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

Certainly he will bring to this assignment some understanding and know-how which, if not unique, are at least rare among Southern educators. He has seen schools in his jurisdiction actually closed in the collision between the court decision and state counter-measures. He has been close to and sometimes directly involved in the intricate, abrasive school proceedings in court.

He has directly endured pressures or fire from all quarters — from the courts, state and local political forces and large segments of public opinion. It was in this crossfire that his commitment to the cause of public education, even if it meant some accommodation to the court decrees, put him on the outs with City Hall and presumably prompted him to leave a year before his contract would be up.

Aside from the strain of all the legal and emotional forces, Mr. Brewbaker had to deal with an enormous amount of detail and had to break entirely new ground in many of the complex adjustments to the rapidly changing situation. Merely keeping things on an even keel, administratively, and answering or anticipating the thousand and one questions of anxious parents was one of the major accomplishments of the latter months of his regime. This familiarity with the sheer mechanics of a school system caught in the desegregation storm is bound to prove valuable in Mr. Brewbaker's new role.

It is a matter of some regret that the retiring superintendent takes up this role as at least a partial outgrowth of a controversy best relegated to the past. For Mr. Brewbaker is held in considerable esteem by a large segment of Norfolk's citizenry, including, significantly, the teachers who worked under him, and the loss of such talent and dedication is no small matter in any event. The city owes the retiring superintendent a great deal for his long (32 years), able and conscientious service. Many good wishes will go with him into the useful retirement he has charted for himself.

June 6, 1962

JJBrewbaker LWDunbar

I enjoyed reading your last report immensely. It was most instructive.

Have a good summer and keep in touch.

bc: Benjamin Muse

June 28, 1962

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

In Les' absence, enclosed are the materials you requested in your letter of the 25th.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj
Enclosures: 6 copies, "A Virginia View of 'Race and Reason'"
12 " Cong. Record Reprint, "Southern Regional Council" Remarks by Sen Bolling
12 " Cong. Record Reprint, "Southern Regional Council, Origins and Aims--Report on Negro Voters"

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

RECEIVED
JUN 27 1962

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

June 25, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing copy of my report on my trip to Manassas and Washington, also copy of my letter of suggestions to Mr. Flynt. I had a very satisfactory conference with him.

Les, I'd appreciate your sending me several copies of the reprint of Ben's review of "Race and Reason". I find a few people who agree with Putnam, and a copy of Ben's review might help to set them straight.

I should like also to have several copies of the Congressional Record 85th Congress, "The Southern Regional Council - Origins and Aims -- Report on Negro Voters" and 86th Congress, "Southern Regional Council". I gave next to my last copies to Mr. Basil Morris, Attorney for Savannah and Chatham County School Board, to correct some of Roy Harris' misrepresentations.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc. / 2

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John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

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Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 2, 1962

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your letter of July 31 has been received. I shall be happy to spend as much time with you Saturday, ~~July~~ Aug 11, as you wish -- either by telephone, at the Southern Regional Council office, your home, or the hotel. I shall be stopping at the Atlantan.

We can decide when I see you on Friday, or if we don't see each other then, just leave the message with your secretary.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

August 17, 1962

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

Leslie Dunbar asked that we send you the enclosed clipping onttuition grants from this morning's Constitution.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

August 28, 1962

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Vrew:

Thank you for the report of your last trip, which I read with customary interest and enjoyment.

As you may have heard, Ben will be devoting nearly full-time over the next year or so to the writing of a book which we plan as a ten year review of the Supreme Court's decision. This means that he will have to withdraw from nearly all, and perhaps all, of his field activities and we want to reduce also his staff responsibilities. We have, therefore, asked Paul Rilling to assume the job of planning and coordinating the Leadership Project. Paul will henceforth be the person with whom you should coordinate your plans for field trips, and he will be in touch with you, I am sure, from time to time with suggestions and requests. You should continue to send a carbon of your field reports to Ben for his information.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC:BM

file

September 6, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

It was a surprise to read in Les Dunbar's letter of August 28 that you expect to limit or withdraw from practically all your field activities in the Leadership Project. I shall miss the pleasure of working with you but hope you will feel free to send me any suggestions you may have. I shall continue to send you copies of my reports.

Ben, I wish you much success and pleasure in your writing and hope to see you from time to time.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

C/c Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

file

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PR

September 6, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your letter of August 28 has been received. I'm sorry I shall not have the pleasure of working with Ben the next year or so, but I am sure that I shall enjoy working with Paul.

I understand that I am to continue to send Ben a copy of my report, and of course, send one to Paul and one to you. I assume that I shall send the copy of my expense account, which I now send to Ben, to Paul also. I send the original to Paul Anthony which is quite important as he sends me my check.

Shouldn't be necessary

Les, I expect to be in Atlanta on October 11 enroute to Birmingham where I shall spend the following week. If I finish in Birmingham in time, I expect to be in Atlanta, enroute home, the afternoon of October 19.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enclosures/ 2

September 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In accordance with Les Dunbar's letter of August 28, it is my pleasure now to begin working with you on the Leadership Project. Please feel free to give me suggestions. I am sure with your "ear close to the ground", you sense many situations and places where we might give some help.

September, the month of opening the schools, is not a good time to call on school people; they are too busy with routine matters. However, I am planning to spend a day or two about the middle of September in Washington, D. C. visiting with Dr. Ralph Flynt and Dr. Robert Rosenzweig of the U. S. Office of Education; Miss Elizabeth R. Cole, Chief, Public Education Section, Commission on Civil Rights; and Mrs. Alice Fulmer Dunham, Staff Associate of the American Association of University Women.

In my report of August 23, I explained my efforts to have a conference with Mrs. Charles Feazel. Mrs. Dunham had given me the name of Mrs. Feazel, AAUW official in Birmingham a few days before I left on this trip. I was suggested to Mrs. Dunham by Dr. Rosenzweig of the U. S. Office as a qualified resource to give Mrs. Dunham of Washington and Mrs. Feazel of Birmingham the information they were seeking. My visits with these groups will be in the nature of follow-up, etc.

In October, I am planning to spend the week of October 15 in Birmingham. Instead of boring you with details here, I refer you to my report of August 23, beginning on page 3. This report gives my plans as far as I know them now. I am writing today to Superintendent Ike Browder of Gadsden and the superintendents in the Muscle Shoals area so they can arrange conferences with me during the week of October 15. I am writing also to Rev. Jimerson, Mrs. Feazel, Superintendent Wright, and others to give them time to arrange meetings.

Enroute to Birmingham, I expect to spend October 11 in Atlanta and October 12 in Chattanooga. If I can finish in Birmingham in time, I expect to be in Atlanta again the afternoon of October 19. I hope to see you either or both October 11 and 19.

I am looking forward to seeing and talking with you.

Very sincerely yours,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

C/c Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

December 5, 1962

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Va.

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to check on your request for L-Reports, and I found that your name was not on the mailing list for them and for other publications; this is being rectified as of today and you should now receive copies of <u>everything</u>.

Under separate cover I am mailing you L-Reports 32 through 38, plus the new <u>Albany</u> Report and reprints of editorials by college newspapers on Mississippi. If you want extra copies of any of these, please let us know.

Sorry about the snafu; hope we have it corrected now.

Sincerely yours,

Montez Albright (Mrs.)
secretary to Mr. Dunbar

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Jan 30, 1963

Dear Leo,

I intend to become active again. Mrs Brewbaker returned from the hospital Monday and is doing very well. She will have to use the wheel chair for two months more.

My plan is to attend the Regional Conference of the Associated Public School Systems in Savannah Feb 4 and 5 and then come on to Atlanta, & shall have an opportunity to see many of the superintendents in the southeast at the Savannah Conference.

I shall ~~[illegible]~~ arrive in Atlanta Wed. afternoon by train and be with you and the other Atlanta people Thurs and Friday, Feb. 7 & 8.

Sincerely,

Brew

February 27, 1963

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

I am sorry that I missed you when you were here last. I will see you in March.

Paul has discussed with me his conversation with you, and we accept the inevitable, but not willingly. We'll have a chance to talk about it more when you are here.

I hope that Mrs. Brewbaker has come along nicely.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo from **PAUL ANTHONY**

Mar 15

LWD:

Brew was by today to discuss his schedule through May. Thought you might like the attached copies for Freeman.

PA

Copies to D. Freeman 3/22/63 MMJ

EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH SCHOOL BOARD
OFFICE OF
SUPERINTENDENT
P. O. BOX 2950
BATON ROUGE 2, LOUISIANA

March 5, 1963

AIR MAIL

Mr. John J. Brewbaker,
Public School Consultant,
Southern Regional Council,
545 Mayflower Drive,
Norfolk, Virginia.

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

The public schools of East Baton Rouge Parish are facing a court order to integrate. Your name has been referred to me as a person who may have some information that will be helpful in screening applicants who wish to enter the white schools. It is possible that the integration will come at the senior high school level. If so, I would like to have your thinking on the following:

1. What criteria did you use in Norfolk in screening the high school applicants?

2. If you used an achievement test, what test did you use and are there additional tests that you would advocate?

In the event that integration should be initiated at the primary level, what type of screening would you advocate?

Your consideration and prompt attention to this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John D. Greene

John D. Greene,
Director of Instruction.

JDG:edb
cc: Supt. Lloyd L. Lindsey

ORANGEBURG CITY SCHOOLS
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 4, 1963

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

I am glad that you will be in Orangeburg and that I shall have the opportunity of talking with you on March 18 at 10:00 a.m. in my office.

I shall plan to have someone meet with us, especially the chairman of my school board. He will be interested in what has developed in Norfolk as well as your experiences with the issue of desegregation of schools.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Marshall

H. A. Marshall
Superintendent

M/ehc

RICHLAND COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICT ONE

COLUMBIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Administration Offices

1311 MARION STREET • COLUMBIA, S. C.

GUY L. VARN, SUPERINTENDENT

March 4, 1963

Dr. J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant
Southern Regional Council
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

It is nice to hear from you again, and I am delighted that you will be in Columbia on March 19. I shall look for you at 10 a.m. on that date, and if possible will have one or two members of our Board to meet with us. If possible please plan to have lunch with me on that date.

Yours sincerely,

Guy L. Varn
Superintendent

er

University of Southern Mississippi
Southern Station, Box 24
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

February 26, 1963

Dean of Education and Psychology

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk 8, Virginia

Dear John:

I regret that it was not possible for me to be with you and the group from Mississippi. I appreciate your inviting me to the luncheon.

I am sure that these boys can profit from what you had to offer, and I trust that things turned out well. I should like to have a report from you as to what you think the results of the meeting were.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph S. Owings, Dean
School of Education
and Psychology

June 4, 1963

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

The report of your final road trip came in today together with your summary report of three years work. The latter is indeed an impressive record, and we shall miss you as greatly as we are indebted to you for the fine service that you have given.

Please let us hear from you from time to time. If I ever get to Norfolk I shall be calling you, as I trust you will do whenever you may visit Atlanta.

It has been a very real personal pleasure knowing you and working with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

January 28, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director, SRC
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

The reports which I receive from your office from time to time are much appreciated. It seems from the newspaper accounts that Atlanta still has some "rough spots" to iron out.

The enclosed clippings reveal the fact that I'm still kept busy. This has been the true state of things since my "second retirement."

I send best wishes to you, your family, and all members of your staff. I miss my visits with all of you.

Sincerely

Brew

Free Southern Leadership Proj
J. J. Brewbaker

February 7, 1964

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

I was delighted to have your letter of January 20. We miss seeing you, and it is, therefore, good to get these occasional words from you.

Ben happened to be here last week, and I shared your letter with him, and he was as pleased as was I to read the fine editorial tribute to you in the Virginian Pilot. We are very proud here to have been associated with you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Mr. Brewbaker Is Back

(Editorial)

When former Superintendent of Schools J. J. Brewbaker retired—a year ahead of schedule—to accept a position as consultant for the Southern Regional Council, the chapter of "massive resistance" in Virginia and in Norfolk was at an end. Norfolk's City Council had formulated at the peak of this political episode its own "little massive resistance" program. (Be it said to Mayor Martin's enduring credit that he voted against it.) It was never effective.

The political house of cards collapsed before the City Government of the time could bring up its *papier mache* reinforcements. There would be no point in reviewing those bitter days of school-closing. It is in point to note that Mr. Brewbaker went on to help prevent school closings in other Southern cities where there was a tendency to resist the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. He stood his ground on principle here, and then he went to the aid of other public school superintendents who were defending, not integration, but public schools.

Now having retired from his position with the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Brewbaker is back home in Norfolk. He has just been elected president of the Norfolk Chapter of the American Association for the United Nations.

With his rich experience Mr. Brewbaker would savor the deep meaning of President Johnson when he said in his recent address to the United Nations: "Peace is a journey of a thousand miles and it must be taken one step at a time."

It is reassuring to have the fine mind of our former Superintendent of Schools active again on the Tidewater scene.

U.N. Chapter Chooses Brewbaker President

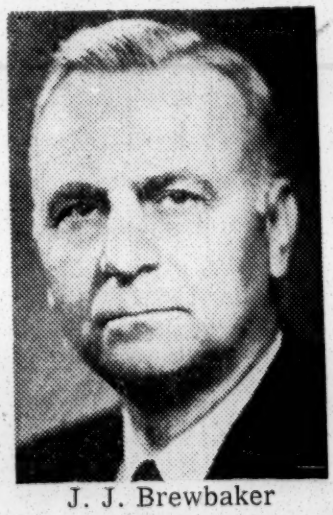
NORFOLK — J. J. Brewbaker was elected 1964 president of the Norfolk Chapter of the American Association for the United Nations Friday at a meeting at the Navy YMCA.

Others elected are Mrs. Hugh Fortescue, first vice president; Miss Mary D. Johnson, second vice president; Mrs. J. Hubbard Davis, corresponding secretary; Miss Mary Carter Richeson, recording secretary; and Mrs. Edwin R. MacKethan, treasurer.

Directors for 1964 are Preston Blake Jr., retired Adm. Jesse Johnson, Dr. G. W. C. Brown, Miss Elizabeth Mackenzie and Pierre Schmitz.

Brewbaker gave a report on the 40th anniversary workshop conference of the American Association for the United Nations he attended Nov. 11 in New York City.

"I would describe this conference as most interesting and inspiring. I am convinced, despite the fact that the United Nations is not perfect—and what organization is—it is the only and best hope we have to promote the peace of the world," Brewbaker said.



J. J. Brewbaker

File Southern Leadership Project - "Brewbaker, J. J."

MJ file

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

March 12, 1964

Dear Les,

It was nice talking with you over telephone on Tuesday. I visited the Administrative offices of the Norfolk Public Schools yesterday, and talked with the Superintendent, two assistant superintendents and others. They are cooperating with Mrs Mason and feel the plan has much promise. It is still in the initial stages but with proper direction and support could prove very helpful to those who need it.

I am enclosing a letter which the Superintendent gave me that was sent out by the Committee. I feel you would be contributing to a worthwhile undertaking.

Best wishes to you and all my friends there

Sincerely

Brew

File
Southern Leadership
Project
J. J. Brewbaker

May 26, 1964

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

I wish I had been in Norfolk May 1 to applaud you as you received the first Liberty Bell Award.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File — (S.L.P.)

File

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

May 31, 1964

Dear Les,

Thanks for your nice note of May 16. I too wish you could have been present on May 1.

I miss all of you but must say that I am kept quite busy in doing all my avocations. Otherwise I would give myself the pleasure of coming by to see you.

Best wishes to all

Sincerely,

Brew

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 3, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing my schedule for my January trip. I shall see you on January 12 or 13.

Hope you and your family have had a pleasant Christmas and that the New Year will bring you health and happiness.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

TRIP TO NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA AND FLORIDA

leaving Norfolk by automobile on January 8 and returning on

January 28, 1961.

Appointments have been made with the superintendents of schools and any members of their staffs or board members or others whom the superintendents wish to invite. Two exceptions are the Lions Club at Carrollton and Emory University. On December 19, I wrote letters arranging for the Conferences and have made only three telephone calls working out late suggestions.

The following schedule will show nineteen conferences which have been arranged. After I arrive in Atlanta, I hope to arrange a conference with Superintendent Cherry of DeKalb County and arrange to go by again to see Superintendent Letson of Atlanta if I have time in my schedule.

My letter of December 19 asking for the appointment at a specific hour requested, "If, for any reason, you cannot see me at this time, I should appreciate your wiring or calling me collect before January 5, 1961. My telephone number is Madison 7-1032".

Only one wire has been received, and that was from Superintendent Shaw of Columbus, Georgia, who said simply, "I cannot see you at this time." A number of the others have written that they were looking forward to my visit and some said they would have members of their staff present. I know Superintendent Shaw very well and talked with him this past summer at Columbia University. I understand his situation on the Alabama border.

SCHEDULE

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA	January 9 at 10 A. M.
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA	January 9 at 3 P. M.
(I shall try between these superintendents to get information on Clarendon County.)	
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA	January 10 at 10 A. M.
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA	January 11 at 10 A. M.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA	January 11 - 14
Emory University	January 11 at 8 P. M.
Carrollton Lion's Club	January 12 at 12 Noon
Gainsville, Georgia	January 13 at 11 A. M.
DeKalb County and Atlanta Superintendents, if possible	
THOMASVILLE, GEORGIA	January 16 at 10 A. M.
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA (Leon County)	January 17 at 10 A. M.

Schedule of Trip January 8 thru January 28, 1961.
Page 2.

CLEARWATER, FLORIDA (Pinellas County and St. Petersburg)	January 18 at 9 A. M.
TAMPA, FLORIDA (Hillsborough County)	January 19 at 10 A. M.
MIAMI, FLORIDA (Dade County)	January 20 at 10 A. M.
WEST PALM BEACH, FLORIDA (Palm Beach County)	January 23 at 10 A. M.
DAYTONA BEACH and DeLAND, FLORIDA (Volusia County)	January 24 at 10 A. M.
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA (Duval County)	January 25 at 10 A. M.
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA (Chatham County)	January 26 at 10 A. M.
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA	January 27 at 10 A. M.
NORTH CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA (Cooper River School District #4)	January 27 at 2 P. M.
WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA (New Hanover County)	January 28 at 10 A. M.

NORFOLK will be my goal the afternoon or evening of January 28.

BREWBAKER REPORT - January 30, 1961

North Carolina:
- Fayetteville

South Carolina:
- Sumter
- Columbia
- Charleston

Georgia:
- Augusta
- Atlanta
- Carrollton
- Gainesville
- Thomasville
- ~~Tallahassee~~
- Savannah

Florida:
- Tallahassee
- Putnam County (Palatka)
- Clearwater
- St. Petersburg
- Pinellas County
- Tampa
- Ft. Lauderdale
- Miami

Florida - continued:
- Palm Beach
- Daytona Beach
- Deland
- Jacksonville

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
January 30, 1961

TRIP TO NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA AND FLORIDA LEAVING NORFOLK BY AUTOMOBILE ON JANUARY 8 AND RETURNING ON JANUARY 28, 1961.

This is the longest trip, over 3000 miles, I have made up to this time. It required twenty days, and I spoke to or conferred with twenty-one groups in twenty different cities. I visited also headquarters offices while in Atlanta. I was in Atlanta during the troubled days at the University of Georgia and observed at close range the ebb and tide on the campus.

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

This was my first stop at 10 A. M. on January 9. The superintendent is C. Ross Reid who seemed happy to see me. Superintendent Reid has a very wholesome attitude about the problem, and since Fort Bragg is nearby with integrated schools, he should have little or no trouble. Fort Bragg has schools operated by the U. S. Office of Education for children, grades 1 through 8. At present, the enrollment is about 2400. When the children complete the eighth grade, they are transferred to the Fayetteville school system for their high school education. Regardless of the fact that these children have been attending integrated schools at Fort Bragg, they are assigned to segregated schools when they come to Fayetteville. Only one Negro pupil has requested to be assigned to a white school, and when he was refused, he did not insist. Mr. Reid feels that they will have to desegregate soon, and he anticipates no trouble. This year, the City received 190 ninth graders from Fort Bragg, including only 13 Negroes, which represents about the proportion of Negroes at Fort Bragg. Fayetteville has a school enrollment of approximately 10,000 with 42% Negro, and Cumberland County has 17,000 with 30% Negro.

SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

On the afternoon of January 9, I stopped at Sumter and had a long conference with Superintendent L. C. McArthur and one member of his board, Mr. Purdy, who is an Attorney. The chairman of the board had planned to be with us, but some unexpected business prevented his attending. Sumter has an enrollment of 10,000 with 40% Negro. They talked quite freely about their problem, but before doing so requested that their plans, hopes and fears be kept confidential and no report be made. In general, they are very strong in their feelings against integrated schools and intend to do all they can to prevent the change. I related the Norfolk story and left brochures for them to study as to how we attempted the same thing in Norfolk and the futility of it and the damage it caused. I feel I can make these

general remarks without betraying any confidence.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

Guy Varn is superintendent of the Columbia schools, and I have known Guy for a long time. The chairman of his board, Dr. Gibbs, a physician met with us at 10 A. M., January 10, and Dr. Gibbs said he wanted to talk to me freely with the understanding that no report would be made. He is 72 years old and reminisced quite a bit about the past and the improper manner in which the Fourteenth Amendment was passed by Congress. He also gave his philosophy on State Rights. He finally admitted, after he told his story and I told the Norfolk story, that under similar circumstances the Court order would have to be obeyed, but they would hold out as long as they could. Superintendent Varn has a more objective, moderate attitude. They have 30,500 pupils with 36% Negro. No petitions or applications have been received from the Negro groups.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

The influence of Roy Harris, no doubt, dominates this situation. I met with Superintendent Roy E. Rollins at 10 A. M. on January 11. He was civil and polite but told me in no uncertain terms that he was interested in talking with me only if I could tell him how to keep the schools segregated; that they intended to go the limit to do it. The Augusta schools have 28,000 pupils with about 36% Negro.

However, when I asked Superintendent Rollins what he would do if he were under a court order to admit certain Negro applicants to white schools or be in contempt of the Court, he replied he supposed he would admit them. When I left, I said good-naturedly, "Fellow, you will have a rough road, and if you think I can help, call me." He smiled and replied, "I will." I think the simple facts which I can point out from our experiences in trying to do in Norfolk what many think they can still do, will eventually influence the thinking and future planning in cases of this kind. When they face up to the situation realistically and see the futility in defying the Decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, a sobering effect will take place.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Since I had several speaking engagements and conferences in Atlanta and environs, I used Atlanta as my home base for several days. I arrived in Atlanta from Augusta on the afternoon of January 11 and spoke at Emory University the same evening at 8 P. M. On Thursday, January 12, I drove to Carrollton, about fifty miles distance and spoke to the Carrollton Lions Club at 12 o'clock noon. I paid a visit to the Southern Regional Council Headquarters office on the afternoon of January 12 after returning from

Carrollton. On January 13, I drove to Gainsville for conferences and on Saturday, January 14, I spent the greater part of the day writing up my report.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

Dr. Donald Ross Green, a professor in the Education Department, came by the Piedmont Hotel for me about 6 P. M. on January 11, and I went to the University to have dinner with him, some other members of the faculty, and some public school administrators from DeKalb County. Among those present for the dinner were Dean Judson C. Ward of Emory, S. A. Moss, Assistant Superintendent, and Mrs. Essie Walker, Supervisor of Instruction of the DeKalb County Schools. This gave me an opportunity to talk with Mr. Moss and Mrs. Walker about the situation in DeKalb County. This is a large school system with 44,000 pupils, with only 7% of them Negro. I feel that DeKalb and Fulton Counties both have reason for optimism.

The meeting was held in a small auditorium in Bishop Hall. Approximately fifty persons attended, and much interest was shown. Some faculty members and a number of students were in attendance as well as several from the DeKalb County Public Schools.

CARROLLTON, GEORGIA

It was a pleasure to speak to the Lion's Club of Carrollton at the Sunset Hills Country Club at noon on January 12. Approximately sixty people were present, which included the Superintendent of Carrollton Public Schools, and other school people, a Judge, several lawyers, and other professional and business men. From the questions and remarks to me after the meeting, this group intends to comply with the law and keep the public schools open. Before and after the meeting, I visited with Superintendent Chalker of the Carrollton Schools. All impressions were most encouraging. I wish we had more civic and business groups like this one.

GAINSVILLE, GEORGIA

My conference with Superintendent R. D. Blakeney of Gainsville was on Friday, January 13, at 11 A. M. I drove up from Atlanta that morning, and it was most encouraging to talk with Superintendent Blakeney. He had done much in Thomasville to create the right climate, causing some displeasure on the part of a couple of his board members before going to Gainsville this past July. A school board of twelve members, including the Mayor, directs the policies of the Gainsville schools. Two of the board members are Negroes. The chairman is Sidney O. Smith, a young attorney, a Harvard graduate, and Mr. Blakeney told me a classmate of Robert Kennedy. Mr. Smith has a logical, objective manner which impressed me most favorably. There is no doubt in my mind that he and Superintendent Blakeney will do all they can to

meet the challenge when it comes to desegregate the school system of 4000 pupils, 40% Negro, and I believe successfully. They were most appreciative of my coming by to see them and invited me back, especially if it developed they needed help.

Superintendent Blakeney said that northern Georgia had generally accepted the Sibley Report and had a more liberal attitude than southern Georgia.

Mr. Blakeney and I called the "Daily Times" to arrange to go by to see Sylvan Meyer, the editor. Both Mr. Meyer and his associate were out of the city for the day, and we did not have an opportunity to see them. Both the Superintendent and the Board Chairman spoke very highly of Mr. Meyer.

THOMASVILLE, GEORGIA

On Monday morning, January 16, I called on the new superintendent of Thomasville, Charles McDaniel, Jr. He was most cordial and interested in talking about the problem. I could see that Superintendent Blakeney had left a good climate in Thomasville. Superintendent McDaniel said the reason southern Georgia was less liberal than nothern Georgia is that there is a larger percentage of Negroes living in southern Georgia. A similar situation exists in southside Virginia. Forty-five per cent of the 4,000 pupils are Negro. Mr. McDaniel is optimistic and appears to have faith that Thomasville will come through when the time comes.

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

Superintendent Amos P. Godby seemed quite busy when I went to see him on Tuesday morning, January 17. He was not especially interested in talking about the problem and said they had received no petitions and no applications. The enrollment in the school division is about 15,000. Of this number 5000 are Negro. The evening before I called on Superintendent Godby, I met Superintendent Crockett Farnell of Tampa and the new board member of Tampa on the streets of Tallahassee. They were in Tallahassee attending a state orientation meeting of new board members, and since they were returning to Tampa the next day, they asked to ride with me instead of returning by plane. This gave me a good opportunity to talk with them.

PUTNAM COUNTY, PALATKA, FLORIDA

W. M. Thomas is superintendent of Putnam County, and I had the privilege of meeting him in Tallahassee when I went by the F. E. A. Headquarters, where the orientation meeting was held, for Superintendent Farnell and his board member to take them back to Tampa. Mr. Thomas and I sat in my car and talked about his situation while I waited for my passengers. Putnam County is about fifty miles south of Jacksonville with an enrollment of 8,000 of which 2,500

are Negro. The Superintendent is interested in getting all the help he can to deal with the problem when it comes to him.

CLEARWATER, ST. PETERSBURG, PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA

Superintendent Floyd T. Christian had requested that I come at 9 A. M. instead of 10 on the morning of January 19. We had one of the best conferences yet which lasted until 11:30 A. M. Mr. Christian had four of his board members and five of his assistants to meet with us. They are planning to meet the situation in an objective, intelligent manner, and they expressed much appreciation for my coming. This school division has 55,000 pupils with about 15% Negro. There is quite a contrast in the attitude here with that of Tallahassee. They should have no trouble in Pinellas County.

TAMPA, HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY, FLORIDA

Superintendent Farnell and his new board member, Ben Hill, and I discussed this situation during the six hour drive from Tallahassee to Tampa. When I went by the Orientation meeting at Tallahassee, I met another superintendent in addition to Mr. Thomas who wanted to talk with me. This was Superintendent M. L. Ashmore of Fort Lauderdale. In order to go by Fort Lauderdale on my way to Miami on January 19, I arranged to discuss the Tampa situation further on the afternoon of January 18 after returning from Clearwater. Superintendent Farnell has a coordinator of pupil assignments, John Shadgett, who gives much of his time studying this situation. Mr. Shadgett and I had a most interesting exchange of ideas, and they are preparing to meet the problem also objectively and intelligently. Hillsborough County, including Tampa, has 80,000 pupils with about 12% Negro. Several Negro parents signed a petition recently requesting that assignments be discontinued on the basis of race, but they have received no individual applications.

FORT LAUDERDALE, BROWARD COUNTY, FLORIDA

Superintendent Ashmore saw me very soon after I arrived at his office, the afternoon of January 19. He was much interested in my coming to see him as they had received a general petition the week before to cease discrimination in the assignment of pupils. He has had no individual applications. Broward County, including Fort Lauderdale, has an enrollment of 64,000 with 25% Negro.

MIAMI, DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA

It seems to me that Dade County is taking the lead in Florida in working on this problem. Their approach is objective, logical and intelligent. The other school divisions of Florida, which are interested in doing something, seem to look to Dade County as the system to follow. My morning conference on January 20 began at 9 A. M. and lasted until noon. Superintendent

Hall had the school board attorney, Edward F. Boardman, and three of his assistants to meet with us for this session. In these conferences, I usually spend about an hour telling the Norfolk and Virginia story.

They told me the Orchard Villa story when four Negroes were assigned to this school that only 18 of the white children showed up the next day, and at the end of a month the board decided to transfer 600 more Negroes to the school and change the teachers from white teachers to Negro teachers. By this time, there were only 14 white children left, and since this change was made, all the white families have moved from the district except one which still leaves in this school one white pupil of a Spanish family.

Another interesting story is that of the Air Base School which is operated by Dade County the same as other schools and has 20 Negroes in an enrollment of 750.

It seems that Dade County has had only one court order and that order was that a letter must be sent to every parent informing him that a "parent's preference" of schools would be considered. This letter was sent out on March 23, 1960 along with the report card of the pupil. It is so unusual that I am giving the letter in full:

DADE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ADMINISTRATION OFFICES
LINDSEY HOPKINS BUILDING
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

March 23, 1960

Dear Parents:

In order to facilitate the fall opening of school, we have a procedure known as Spring Registration which takes place during the last week of April. At that time, Pupil Assignment Cards are completed at the school for each pupil enrolled.

While it is the function of the School Administration to recommend assignments, a parent's preference of schools will be considered. You are herewith advised that you are being afforded a reasonable and conscious opportunity to apply for admission to any school for which your child is eligible without regard to race or color and to have that choice fairly considered by the Board of Public Instruction. If you wish to exercise your right of preference, you must go to the school your child is now attending and sign a Parent School Preference Card during the week of April 18 through April 22, 1960.

The Pupil Assignment Law provides for numerous criteria in the individual assignments of pupils, such as attendance areas, transportation facilities, uniform testing, available facilities, scholastic aptitude, and numerous other factors, except race.

Should the School Administration recommend assignment of your child to a school other than the one you have requested, you will be notified by letter prior to the fall opening of school. In that event you have the right to request, in writing, an appearance before the Board of Public Instruction to have your preference further considered. If such a request for hearing is received, you will be further notified of the time and place of the hearing.

Application for Reassignment may be made at any time when a change of residence address or other material change in circumstances arises.

Sincerely,

Signed: Joe Hall

Joe Hall
Superintendent

SPECIAL NOTE: This letter is being sent pursuant to Federal Court Order. Disregard the letter dated and sent March 16, 1960.

In April 1960, as a result of this letter, approximately 600 parents signed "preference cards" to have their children transferred to a different school. These cards were reviewed carefully by James Rice, Director of Pupil Welfare and Attendance, and about half of the preferences were granted. Among these were 14 Negro children asking to go to white schools. The board, on recommendation of the administration, accepted two of these, one to an elementary school and one to a junior high school. Six of those rejected appealed to the Board, but when the Board refused to grant the request on appeal, they accepted without further effort.

Dade County, including Miami and Miami Beach, has 165,000 pupils with about 17% Negro. I feel this system can wisely be followed by the other Florida school systems.

PALM BEACH COUNTY, including PALM BEACH AND WEST PALM BEACH

Superintendent Watkins was ill and could not meet with me, but Assistant Superintendent Clyde Harris met with me at 10 A. M. January 23. They have about 41,500 pupils with 25% Negro. Several years ago, a Negro pupil applied to be admitted to a white school but lived outside the white school district and was denied for this reason. Over forty Negroes applied as a group for this past September, and these were denied also. This was a case in class action--but they all seemed to live nearer the Negro schools. However, Palm Beach County is allowing a few isolated cases. In one case, a Mexican has enrolled in a Negro school, and in another a child whose mother is a Spaniard and father a Negro has enrolled in a white school.

VOLUSIA COUNTY, including DAYTONA BEACH AND DeLAND

Superintendent John H. Smiley, and a board member who was a former chairman, met with me at 3:30 P. M. January 23. They said they wanted to talk off the record and said my coming had helped them. There are 24,000 pupils in this school district with 22% Negro. However, off the record, they had a petition filed this past September asking that the Board be enjoined from operating segregated schools. The Board filed a cross petition in the State Court that the Board was not operating enforced segregated schools since they had not received an application from a Negro to attend a white school. The litigation seems to stand at this point, but they are expecting some individual applications soon.

JACKSONVILLE - DUVAL COUNTY

Superintendent Ish Brant was ready to meet with me on the morning of January 25. He had present for the conference the School Board Attorney, Davisson Dunlap, and two of his assistants who worked in the field of pupil personnel, attendance, assignments etc. This was one of my best conferences, and we were in session from 10 A. M. to 12:30 P. M. It was more interesting because on this very day, the School Board through its attorneys was in Federal Court as defendants to a petition which was signed by 14 Negro plaintiffs and filed against the Board in November 1960. Mr. Dunlap was late for our conference because he had to go to Court first. He spoke complimentary of the Southern Regional Council, and I believe he said he had been a member of the Board of Directors or connected with the Council in some way. Duval County, including Jacksonville, has a school enrollment of approximately 100,000 pupils with 26% Negro. They are approaching the change in a most realistic manner and were most appreciative of my visit.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, CHATHAM COUNTY

Since it was not convenient for Superintendent Leon McCormac and his board to meet with me on the morning of January 26, I drove from Jacksonville to Savannah after my conference in Jacksonville and met with the Savannah group at 4 P. M. on January 25. We were in conference until 6 P.M. This was a long drive through a cold freezing rain, and I had trouble keeping the ice from freezing on the windshield. When I arrived a few minutes after four o'clock, Mr. McCormac had with him waiting for me his School Board Attorney, ~~Mr. Basil Morris,~~ the President and Vice-President of his board and three of his assistants who were directly concerned with instruction, and the assignment and attendance of pupils.

It seems now that each conference becomes better in the representation of administrators, board members and attorneys. This group is encouraged by the fact that the Legislature of Georgia, now in session, will no doubt repeal those laws designed to prevent integration and close the schools and

will leave to the localities the decision, probably by a vote of the people.

The Board has received two petitions, both of the same nature, requesting the Board to desist in the practice of segregated schools. They have received no individual applications. The last petition was filed about eight months ago, and the Board expects that some action will have to be taken soon.

Chatham County, including Savannah, has approximately 37,000 pupils with 38% of them Negro. I was much impressed with the logical, realistic manner in which they are going about the problem, and I feel they will do all they can to keep the Savannah and Chatham County schools open; however, if the matter is decided by a vote of the people, it is too early to predict the outcome. As in the case of Jacksonville and other places, they were appreciative of my visit and insisted that I return in the event they needed my assistance, and if not, come down for a vacation and play golf.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 20

Superintendent T. A. Carrere and I met in his office at 10 A. M. on January 27. He told me confidentially that a County Committee had been organized to advise with school systems in situations in school districts such as Charleston, and the board members decided that probably he should see me alone. By the time we were over these preliminaries, Superintendent Gordon Garrett of North Charleston, Cooper River School District No. 4, whom I was scheduled to see at 2 P. M. the same day, called to see if the three of us could meet together; so he came over to join us. We exchanged experiences until lunch time when Superintendent Carrere left the room and upon returning told me he had talked by telephone with the Chairman of his Board and since hearing my story, he would like for me to have a conference with his Chairman at 2 P. M. as now I would not have to go to North Charleston. This was arranged, and after Superintendents Carrere, Garrett and I returned from lunch, I met with Mr. Brown, Chairman of the Charleston School Board from 2 to 4:30 P.M. Superintendent Carrere attended this conference also. Mr. Brown is a big executive in the Texas Oil Company, and any school system is fortunate to have men of his caliber on the board. We went into every detail of their problem. Both Mr. Brown and Superintendent Carrere are most objective in their approach.

Charleston City School District No. 20 has 12,500 pupils, and 72% of them are Negro. The School Board received the application of 15 Negroes to enter white schools last October, and the applications were refused by the School Board because they were considered too late for the current session which was under way as the schools had opened in September. There has been no further action, and the Court has not been brought into the case.

Both Chairman Brown and Superintendent Carrere feel that they will have applications for next year early enough to be considered. In addition to having 72% of the school enrollment Negro, Charleston has a number of Negro classes on part-time, and vacant rooms in the white schools. The vulnerability of the situation is realized by both the Chairman and the Superintendent. I feel that they will deal with the matter in a logical, objective manner.

COOPER RIVER DISTRICT NO. 4, SOUTH CAROLINA, including NORTH CHARLESTON

Superintendent Gordon Garrett and I had conferred on his situation previously at some of our meetings. His system has 17,000 pupils with 30% Negro. He has had no applications up to this time.

This trip on the whole was pleasant, and I found more people interested in discussing their situations in a logical and objective manner. Many of them expressed appreciation to me for the opportunity to hear of our experiences in Norfolk and to analyze and discuss their problems.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - February 9, 1961

Atlanta, Georgia
DeKalb County
Fulton County

PRV
LWDV
MF

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 9, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thank you for your nice letter of February 6, commenting on the report of my January travels. I, too, feel encouraged with what I found.

Enclosed you will find my report for February 2 - 4. I enjoyed very much the meeting and learned much from it.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker,
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
February 9, 1961

The Executive Committee met at 10 A. M. on February 2 which was followed by a General Session beginning about 11 A. M. and ending at 3:30 P. M. There was an hour break for lunch which was served by the Southern Regional Council Staff and was quite delicious.

As a new member of the Staff, I have learned much from these meetings. I am impressed with the fact that the Southern Regional Council is growing stronger and more influential each year, and its efforts are more rewarding. The finances seem to be coming easier, and there is an excellent "esprit de corps" in the Staff and in the Board of Directors.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

While in the City, I took advantage of the opportunity to call and go by on February 3 to see the nearby superintendents. I found Superintendent John Letson of the Atlanta schools more optimistic than ever. He was pleased with the Legislature, both as to teachers' salaries and the changes in the school laws. Superintendent Letson said, "Closed schools are now a thing of the past." While waiting for Superintendent Letson, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Guy Rutland, a member of the Legislature from Decatur who had come in to bring some information to Superintendent Letson. I told him that I felt the Legislature was doing an outstanding job. He said he would certainly do everything he could for the schools.

DeKALB COUNTY

When I called Superintendent Jim Cherry on Thursday afternoon to arrange to see him Friday morning, he said he was leaving that night for several days, but he wanted to talk with me. He suggested that I join him, Superintendent Letson and Superintendent West of Fulton County for breakfast the next time I am in Atlanta. He said they frequently met for breakfast together. I thought it was a good idea and told him I would arrange to do so.

FULTON COUNTY

Superintendent West had a full schedule but said he was making a talk at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel at Noon and would see me at 3 P. M. We met after his meeting and had a nice talk. Superintendent West is most complimentary of the effort that we have made in Fulton County and expressed to me some of the nice things his patrons had said. He is very optimistic and expects everything will work smoothly in Fulton County when they have to make the change.

J. J. BREWBAKER - Field Trip
March 31, 1961

Atlantic City, New Jersey
(Conf. of the American Association of School Administrators)

Petersburg, Virginia

Colonial Heights and Chesterfield County, Va.

Philadelphia, Pa.
(Conf. of the National Education Association)

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

March 31, 1961

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Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing the report of my trip attending the annual regional meeting of the American Association of School Administrators.

I enjoyed the meeting, and it gave me the opportunity to make contact with many people I ordinarily would not meet.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

P.S. Just received the official announcement of your new position. Congratulations! We shall miss you and I regret I won't be working for you and seeing you as much; however, I shall look you up in Washington. Best wishes for your success.

I'm enclosing a clipping with pleasure and pride. Norfolk is doing all right — Brew

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
March 31, 1961

This was the annual regional meeting of the American Association of School Administrators. The AASA is a national organization composed of superintendents, college professors and other school administrators. The usual annual meeting is held in Atlantic City, New Jersey as this is the only place in the United States that can accomodate the total number as to auditorium and hotels. Every third year, instead of the general meeting, the present practice is to hold regional meetings, one in the west, one in the center and one in the east. We like one big meeting, but the regional meetings are held for the convenience of our friends in the far west as Atlantic City is some distance for them to travel each year.

My attendance at these meetings affords me the opportunity to make contact with many people I would not ordinarily meet. It is remarkable the number of people who know about our work and speak highly of it. For example, Raymond H. Ostrander, Superintendent of Schools, Mineola, New York, formerly of Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Edward G. Stapleton, Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore County, Maryland; R. O. Nelson, Superintendent of Schools, Newport News, Virginia; and others spoke in highest terms of our efforts.

Roy K. Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer of the National School Public Relations Association of the National Education Association discussed with me at some length our work. He said he would carry a paragraph in his publication for which I thanked him. I gave him one of my brochures. I took this opportunity to give out a number of brochures to those who showed interest.

I met many superintendents, and we discussed their problems briefly, but the two who seemed most interested to go into details were Superintendent John D. Meade of Petersburg, Virginia and Superintendent Fred D. Thompson of Colonial Heights and Chesterfield County.

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Meade is one of those public school men who intended to fight to the end or, at least, he always gave me that impression. He didn't seem to have much sympathy for us when we were trying to work out a solution in Norfolk. However, he came to me in Philadelphia and volunteered to tell me what was happening and sought my opinion on several aspects of his administrative set-up. He has a school enrollment of 7800 with 4200 or about 55 per cent of these Negro. He has received 42 applications from Negro pupils of all grades to be admitted to white schools next September. It is encouraging to find him approaching the problem in a calm, logical manner. He gave me a special invitation to come to see him.

COLONIAL HEIGHTS AND CHESTERFIELD COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Fred Thompson has these two school systems. Colonial Heights has 2000 pupils and no Negroes. Chesterfield County has an enrollment of 16,000 with about 12 per cent Negro. He has not had any applications, but his school systems and Petersburg are so close together that one will most likely affect the other. He and Superintendent Meade were both much interested in brochures.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION

This is the policies commission of the National Education Assocation. I have been on the Advisory Committee of the Commission for several years. For me, the highlight of the entire meeting was the closed-door reception for the Advisers held on Sunday afternoon, March 26, in the Pink Room of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. The only topic of discussion was what the Commission could do by policy or statement to help the cause of public school integration. Several of us spoke on the problems, and I tried to point out the changing attitude of many Southerners. Some of those from the North said it was not only a southern problem and in discussing it, the general application should be made. James E. Russell, Secretary of the Commission, is working on a statement, and he asked for my help which I most willingly promised him. These National meetings certainly present the over-all picture which we need.

Newbaker - Field Trips - May 11, 1961

Atlanta, Georgia

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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MF

May 11, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing the report of my trip to Atlanta from May 7 - 10, 1961.

I think this trip was quite worth while.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
May 11, 1961

About the middle of the week of May 1, I had telephone conversations with both Mr. Muse and Mr. Anthony about the developments in Atlanta Public Schools during the first few days that the Negro children were applying to go to white schools. We decided that it would be probably advantageous for me to go to Atlanta May 8 and 9 to observe and be helpful in any way I could.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

I left Norfolk by the Seaboard Railway on Sunday evening, May 7 and arrived in Atlanta, Monday morning, May 8.

My first call was at Council Headquarters where Dr. Dunbar and I spent the morning discussing the situation. Dr. Dunbar's considered opinion was that the Negro parents and leaders resented two items in the application form, the difficulty and procedure for obtaining the forms, and the publicity which was being given voluntarily by the school officials to those applying. Up to this time, Superintendent Letson had built up confidence and respect on the part of the Negro leaders and others, and this sudden departure, so to speak, was disturbing and was apparently having an unwholesome effect.

Dr. Dunbar and I decided that I should arrange to see Superintendent Letson and Deputy Superintendent Stephens which I arranged to do the afternoon of May 9. Superintendent Letson had a School Board meeting on the night of May 8 and several speaking engagements which prevented his seeing me until May 9.

The morning of May 9, I had the pleasure of attending the usual Tuesday morning Staff Meeting of the Council which was both pleasant and profitable. I hope I shall have this privilege again.

My conference on the afternoon of May 9 with Dr. Letson was very satisfactory. Dr. Letson is always gracious and was sincerely glad to see me. We discussed the "whys and wherefores" of the apparent problems, and I told him I had talked with Dr. Dunbar and what his considered opinion was. He said he thought Dr. Dunbar was right, and when I told him that Dr. Dunbar, the Southern Regional Council, and I wanted to do whatever we could to help him bring Atlanta through with pride and honor, Dr. Letson thanked me with feeling and asked me to thank Dr. Dunbar.

Dr. Letson and I discussed the situation in some detail, and he agreed with both Dr. Dunbar and me that the items, "Race" and the "Names of the Employers of the Parents" should not have been in the application.

He said, however, that the application was made up before he came to Atlanta, and he felt he would have had difficulty changing it -- probably do more damage than leaving it in. He seemed to feel justified in the way they were administering the application forms, and he defended the publicity on the grounds that he felt nothing should be kept from the public relative to this problem, and also that it would be better to give publicity when a large number of pupils was involved which he hoped would lessen the attention to the smaller number who were accepted. There may be some merit in his argument.

Of the 270 Negro students, who picked up application forms, only 22 had filed for transfer by Monday, and also only two picked up application forms on Monday, all of which were encouraging signs to Dr. Letson that any resentment was decreasing.

Dr. Letson told me about the preparation that was made in advance by his speaking before student, P.T.A. and other groups. Some work was done also with the school teachers and other school personnel.

Deputy Superintendent Stephens was in and out of the conference but was too busy with details to participate.

On Superintendent West's invitation, I stopped by his office on my way over to see Superintendent Letson. He wants to show me an unusual school situation in the County where a number of Negro children are transported some distance to a school. These children are widely scattered in one section of the County. I am going with him on the afternoon of May 22.

While in Atlanta, I arranged the Breakfast Meeting with Superintendent Cherry of DeKalb County, Superintendent West of Fulton County, and Superintendent Letson of Atlanta. We are meeting at the Piedmont at 7:30 A. M. May 22. At this time, I am sure the four of us will concentrate on the Atlanta developments. I am especially interested in his cut-off date of May 15. In Norfolk, a cut-off date for making applications always gave us some concern.

I think my trip was quite worth while.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - June 1, 1961

Lynchburg, Virginia
Pulaski County, Virginia
Galax, Virginia
Clinton, Tennessee (Anderson County)
Murfreesboro, Tennessee
Nashville, Tennessee
Davidson County, Tennessee
Montgomery County, Tennessee
Clarksville, Tennessee
Atlanta, Georgia (SRC)
Chattanooga, Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee
Sevierville, Tennessee
Christianburg, Virginia

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

PR ✓
JM ✓
ML ✓
PA ✓
Exec file

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

June 1, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing the report of my trip through Southwest Virginia, Tennessee and Atlanta from May 15 through May 27.

I enjoyed this two week's trip; everyone was most cordial and seemed appreciative of my visit.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
June 1, 1961

This trip through Southwest Virginia, Tennessee and to Atlanta required twelve days and 2230 miles of travel. I left Norfolk early on the morning of May 15 and returned in the afternoon of May 27.

In my opinion, the most encouraging attitude that I found in my visits this time was that, at least, two superintendents had suggested or were considering transferring to the white high schools, on a voluntary basis, those Negro pupils who were being transported long distances to high schools outside the City or County. In at least one case where the Negro pupils were offered this privilege, a few accepted, but the majority preferred to be transported to the school of their race some distance away. They were given the choice of going to the white high school nearby or continuing in the school, by means of transportation, outside the school division.

LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

My appointment with the school people in Lynchburg on May 15 was at 2 P. M., but not realizing that Lynchburg was on Daylight Saving Time and Norfolk on Standard, I arrived about one hour late. However, School Boards always have plenty to do whenever they meet, so the time was not wasted.

Superintendent Munro had called me sometime before and asked if I could come by to talk with him and his board, so we agreed that May 15 would be satisfactory. This City has a school board of nine members, all of whom were present. Also Superintendent Munro, who is retiring on June 30, Superintendent elect M. L. Carper of Martinsville and the principals of both the White and Negro high schools were present.

Lynchburg has a school enrollment of about 11,000 pupils with approximately 22% of them Negro. Two Negro high school pupils have applied to be transferred to the white high school. The school system has two high schools, one for White and one for Negro pupils. The entire City is the attendance area for each school.

These two applicants probably will be denied because they live nearer the Negro high school; the White high school is filled to 115% of its capacity while the Negro high school is filled to only 90% of its capacity; and the school officials say the programs in the two schools are practically the same.

If these are denied, the Board is considering submitting the stair-step plan, beginning with the first grade. I am inclined to think the

plan will be submitted on the initiative of the Board rather than wait for an order of the Court.

They asked me about plans in comparable cities, and I suggested Nashville and Knoxville. I am sending them copies of both plans. I told them frankly that geographically they were in Southside Virginia, only fifty miles from Prince Edward County; however, they agreed with me that their attitude and feeling were different, and they were more like Roanoke, fifty miles to the west and the two named Tennessee cities. Lynchburg, I am sure, will have no trouble.

PULASKI COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Last September, Pulaski High School, a white high school, enrolled 13 Negro pupils. Superintendent Critzer said that three had dropped out during the year for lack of interest, one was married and stopped, and one senior girl will graduate in June, which leaves eight from that group.

The Pulaski County School Board in special session on April 11, 1961, pursuant to Court order, assigned for the 1961-62 school year, beginning in September, 13 more Negro pupils to the predominantly white Pulaski High School and six to the all white Dublin High School. If the eight remain, this will make a total for next year of 27 in the two high schools.

Superintendent Critzer is quite pleased with the progress and said they had had no trouble. Those assigned are chiefly eighth grade pupils coming up from the elementary schools and formerly were transported to Christianburg. It seems to me that here the problem is being solved gradually, and all the Negroes will be taken care of in time in the Pulaski County high schools, unless they insist on being transported to the Negro institute in Christianburg.

GALAX, VIRGINIA

The seven Negro children who were assigned to Galax High School from Grayson County last September are all attending and getting along nicely. There are 15 applications for next September, about one half each from Galax and Grayson County. There are only 20 Negro high school pupils in Galax City. Superintendent Sutphin said that consideration was being given to bringing all of them into the Galax predominantly white high school, but some of them do not want to go. They are now being transported to Wytheville some distance away. The school population in Galax and Grayson County is about 6% Negro.

CLINTON, TENNESSEE (ANDERSON COUNTY)

Desegregation was begun in Clinton in 1956, and after two years of successful operation, John Casper came to the City and incited the people to the extent that the high school was blown up by dynamite. This happened on October 5, 1958 with three blasts, two minutes apart, at 4:22, 4:24 and 4:26 A. M. I am attaching a card photo which shows the results.

Card Photo showing how a section of Clinton High School appeared as a result of one of three blasts.

Many people from all over the world sent contributions to rebuild the school, and Superintendent Newman sent each contributor the card expressing thanks.

There are eight Negro pupils in the Clinton High School at present. There are only 31 in the City, and the other 23 are being transported outside because they desire it. All have been offered the opportunity to go to the Clinton High School. There will be seven or eight applying next year. All Negro elementary children go to Negro schools.

MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE

My conference with Superintendent Hobgood was at 4 P. M., and he had invited me to stay over for dinner later. In addition to the superintendent, this conference included four principals, the supervisor of Instruction, the psychologist and assistant superintendent. We were all guest of the superintendent for dinner after the conference.

Murfreesboro has about 3000 pupils, grades 1 - 8. Rutherford County has all the high school pupils from both the County and the City. The County has enrolled one Negro in the high school under Court order. Murfreesboro has enrolled none; no one has applied.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Oliver, as usual, was glad to see me on the morning of May 18. He is planning to transfer all Negroes in the fifth grade,

who wish to attend white schools in September if they live in the school attendance area. His only two criteria are: if they live in the attendance zone, and if they wish to be transferred. His program is working nicely.

Superintendent Oliver was pleased when I told him Lynchburg, Virginia had requested a copy of his plan which of course he gave me.

While in Nashville, I talked by telephone to Miss Katherine Jones of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Miss Jones had suggested some of the school systems which I visited. We had a helpful talk and promised to keep in touch with each other.

DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Moss was just back from the hospital where he underwent an appendectomy operation. I met with him and four of his assistants. They are following the Nashville plan and have enrolled 40 pupils in the first four grades. Davidson County has 46,000 pupils with about 5% of them Negro. Superintendent Moss was concerned about holding up academic standards. I suggested that he write to Superintendent Carl Hansen of Washington, D. C. for a copy of his study, which I was certain would reassure him. This is a most cordial group, and I enjoyed my visit with them.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Sanford had written to me that he would be unable to see me because of previous commitments, but his letter arrived at my home after I left, and I went to his office on the morning of May 19. His secretary was very cooperative and told me they had not had any applications from Negro children to go to white schools and no indication of any up to this time.

CLARKSVILLE, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Oakley was in a School Board meeting, and his secretary said she knew Mr. Oakley would appreciate my coming by. She told me they had had no applications. I left some brochures. I did not have an appointment with Superintendent Oakley, but since I was near his office, I just dropped in.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

At 7:30 A. M. on May 22, I had a Breakfast Conference at the Piedmont Hotel with Superintendent John Letson of Atlanta, Superintendent Paul West of Fulton County and Superintendent Jim Cherry of DeKalb County. Of course, we talked about the recent events in Atlanta during May 1 - 15, when over 300 Negroes of the 11th and 12th grades picked up application forms for transfer to white high schools. Superintendent Letson said 137 of these

followed through and actually made application. Test were given on May 18 and 19, but the results had not been scored and tabulated, but from the records already in the file, Dr. Letson felt there would be only from six to a dozen that would qualify on the basis of scholastic records.

We discussed his cut-off date, May 15, and he explained that those who came into the system after this date would be taken care of by the "informal method". Dr. Letson appears to be very optimistic over the results.

Neither Superintendent West nor Superintendent Cherry expects any applications for this coming September, but would not be surprised if they had some for September 1962.

It is interesting to note the proportion of Negro pupils in the three school systems: Atlanta, 40%; Fulton County, 12%; and DeKalb County, 6%.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

After the breakfast conference with the three superintendents, I reached Council Headquarters about 10 A. M., and the staff was in conference. I was invited to attend and enjoyed the discussion relative to the invitation of the Stern Foundation to the Council to undertake some type of information and public relations program at The Tennessee Valley Authority. The idea sounds good to me.

I spent the remainder of the day talking with Leslie Dunbar and other members of the staff and also had a telephone conversation with Mrs. William Pauley, Director of Georgia Council of Human Relations. Mrs. Pauley thinks I should go to Savannah again soon. I told her that I would try to go to Savannah and Pensacola soon after July 1.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

It had not been my privilege to meet Superintendent Carmichael before this visit, and I found him a very alert young superintendent.

Chattanooga has submitted a plan as required by Court, but not to become effective until September 1962. The plan would include Negro pupils of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades, but in selected schools only. Dr. Carmichael said about one-half of their 36 elementary schools would be affected. His idea is to use schools in the middle and upper economic levels to start with, omitting those in the lower ecomonic levels.

The Judge did not accept this plan and ordered one to be submitted, similar to the Nashville plan, beginning with the 1st grade, including all the schools, and to become effective September 1961. The Chattanooga School Board has appealed the District Judge's Decision, and Dr. Carmichael is hopeful that the District Judge will be reversed. I commented

that I thought his first plan was educationally sound, but I could see where the Judge would feel it did not comply with legal requirements. I told him I would not be too optimistic over the chance of a reversal; that the Nasvhille plan was working well and the Court would probably hold to it. I think Dr. Carmichael will do a good job, and I feel more encouraged about Chattanooga. The system has about 41% Negro pupils.

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Johnston is quite pleased with their progress. They placed 29 first grade Negro children in eight different white schools last September, and the P.T.A.'s invited the Negro parents to join the P.T.A., and many of them did. Mr. Johnston told me about a crippled Negro girl whom he sent over to the crippled children's center in a white school and enrolled her in the school without asking any questions. He is pleased to the extent that he thinks they might undertake to do more than one grade each year as required.

Superintendent Johnston gave me a copy of the plan they have submitted to the Judge at the Courts request to place Negro pupils in the white Fulton High School which has a concentration of vocational work. The plan will become effective September 1961, if approved by the Court. It was approved by the Knoxville School Board on March 23, 1961 and sent forthwith to the Court.

SEVIERVILLE (SEVIER COUNTY), TENNESSEE

Superintendent Chan Huskey, a new superintendent, seemed very happy to see me. Strawberry Plains is in this County, and the story is in May 1961 issue of Southern School News, page 2, of a white father, Bruce Moore, sending his seven year old daughter to a nearby Negro school.

The child has been attending the Negro school for about two months, since March 27, and Mr. Huskey says the transfer is not official, but he had not taken the child out. He says some of both the white and Negro parents want the child transferred back to a white school.

It seems that the small school which the Moore child was attending had been closed, and the children were transferred some distance to a larger school. This child didn't adjust very well, so the father decided to place her in the Negro school nearer home. The white principal objected, but the principal of the Negro school accepted her.

Mr. Huskey asked me what should he do? I told him since he had given "silent consent" for two months, that I would suggest he leave her there on that basis, or he could ask the school board to make it official. I told him that I was sure he could explain the circumstances in an acceptable manner to any complaining parent.

Sevier County has 5700 pupils with about 1% Negro. There are only 14 high school pupils who are transported to Knoxville and 45 elementary children scattered in three different schools; 22 in one; 11 in another; and 12 in still another.

I suggested to Superintendent Huskey that since he was a new superintendent that he talk with Superintendent Johnston of Knoxville about some of these problems. I feel that both Mr. Huskey and Mr. Johnston have good points of view, but Mr. Huskey is still too new to know the best procedures. Mr. Johnston has force and determination and would be a good influence on Mr. Huskey.

CHRISTIANBURG (MONTGOMERY COUNTY), VIRGINIA

Superintendent King, Assistant Superintendent Abernathy and I had a rather long conference on the afternoon of May 26.

Montgomery County has the Christianburg Institute, a Negro high school, located at Christianburg to which several nearby school systems send their high school Negro pupils. However, three Negro high school pupils who live near the Blacksburg High School have made application to attend there next September.

The applications have been sent to the State Pupil Placement Board without recommendation, and Superintendent King and his Board have been requested to meet with the State Pupil Placement Board the first week in July.

This was a good trip, and since the superintendents who are very new in their positions seem to need me probably more than the older ones, and were so appreciative of my coming, it has occurred to me that I should seek them out and go to see them more often.

I feel sure we could make more progress in the schools if the "Freedom Riders" and related groups would desist.

June is the month of commencements, and superintendents are busy with speeches, etc. It is not a good month to visit them, so I shall start again after July 1. The last week in June, I shall attend the National Education Association meeting in Atlantic City.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - June 19, 1961

Gainesville, Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

NO

PA✓ do we need cc's of Brewer report to Freeman?

PR✓

~~HF file~~

JM✓

MLV

Exec file

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
June 19, 1961

On Monday, June 5, I received a letter from Superintendent R. D. Blakeney of Gainsville, Georgia stating that he and his Board Chairman, Sidney O. Smith, would like to have a conference with me prior to July 1. I called Mr. Blakeney and arranged to see them on June 14. Mr. Blakeney insisted that he meet me on my arrival in Atlanta and drive me to Gainsville in his car, which he did, but since the Greyhound bus schedule was very good, I returned late in the afternoon to Atlanta by Greyhound.

GAINSVILLE, GEORGIA

Mr. Blakeney and I had breakfast in Atlanta and arrived in Gainsville about 10:30 A. M. In addition to Mr. Blakeney and Mr. Smith, the Chairman of the Board, Mr. W. G. Moore, Vice-Chairman and Mr. T. W. Purcell, a high school principal who had been working on the attendance areas, met with us. Mr. Blakeney and his Board have decided to work out attendance areas for all the schools and announce them as soon as it seems wise, and according to plan, soon after the Board meeting the latter part of June. At present, they have attendance areas for the white schools, but all the Negro children from the entire City attend an elementary school and a high school at one location in the southeast section of the City. The City has the one elementary and one high school in one location for Negro children, and four elementary schools, one junior high and one senior high for White children. The plan is to have an attendance area for each high school and each elementary school, and all children in the area, both White and Negro, will have the privilege of attending the school if they live in the area which the school serves.

All Negro children, except two or three families, will live in the attendance areas of the present Negro schools. The two or three families have only three or four children. Only about a dozen white children will live in the attendance area of the Negro schools. Both White and Negro children, if they are in the minority in a school area, may apply to transfer to the schools which they have been attending.

It seems to be the idea of those present at the Conference, that the School Board would take the initiative and not wait for a Court order. They hope, however, they won't have to desegregate this coming September.

Gainsville City has a School Board of 13 members, two of whom are Negro. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Board feel the other members will be in accord with this plan; however, they have not yet been told all the details. The plan of Gainsville is encouraging, and I believe they will come through with it.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

On Thursday morning, I went to Southern Regional Council Headquarters and spent several hours talking with Dr. Dunbar and other members about what was happening in Gainsville and got their reaction to some of my planned visits for the summer.

This was a quick, but I think a most worthwhile visit.

GAINESVILLE CITY SCHOOLS

GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA

June 29, 1961

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

I want to express my sincere thanks and that of our Board Chairman, Mr. Sidney Smith, for the sacrifice which you made in order to help us with our school problems here in the City of Gainesville, We all realize that you made a special trip in our behalf and it makes us feel mighty important to have a man of your caliber give us so much attention.

Besides being a help to us in solving our educational problems we thoroughly enjoyed the association with you and we are looking forward to having you stop by to see us when you are in this vicinity.

Sincerely yours,

R. D. Blakeney

R. D. Blakeney
Superintendent
Gainesville City Schools

cc: Mr. Sidney O. Smith, Jr.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - July 5, 1961

Atlantic City, New Jersey
Nat'l. Education Assn. Convention

Washington, D. C.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

July 5, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing copy of my report on trip to Atlantic City to attend Annual Convention of the National Education Association. I am also enclosing a copy of a brief summary I have made of the year's work, July 1, 1960 - July 1, 1961 and copy of a letter from R. D. Blakeney, Superintendent of Gainsville, Georgia Schools. I shall send you a copy of the N. E. A. Resolutions as soon as I receive them.

It is my plan to attend the Associated Public School Systems meeting in New York City for a few days during the last week in July. At the same time, I hope to visit with Harold Fleming and one or two superintendents in Northern Virginia on my way back from New York.

My heavy planning is for the month of August. This trip will include New Orleans, Pensacola and other places on my way down and back, probably Kingsport and Johnson City, Tennessee, Atlanta, Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama, Savannah and Charleston. I shall send you a more detailed schedule in the next few days. In the meantime, I'd appreciate any suggestions.

I have written my brother about my visit to Montgomery. I'm leaving it to his judgment whether I should get his reaction only or arrange to see the Superintendent of Schools also. I have written to the Superintendent of Schools in Birmingham and asked him very frankly if he would like for me to come by to see him now or some time in the future.

It may be I shall visit a few of the nearby school systems in Virginia during the first part of July.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker,
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc/ 3

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
July 5, 1961

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

The National Education Association consists of delegates from the fifty states and from all areas of the profession, but of course classroom teachers are in the majority. This year, it was held in Atlantic City, June 25 - 30. This was the 99th Annual Meeting, and the theme was: "A Charge To Keep".

Soon after my arrival, I attended the Social Hour of the Virginia Delegation in the Traymore Hotel on Sunday evening, June 25. At that time, I accepted an invitation and attended the luncheon for the Virginia group sponsored by the Virginia Education Association on Monday at 12:30 P. M. in the Claridge Hotel. There were 177 present which gave me the opportunity to see again and chat with many of my educator friends from Virginia.

At a Convention of this type, it is difficult to attend all the meetings that appear to be interesting, since so many of them take place simultaneously. I did arrange to hear Dr. Jonas E. Salk at the general meeting on Monday night. His talk was most interesting; however, rather technical, especially in the field of biology.

Another meeting, which I scheduled to attend, was that of the Educational Policies Commission on Tuesday afternoon. I attended also the social hour following the meeting. The Policies Commission is greatly concerned about our problems in school integration. Dr. James E. Russell, Secretary, told me that he was the chief author of the Resolution on Desegregation in the Public Schools.

The following is a newspaper report (Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch and Star, July 1, 1961):

"For the first time in six stormy years, the National Education Association today stands on a firm platform of support for the Supreme Court's desegregation order of May 1954.

In the last hectic day of a hectic week, the NEA Friday adopted its strongest-ever policy statement on the issue which since 1955 has split Northern and Southern affiliates into bitterly warring camps.

It took two hours and nine minutes of debate before the NEA's representative assembly could agree on a resolution which pledged "continued support of the U. S. Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation."

In comparison to previous conventions, however, harmony was supreme. In the end, the resolution was passed by a large majority, although the white affiliates in the Southern states were almost solidly against it."

Another quote from the same report on an interesting subject:

"Approved a motion commending the Arlington, Va., Education Association for integrating with the Arlington Negro affiliate last month. Arlington was ousted by the parent Virginia Teachers Association for admitting Negroes to its membership, and the NEA also voted to investigate the matter."

Since I had not planned to stay through Friday, I was not present when final action was taken. I have written for copies of the Resolutions, and I shall send one to each of you, Ben and Les, as soon as they arrive.

Much, of course, is learned by attending these meetings, but I am able to get more down to earth information by talking with delegates on the Boardwalk, in hotel lobbies, and any place you can get one or more who are not too busy to talk.

Paul West of Fulton County, Georgia invited me to have breakfast with him one morning. I chatted with John Letson of Atlanta and Floyd Barnes of Jackson, Mississippi, who is executive secretary of the Mississippi Education Association, on the Boardwalk. I was most happy to have this long talk with Mr. Barnes, and he feels that Mississippi will get along very well if outsiders will leave them alone. I did get the impression he thought the home folks would be able to maintain the "status quo" if left alone. (I think I have said this before, that I never felt any outside interference in Norfolk when we were going through our desegregation problems, excepting of course, the state politicians. I often wonder how much credence we can put in this "outside interference theory" since the demise of John Casper and his like.)

In addition to these administrators, I talked with a number of teachers from many states, including Alabama, Texas, North Carolina, Tennessee, New Mexico, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Virginia. All had about the same feeling which was the problem could be solved. There was very little difference between the attitude in the North and South. However, educators are more liberal and tolerant in their views than the general run of people.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

On my return Friday through Washington, I was hoping to see Harold Fleming. Mrs. Flowers, his secretary, told me that Harold would not be available before Monday, that he was in the process of moving. Mrs. Flowers cordially invited me to come to see them on my next trip in their direction.

This type of trip does not give too much specific information, but the contacts one makes and the general background information acquired are quite worthwhile.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - July 20, 1961

Roanoke, Virginia
Christianburg (Montgomery County) Virginia
Lynchburg, Virginia
University of Virginia (Charlottesville)
    Summer Conf. for Superintendents and School Board Members

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

July 20, 1961

PR ✓
PA ✓
MV ✓
JM ✓
SM-file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing the report of my trip to Roanoke, Christianburg, Lynchburg and the Summer Conference in Charlottesville from July 16 - 20.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
July 20, 1961

On this four day trip, I visited three cities, Roanoke, Christianburg (Montgomery County), Lynchburg, and attended a conference in Charlottesville.

ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

Roanoke has made considerable progress since last year. Out of a total of 39, the School Board assigned, under Court Order last year, nine Negroes to two elementary and one junior high which had formerly enrolled only white pupils. Of those denied, 28 appealed, and one of them was ordered to be admitted this coming September, and 15 were to be studied further.

This year, 34 new applicants were added to these, and from this combined number, the Roanoke School Board and the State Pupil Placement Board, working together, have decided to add 14 others to the nine already enrolled, making a total for the 1961-62 school year of 23. This number is distributed, as follows: 12 in Melrose Elementary, three in West End Elementary, and eight in Monroe Junior High School. This year's assignments are being made by the local and state boards, and as far as I know, there is no Court connected with the action. Some of those rejected, of course, may appeal.

CHRISTIANBURG (MONTGOMERY COUNTY), VIRGINIA

In my report of June 1, 1961, I told of three Negro pupils who had applied to attend the Blacksburg High School in Montgomery County. The meeting which was to be held the first of July with the State Pupil Placement Board has been postponed, and the applications now rest with the State Board. These three children attended elementary school in Blacksburg and would now be transported along with other Negro pupils eight miles to the Christianburg Institute. The superintendent agrees with me that the State Board or the Court probably will require their admission to the Blacksburg High School under these circumstances; however, the school board and board of supervisors seem to feel they rather not do this unless forced to do so. My feeling is that there would be less objection on the part of the citizens of Blacksburg than on the part of citizens of some other sections of the County. V.P.I. is located at Blacksburg which is a good influence.

Some interesting data on the Christianburg Institute:

ENROLLMENT

	May 1955	May 1961
Montgomery County	105	118
Pulaski County	113	106
Radford	37	58
Floyd County	38	7
Others	4	3
TOTAL	297	292

The school divisions listed are those which send pupils to the school. A decrease is noted in both Pulaski and Floyd since they have started sending their Negro high school pupils to their own white high schools.

LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

When I had a conference with the Lynchburg school people on May 15, they had two applications of Negroes to go to the white high school. Now the number has been increased to four, and all four were denied on the basis of their living as near or nearer to the Negro high school. Academic standards were used also. The State Pupil Placement Board has concurred, but there may be some appeals to the Court.

In the meantime, the School Board has appointed four of its members, including the Negro member of the Board, to study the feasibility of working out a plan for the desegregation of the schools which plan would be submitted to the Court for approval.

On July 18, I spent most of the day with the superintendent and one member of the Committee. The Committee is making a rather thorough study of plans used elsewhere and literature, including, "Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation", a Report by Psychiatrists. They are planning also to visit several systems, probably Knoxville, Nashville and Atlanta. I believe they will make satisfactory progress.

SUMMER CONFERENCE FOR SUPERINTENDENTS AND SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, CHARLOTTESVILLE

This was a very interesting program which consisted of a panel discussion which was followed by small group discussions with reports from the groups on the subject: "School-Community Relations". I am enclosing a clipping from the Richmond-Times Dispatch which tells something of the meeting.

Superintendent E. W. Chittum of Norfolk County was on the panel to represent the point of view of the superintendents, but Mr. Chittum was not present when the panel had to begin. Dean Cherry of the University looked over the audience and decided to draft me to substitute for Mr. Chittum, explaining this was a complete surprise to me. I told them I was used to surprises and would do the best I could.

The subject was down my alley, and I enjoyed the meeting. I had an opportunity to see again a large number of superintendents and school board members of the State. Several of them told me briefly of their integration problems, and I received a number of invitations to visit them. These meetings are a big help to my public relations.

—Times-Dispatch News Bureau Photo

ATTEND SCHOOL SESSION—A number of Virginia school superintendents and school board members attended a special summer conference at the University of Virginia yesterday. Among them were (from left), D. B. Webb, superintendent of Hanover county schools; Paul Cale, Albemarle county school superintendent, and P. A. Wallenborn, a member of the Charlottesville school board.

Teacher-School-Community Relations Discussed at U. Va.

Times-Dispatch News Bureau

CHARLOTTESVILLE, July 19—"The teacher in the classroom with the children is the most effective public relations expert there is. It is in the day-to-day (community) relations where we fail to build good public relations."

This was a summary of ideas from a panel discussion at the annual summer conference for superintendents and school board members by Ralph W. Cherry, dean of the University of Virginia's school of education.

Dean Cherry was panel moderator of a discussion on school-community relations. The five-man panel was the highlight of a one-day conference held at the University Wednesday.

Members of the panel were Ray Nelson, assistant director of press and radio relations of the National Educational Association; Allan Beamer, director of school community relations in Fairfax county; Barnard Joy, chairman of the Arlington county school board; John Brubaker, public school consultant of Norfolk, and John W. Eure, a member of the Roanoke school board.

Brubaker said that what the child goes home and tells his parents about the school "means more than any other thing" in school-community relations.

"The public needs to know that the citizens are getting their money's worth from the education they are paying for," he said.

Brubaker said he thought the school boards should have definite written policies, which could be distributed among the public as well as the teachers.

Eure said that the essence of good community relations "is in the attitude of the people responsible," and he indicated that the person responsible was the individual school superintendent.

The superintendent, Eure said, should really want a partnership with the community in running the schools. Then, he added, when a controversy comes, if he is running a good school system and as though it belonged to the public, he is going to find a backlog of public support.

Discussing various segments of a community who have an interest in the schools, Eure cited a group of sports enthusiasts.

"My experience on my own school board has been that no group gets quite as quick a response . . . with the school board itself as a group in the community which seems to be concerned with the success or failure of a football team," he said.

Addressing the opening of the conference, Fendall R. Ellis, Charlottesville school superintendent and president of the school administrators, compared the citizen's interest in the school system with a stockholder's interest in a large corporation.

Every citizen should make it his business to know just what the dividends from a school system to be returned are, he said.

"The management and operation of the public schools is the largest and most important business in the United States," he added.

Beer Sale Test Case To Be Heard July 27

A test of Chesterfield county's Sunday beer prohibition will be heard July 27 in Chesterfield Circuit Court.

John W. Wheeler appealed the case after his test sale resulted in a $10 fine May 26 in County Court.

Wheeler called police to his restaurant on Petersburg pike so that they could witness the beer sale.

Beer sales are illegal in Chesterfield from 11 p.m. Saturday to 6 a.m. Monday.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - August 2, 1961

New York City - Associated Public School Systems
Washington, D. C.
Fairfax County, Virginia
Arlington County, Virginia
Manassas, Virginia

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 2, 1961

PR ✓
PA ✓
ML ✓
SM file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing the report of my trip attending the annual meeting of the Associated Public School Systems in New York City and returning via Washington, Fairfax County and Manassas from July 23 - 29, 1961.

I shall be in Atlanta August 11 enroute to New Orleans, Pensacola, Jacksonville, Charleston and other places.

Very sincerely yours,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
August 2, 1961

In addition to attending the annual meeting of the Associated Public School Systems the week of July 23, I returned the latter part of the week by Washington, Fairfax County and Manassas.

NEW YORK CITY - ASSOCIATED PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Associated Public School Systems (APSS) is a nationwide, non-profit organization of 240 public school systems, study councils, colleges of education and state departments of education. It carries on research to discover what makes good education and disseminates its findings and reports of good educational ideas among its members. The 240 member school systems are located in 38 states.

At the annual meeting held at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City the last week in July, according to preregistration, 27 of the 38 states had approximately 150 representatives present. Maryland, New York and Virginia led in numbers present; however, besides Virginia, five other southern states, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina were represented.

An outstanding theme ran through the meeting: "Develop a Positive Posture Toward Change". (How well this theme fits in with what we are trying to do.) This theme was applied to improving the quality of the educational program. Dr. Paul R. Mort, retired Professor of Education, now Consultant to APSS, served as Chairman of a large group which spent one morning session presenting and discussing the topic: "The School of 1980" -- AN EMERGING CONCEPT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. The chief conclusion of this panel was the school of 1980 would have smaller classes and better teachers--in fact, the master teacher today would be the minimum teacher in 1980.

Some of the outstanding participants, in addition to Dr. Mort, were Dr. Willard S. Elsbree, Chairman of the Department of Educational Administration of Teachers College, who gave the "Welcome Address"; Dr. Matthew Gaffney, Superintendent of Schools, Tarrytown, New York, who gave an address, "Plotting For Progress"; Dr. John H. Fischer, Dean of Teachers College, who spoke on "Local Control and National Needs"; Dr. Lawrence H. O'Neill, Director, Electronics Research Laboratories, Columbia University, who spoke on, "Status Report on Automation"; and an address by Dr. John K. Norton, Emeritus Professor of Education, Teachers College, "America's Role In International Education". Dr. Norton has just returned from a two-year educational assignment in India.

In talking with different superintendents from the South, I was a little disappointed, but not surprised to hear Joseph McCracken of Spartanburg, South Carolina say that the attitude down there had hardened in the

last six months against desegregation. When I saw Joe last year, he was much more optimistic.

In my opinion, this is a good meeting for me to attend. It keeps me abreast of changes in education and in touch with leading educators.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

While in Washington, I called Harold Fleming, and we arranged to have a visit the week of September 17 when I shall be in Washington attending the National Conference on Citizenship. Harold said he would like also for several members of his group to meet with me.

FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Earl Funderburk came from Wilmington, North Carolina to Fairfax as Superintendent on July 1. This was my first visit with him. Several superintendents from the area were meeting in his office about another matter on the morning of July 28, so I was able to arrange for a luncheon meeting with him and Superintendent Ray Reid of Arlington after their meeting. I found Earl most cordial and happy to see me. In Fairfax, they are increasing the number of Negroes in white schools to 107 this coming year. All who applied have been assigned if they live in the district which the school serves. This was practically all who applied.

ARLINGTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Ray Reid, Superintendent of Arlington Public Schools, is doing a good job. I have known Ray for a number of years, and he has the courage of his convictions. The increase in Arlington will be about 100 from approximately 40 last year to 140 for the coming year. They have assigned all who applied if they live in the school district. I would rate Arlington and Fairfax at the top in carrying out the Supreme Court Decision.

MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

On my way home on Saturday, July 29, I had a very pleasant visit for a couple of hours with Ben Muse. We discussed at some length our mutual problems and plans. It is always profitable meeting with Ben.

From recent newspaper reports, Norfolk City is adding 32 to the present 18 Negroes in White schools. This gives Norfolk 50 for next year. I shall give a more complete report on this later.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - August 28, 1961

Roanoke County, Salem, Virginia
Knoxville, Tennessee
Knox County, Knoxville, Tenn.
Sevier County, ~~&&&&~~ Sevierville, Tennessee
Atlanta, Georgia
Montgomery, Alabama
New Orleans, La.
Pensacola, Florida (Escambia County)
Daytona Beach (Volusia County)
Jacksonville, Duval County, Florida
Beaufort County, S. C.
Charleston, South Carolina
Cooper River School District No. 4, N. Charleston, S. C.
Wilmington, North Carolina (New Hanover County)

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PR
CHP ✓
PA ✓
ML
MMB-file

August 28, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing the report, with attachments, of my last trip, from August 6 thru August 24, 1961, traveling a total of 2,770 miles through eight states.

The NEA Platform and Resolutions arrived a few days ago, and I am enclosing copy.

I received from your office 10 copies of an address by General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Co. I shall try to distribute them to the best advantage. I think it is very, very good.

At any time you have any suggestions as to places I should visit, please let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
August 28, 1961

This trip required almost three weeks, beginning early on August 6, 1961 and ending late on August 24, 1961. I traveled 2,770 miles by automobile and visited a number of school divisions and other organizations for public schools in counties and cities of Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina and North Carolina. I began with Roanoke County, Virginia and completed the trip, after going as far south as New Orleans, with Wilmington, North Carolina.

ROANOKE COUNTY, SALEM, VIRGINIA

The Roanoke County School Board and administrative offices are located in Salem, the county seat. I called on Assistant Superintendent DeWitt Miller (the Superintendent, Dr. Herman Horn, had told me previously that he would be in Richmond). Mr. Miller told me that they had assigned one junior high school Negro pupil to a white school for September, and there were seven others who had been denied by the school board, and their cases were pending on appeal. Mr. Miller was much interested in talking with me and asked if I could come back later in the year if they needed to talk with me.

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

It had been quite recent since I talked with Superintendent Johnston of the City Schools, but I called him the first thing to extend greetings. He was quite interested in telling me about the developments in their vocational educational plan which would permit Negro children to attend the white Fulton High when they needed courses they couldn't get at the Negro Austin High School. Judge Taylor approved the plan but went further and added a supplement which would permit all Negro children of high school age who lived in the Fulton attendance area to attend Fulton. The Superintendent and School Board objected to this supplement, saying that about 200 Negro pupils would be involved, and this many coming in at one time might cause violence. The Judge postponed the suggested supplement for the time being. Mr. Johnston said he thought there would be a maximum of 25 Negroes assigned under the plan presented and approved by the Judge.

In addition to seeing school people in Knoxville, I decided to call on the Knoxville area Human Relations Council and the Director of Information, Tennessee Valley Authority. I spent the day, August 8, with these groups.

Mrs. John N. Hitch, office secretary of the Human Relations Council, was most helpful. It seems the office down town is not in full operation at this time, so she invited me to her home and had Dr. Charles Cleland, Chairman of the Council, to join us for a very delicious lunch which she prepared. Dr. Cleland is Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Tennessee. A Negro member of the Council came in also for a few minutes to talk with me. They feel that Superintendent Johnston in 1954 and 1955 was most enthusiastic about bringing about desegregation, but recently his enthusiasm has lessened, and he is not doing as much as they hoped he would. (No doubt, the politicians have been working on him.) The meeting with these members of the Council was most helpful in giving me both sides of the problem.

On the afternoon of the same day, I called on Mr. Paul Evans, Director of Information, TVA. I felt I knew very little about TVA, and my attendance at a Southern Regional Council Staff meeting at which time our possible participation in a program was discussed, aroused my interest. Mr. Evans said he was very glad to have the opportunity to talk with me and explained confidentially why the program was not consummated. Personally, he would like very much to have Southern Regional Council participate.

It seems they are having some employment and housing problems and would like to talk with me about them. I am passing this request on to Dr. Dunbar, requesting that he select the person to talk with Mr. Evans about housing and employment.

KNOX COUNTY, KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Mildred Doyle, one of the few women superintendents, was most appreciative of my coming by to see her. She invited Mr. Rollin McKeehan, Director of Instruction, and Mr. Fred Bedelle, Director of Physical Education, to meet with us. Mr. McKeehan has accepted a two-year educational appointment to India and is leaving Knox County very soon for that assignment.

Miss Doyle said they adopted the grade-a-year plan of integration, effective September 1960, and had not had a Negro applicant for a white school. They have only one per cent Negro school population, 321 in a total enrollment of 32,000. She doesn't anticipate any trouble when they receive some applications.

SEVIER COUNTY, SEVIERVILLE, TENNESSEE

Since Superintendent Chan Huskey seemed so glad to see me when I went by his office several months ago, I decided to check with him again.

He said the white child who attended the Negro school at Strawberry Plains last year failed. He was quite surprised when he received the report. He said the father has made no comment as far as he knows, and he has heard of no one else, White or Negro, planning to attend a school of the opposite race next year.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

When I called on Superintendent John Letson, August 11, he was just recovering from the shock that the Georgia State Board of Education had given him and the Atlanta School Board in reversing their decision by a 7 - 2 vote in refusing to transfer Sandra Melkild from Northside to Dykes High School. The story has been fully covered in the press. However, the State Board had complied with a request to reconsider the decision on August 14. The August 15 edition of the New Orleans Times-Picayune reported that the State Board of Education "refused to budge Monday from its ruling that a 17-year-old white girl can transfer from an integrated to a segregated high school. The Board voted 6 - 3 against reconsidering its August 7 decision that Sandra Melkild should be allowed to enter Dykes High School August 30 instead of Northside".

Superintendent Letson was still in his optimistic mood, and I commended him for the position he was taking. He felt confident that the ten high school pupils which had been assigned; two to Murphy, three to Northside, two to Grady and three to Brown would enter without any trouble. He felt relieved also that the appeals of those denied would not be rushed.

As is my custom when I am in Atlanta, I called the office of Superintendent Paul West of Fulton County. Mr. West was in Athens attending a meeting. His secretary said they were concerned about the State Board's action as it could affect the other school systems in the State.

Mrs. William Pauley, Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, called me while I was in Atlanta and asked me again to try to go to Savannah. She is pleased with the general progress which is being made there. I told her that I was unable to see the Superintendent on this trip as he has a busy day with his teachers on the day I shall be near. Instead, I will be able to visit Beaufort, South Carolina where a recent problem has arisen.

My two visits on this trip to Southern Regional Council Headquarters were, as always, enjoyable and profitable.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

In Montgomery, I visited my brother, William S. Brewbaker, who is President of Brewbaker Motors, Inc. This past year, he was Chairman of the Community Fund Drive and is a very busy person all the time. He has

lived in Montgomery for about 40 years and owns quite a bit of property there. His large home includes a spacious back yard with swimming pool and other accomodations to take care of at least two hundred people for buffet dinners, picnics, etc.

This was a most encouraging visit. On Saturday night, several of my brother's neighbors had invited us to dinner. The one he accepted was most pleasant. On Sunday evening, beginning at 6:30, he and his wife had invited approximately 70 leading citizens and their wives to a buffet dinner in the back yard. About sixty of them came which included two school board members, the superintendent and associate superintendent of schools, three generals and other officers from Maxwell Field Air Force Base, two judges, one or two other lawyers, several of the leading bankers, doctors, teachers, and a number of outstanding business men of the City.

This was one of the best groups of people that I have ever been associated with. We were introduced by first names, and this informality continued during the evening.

Many of them had followed Norfolk during its desegregation struggles and referred from time to time during the evening to the good job we had done in Norfolk. One retired business man said he wished we had time to get a group of civic leaders together while I was there so I could give them the benefit of my experiences. The two board members talked with me specifically about the problems they may face any time and said they would like to feel free to call on me. The superintendent said he had read my brochure which my brother had given him and wanted to know if I could meet with them when they "had to do something". I assured them that I would be available when needed or when they desired to talk with me.

One would never have any feeling except this group would solve any problem which might arise. My brother said the leading citizens of Montgomery would carry out the law when they had to do so. No one there is willing to do anything until they are forced to do it.

From time to time during the evening, several asked me about "token integration"; such as, North Carolina has. One can see much thought is being given along this line.

The Maxwell Field Air Force Base which employs about 25,000 people is a moderating influence on the City. My brother referred to this fact several times and to the broadening effect the children of these families have on the schools of the City.

I am so happy that I made this visit. I am sorry that my report had to be as personal as it is.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Most of the day, August 15, was spent in telephone conversations and arranging for meetings and conferences. Dr. Robert Lancaster, President of the Committee for Public Education, had arranged to have a group meet with me on the evening of August 15, but due to the illness of Mrs. Lancaster, he asked Mrs. C. W. Coffey, Vice-President, to get the group together. Mrs. Coffey invited me to meet her husband at his office in the afternoon and come home with him for dinner. Mr. Gabriel Gelb, the recently employed Public Relations Director for a new organization, "Citizens for Public Schools", joined us for dinner. About 8 P. M., two other couples, Rev. and Mrs. Ralph Bridges and Mr. & Mrs. Richards joined us in the Coffey home. Rev. Bridges is Treasurer of C. P. E., and Mr. Richards is the attorney who has been representing the organization when they need a lawyer.

Mrs. Coffey told about the effort being made to get the support of as many people as possible. Two new organizations are being formed.

First, an organization known as the "Citizens for Public Schools" is attempting to get as many members possible from the "rank and file" of all citizens. This has the possibility of being a very large organization. Dr. Lancaster is temporary President and Mrs. Coffey is secretary. The organization has employed Mr. Gabriel Gelb, who has had considerable experience in public relations and newspaper work, to handle the public relations. The object of this organization is to get the support of all the citizens possible for public schools. The stated objectives of this and the business and professional men's organization are "support the public schools", and "stand for no violence or disorder".

The other organization is of the leading Business and Professional men. This is in process of organization. There were eight present at a recent first meeting, 35 at the second meeting, and 120 at the third meeting just held. Over 100 of these have given permission for their names to be used in public announcements. Each of the 120 men has set a goal to bring in <u>five</u> new men for the next meeting.

Mrs. Coffey is a wonderful worker, and I commended her highly on these efforts.

At 9:30 A. M., August 16, I met with Assistant Superintendent of the New Orleans Schools, James E. Dean. Superintendent Perry Walker expected to meet with us but had an unexpected meeting. They are having some meetings and worries with the state legislators. Mr. Dean said they had scheduled four more schools for desegregation in September which will make a total of six, with a total of only 10 or 12 Negro pupils.

He feels that these schools have been more wisely chosen and if something unforseen doesn't happen; such as, the unpredictable Governor calling a special session of the legislature, there shouldn't be too much trouble.

At 10:45 A. M., also on August 16, I met Mrs. N. H. Sands, President, Save Our Schools, Inc. in the hotel lobby. We talked for about an hour, and I feel this organization, too, is doing a very effective job. I am attaching their latest publication, "We Cannot Afford This Again", which has been distributed to all the leading business and professional men in New Orleans. I told Mrs. Sands I thought this should be most effective.

The day was finished with a noon luncheon with Dr. Lancaster who filled me in on any blank spots.

All of these people were most encouraging. They hope the Governor will remain quiet and that the Mayor of New Orleans will give strong public expression to his support of public schools, and take a determined stand against any form of violence or disorder. He is saying these things privately but hasn't mustered up enough courage to come out openly.

PENSACOLA, FLORIDA (ESCAMBIA COUNTY)

The afternoon, August 17, on which I arrived in Pensacola, a Court Hearing was under way on the Escambia County plan to desegregate the schools September 1962. Judge Carswell approved the plan, a copy of which I am enclosing. It consists of a letter to parents and guardians and a preference card very similar to that being used by Dade County.

When I called on Superintendent Woodham the next morning, he was quite pleased with the decision of the Judge. Dr. Woodham said the Board had turned down two applicants for September 1961 and presented the enclosed plan which means a delay of one year unless the decision of Judge Carswell is appealed and reversed. He anticipates no trouble in carrying out the plan in September 1962.

DAYTONA BEACH (VOLUSIA COUNTY)

A very interesting news item appeared in the Pensacola Journal August 18 relating that two Negro girls had been admitted to a Volusia County, Florida white school at Daytona Beach. I called Superintendent John Smiley the next Monday from Jacksonville to commend him and his School Board on this wise voluntary action. He said his Board had stated it intended to comply with the law and they accepted two of the three who applied on individual applications. The 39 who are still in litigation are involved in a petition for class action and have asked for complete integration of the schools. These three were in no way connected with them. Superintendent Smiley said he and his Board felt they would rather

take the initiative and do this voluntarily than to operate under Court order. He said they had phone calls and letters pro and con but felt they had received more favorable reaction than unfavorable. I told him I felt they were using good sound judgment.

JACKSONVILLE, DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA

Superintendent Ish Brant, despite the fact, Monday, August 21, was the first day teachers were reporting for duty and he was quite busy, seemed very happy to see me. There has been very little change except the class action petition, which was filed some time ago and denied by the School Board, was returned by the U. S. Supreme Court to the District Federal Judge about two months ago. Superintendent Brant didn't know when the District Judge would pursue it again or what the next step would be. He felt it was too late for affirmative action this year.

Superintendent Brant also stated that only three or four names were left on the petition. The others had gradually been withdrawn. There are approximately 105,000 children in Duval County schools, with 26% of them Negro.

Mr. Brant did comment that they would have more trouble than most Florida school systems because about one-third of their people had come in from southern Georgia and were quite strong in their feelings against integration.

BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

When I arrived in Beaufort about dinner time on August 21, I called Courtney Siceloff, and he came over to the Sea Island Motel and had dinner with me. Since he had talked with me by telephone in Atlanta, the situation had changed considerably. Colonel Booker who was the general administrator of the school or some one else had decided to employ a professional educator as principal. (This was what I would have advised if I had conferred with them.) They procured, according to my information, the assistant principal of the Wakefield School in Washington, D. C. This sounds to me like a good choice. He felt he would rather go along without help at this time, so I did not see him or Colonel Booker. Mr. Siceloff seemed rather embarrassed over the turn of events. I told him I thought the principal's decision was good and that it was worth the trip over to get better acquainted with him (Siceloff).

However, the next morning, August 22, I called Allan Paul, the County Superintendent. He was too busy to see me, but we talked at some length over the telephone. He said he had no problems now of any kind to which I replied I had never held such a favorable position. He said he would appreciate my sending him one of my brochures, which I have done.

As I understand from Mr. Paul and Mr. Siceloff, the school which has been turned over to the government was built with government money under Public Law 815 and didn't cost the County anything. There are between 800 and 900 children in the school with about 20 of them Negro. This is a 21-room school with 27 teachers, two of which are Negro. I believe this school will be well operated.

The most disturbing thing that I learned was Superintendent Paul's strong feeling for and good impression of the private school plan in Prince Edward County. He told me that he spent the better part of a week up there recently and was most favorably impressed with what they are doing. I told him I thought the situation there is pathetic; that the white children are getting an inferior type of education and the Negro children are getting none. I also told him I thought it was quite temporary, that I felt sure both State and Federal Courts would order a change. I told him that 17 school divisions (now 19) would be desegregated next September, and Prince Edward is the only one of which many Virginians are not proud. Not one of those desegregated has had any trouble.

Mr. Siceloff felt a couple of the Board members would be more sympathetic than the administrators. He told me that the wife of Mr. Wyatt Pringle, a board member, was a former teacher in Norfolk and knew me. I had a nice telephone conversation with Mrs. Pringle and told her to tell her husband to let me know if I could be of help any time.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Thomas Carrere seemed very glad to see me, and we talked two hours about their situation. The Chairman of the Board, Mr. Brown, whom I met on my last visit, sent his regards and expressed regret he couldn't meet with us.

At the present time, they have six applications from Negro pupils to enter white schools, all of which have been denied by the Board for the general reason: "Not in the best interest of the applicant". No appeals have been made, but the superintendent expects some of them to appeal the decision of the Board. The Superintendent and the Board feel that the people of Charleston at this time would not accept a voluntary assignment by the Board of a Negro to a white school. They realize it is inevitable, but feel the only course they can follow would be under order of the Court. In my opinion, it is fortunate that Charleston is the first place in South Carolina, (except Clarendon County) to have to desegregate its schools, for I think it can be done better here than any other place in the State.

The Negro enrollment is 73% of a school population of about 13,000 pupils. Superintendent Carrere says that Negroes live in practically all the white neighborhoods; several families live across the street from him.

COOPER RIVER SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 4, NORTH CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

When I pass near a superintendent who is not on my list to be visited at this time, I have made it a practice to call him by telephone to extend greetings and inquire about his health and work. Superintendent Gordon Garrett of North Charleston was pleased to get my call and said he had many problems, but at the moment they did not include desegregation. He rather insisted that I come to see him the next time I passed his way.

WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA (NEW HANOVER COUNTY)

William H. Wagoner is the new superintendent of New Hanover County which includes Wilmington. He came there from Elizabeth City, North Carolina on August 1 of this year. The former superintendent, Earl Funderburk, accepted the position as Superintendent of Schools of Fairfax County, Virginia July 1 of this year.

Superintendent Wagoner has a most wholesome and logical philosophy of education. He is a good superintendent for Wilmington and New Hanover County because this division, with a rather large laboring class, will have more trouble than many other North Carolina systems, according to Mr. Wagoner. He feels that Elizabeth City, where he was Superintendent until August 1, would be one of the easiest to desegregate. Elizabeth City has a school enrollment of about 4,000 with 40% of the pupils Negro. New Hanover County and Wilmington have 17,000 with approximately 30% Negro.

There have been no applications of Negroes to enter the white schools in either Elizabeth City or Wilmington.

This was a good trip, and I was very encouraged as I was driving home late in the afternoon on August 24 to hear over my auto radio that Judge Oren Lewis had just ruled that public funds may not be used to support private segregated education in Prince Edward County, Virginia as long as the County's public schools remained closed. To me, this is most encouraging, and I believe the beginning of the end of closed schools in Prince Edward County.

There were other encouraging happenings in Virginia during my absence; such as, Newport News approved 14 applications of Negroes to five previously all white elementary schools; the State Pupil Placement Board assigned one Negro boy to a white Hampton high school, the first in that City; in Lynchburg, according to newspaper reports, the School Board on its own initiative has voted to prepare a plan of gradual desegregation of the Lynchburg Public Schools. The press stated further: "The Board's action sets a precedent in Virginia by dealing with the desegregation issue before Court action has been instituted."

The Virginian Pilot, on August 11, 1961, gave a report entitled, "School Mixing Doubles in Year" which stated there will be 18 Virginia counties and cities desegregated in 1961-62 with 529 Negro pupils in 67 all-white and predominately white schools. The paper stated further: "The localities which will experience their first desegregation next month are Falls Church, where three Negroes will be enrolled in two formerly white schools; King William County, where one Negro will enter West Point High School; Montgomery County, where two Negroes will be admitted to Blacksburg High School.

Also Prince William County, where one Negro will enter Occoquan Elementary School; Roanoke County, where one Negro will enroll in Cave Spring High School; Stafford County, where two Negroes have been assigned to Stafford Elementary School, and Newport News, where 14 Negroes have been admitted to five formerly all-white schools."

Since the above article was written, the State Pupil Placement Board assigned a Negro pupil to an all-white high school in Hampton, Virginia on August 14. This increases the Virginia total to 19 counties or cities with 68 desegregated schools, with 530 Negro pupils assigned. Virginia is making good, sound progress.

October 10, 1961

Dr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Dr. Foster:

The memos which you sent me with your letter of October 5, at the suggestion of Leslie Dunbar, have been read with much interest. I do appreciate very much your sending them. They are most helpful.

I have visited all the cities which you cover in the memos, and I agree with your report. I did not know about Lloyd Funchess' trouble in Baton Rouge. I am so happy that he survived the "storm".

The voluntary action in Volusia County, Florida, since your report, in which two Negro girls were admitted to a white school at Daytona Beach is encouraging. When this was done, I called Superintendent John Smiley and commended him and his School Board for their wise action.

In my visits in the Florida cities, I found the attitude in Tallahassee the coolest toward doing something. The superintendent seemed quite indifferent. I wish you had reported on Tallahassee. Your reaction would be interesting. Jacksonville is probably the next in coolness. The superintendent told me they had a great number of people there from southern Georgia, and the influence was not good in this respect.

I thank you again for sending me these interesting reports, and I hope to meet you soon.

Very sincerely yours,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

C/c: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
C/c: Mr. Benjamin Muse

Brewbaker - Field Trips - October 10, 1961

West Point, King William County, Virginia
Stafford County, Virginia
Fredericksburg, Virginia
Richmond, Virginia
State Department of Education, Richmond, Va.
Richmond, Va. (Luncheon Meeting)
Charlottesville, Virginia
Manassas, Prince William County, Va.
Rockingham County, Viginia
Va. School Board Meeting, Virginia Beach, Va.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 10, 1961

PRV
JAV
MLV
PA
MBB-file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing copy of my report of visits October 2 - 7, also copy of a letter which I have written to Dr. G. W. Foster, Jr., Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin. His reports were both interesting and helpful. I appreciate very much your having him send it to me.

The review of Ben's book, "Virginia's Massive Resistance" by Mr. Dabbs in "The Journal of Intergroup Relations", Vol. II, No. 3, is most interesting. Mr. Dabbs is a good reviewer, but after all, he had a good book to review.

I am expecting to see you in Atlanta, November 8 and 9. From there, I plan to visit Chatanooga, Memphis, Nashville, Johnson City, Kingsport and a few places in southwest Virginia on my way home.

Mrs. Brewbaker and I shall spend the week of October 15 in New York City, We shall be staying at Hotel Edison, 46th Street to 47th Street, Just West of Broadway.

I hope you and your family have spent a pleasant summer.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
October 10, 1961

Since I had not visited at all certain school divisions in Virginia which were receiving applications from Negro pupils to be admitted to white schools, and others not very recently, I decided to spend the week of October 2 - 7 visiting a few of these school systems.

WEST POINT, KING WILLIAM COUNTY, VIRGINIA

When I reached King William Court House on Monday, October 2, we were receiving in rather liberal quanities a much needed rain. However, Superintendent Raymond Snead seemed happy to see me. He had very recently received a complaint from NAACP, signed by S. W. Tucker of Richmond, dated September 25, 1961, requesting that he and the West Point School Board show cause why eight elementary Negro pupils were not assigned to a West Point white elementary school which they had applied for admission. The complaint was filed in the Eastern District Federal Court of Virginia (Norfolk), and Mr. Snead had the usual 20 days in which to reply.

The Superintendent told me that these applications were refused because the applicants lived nearer the school, a Negro school, which they were now attending. Neither school was crowded, and the two schools compared quite favorably in every respect.

West Point had this year 13 applications of Negro pupils to attend white schools; the eight elementary discussed above and five high school pupils. The West Point School Board and State Pupil Placement Board assigned one of the five to the white high schools and denied the other four because of low academic records. The four denied appealed to the State Placement Board and were given a hearing. Two of those who appealed did not report for the hearing, and the two who did appear were assigned to the white high school. There is no Negro high school in West Point. The one pupil originally assigned to the White high school reported to the Negro high school as usual. His admission there was unauthorized and is still unapproved. The chances are if the pupil really wishes to remain in the Negro school, the transfer will be approved. This leaves only two of the 13 who originally applied attending a white school.

I usually do not write in this much detail but think this is a rather interesting case. The high school pupils were transferred without a court order.

STAFFORD COUNTY, VIRGINIA

T. Benton Gayle is superintendent of King George and Stafford Counties, and this year, he had 25 Negro children to apply to go to white schools in

Stafford County. Seven of these are elementary school and 18 are high school pupils. Three of the elementary pupils were assigned by the State Pupil Placement Board to the white elementary for which they applied, and the other 22 were denied because of either distance or low academic achievement. The NAACP has filed a complaint in this case similar to the one at West Point. This complaint is filed in the Eastern District Federal Court at Alexandria. One of the three pupils assigned to the white school has reported to the Negro school instead, which leaves only two in the white school.

FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Paul Hook has been critically ill in the hospital for the past two months, and his General Supervisor, Robert E. Butt, has been performing the duties of the superintendent. I called on Mr. Hook at the hospital just to give him my best wishes for a speedy recovery. He is still very ill but improving.

Mr. Butt said they had two Negro applicants for the white high school this year, and both were denied by the State Pupil Placement Board because they lived nearer the Negro high school. They have not appealed the decision so far.

In this area of Virginia, the superintendents seem quite willing to admit the Negro applicants into the white schools, but they feel this should be done gradually and on as high a selective basis as possible.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Willett and I spent a very interesting hour talking over many problems. Since they had only two Negro pupils in a senior high school last year, he feels this is really their first year of desegregation. They assigned 34 additional ones this year, making a total of 36. Of these, 30 are assigned to one junior high school, one to another junior high and three to a special school for problem children--then the two assigned to a senior high school last year. They have had no problems.

On my way from Fredericksburg to Richmond, I stopped at a Howard Johnson restaurant on the edge of Richmond for lunch. I was interested to note when a young Negro couple came into the restaurant, the hostess seated them in the same manner as any one else. These things make one feel proud of the way Virginia is rising to the occasion.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Dr. Woodrow Wilkerson, State Superintendent, and I discussed at some length the school problems of the State. He is quite encouraged with the way Virginia at this time is accepting and making the change from segregated

to desegregated schools. He and I agreed that progress was being made in Prince Edward County through the Courts, and that the situation there would be resolved soon. He has the highest regard for and confidence in Federal Judge Oren Lewis whose Court is hearing the case. The State Supreme Court of Appeals has given the opposing attorneys in the case until October 11 to get together and make a report to the State Court. When Federal Judge Lewis heard the case a few weeks ago, he gave the plaintiffs sixty days to try to clear up the constitutional angle of closed schools in the State Supreme Court of Appeals. He held the State Court should first pass on any violation of the State Constitution. The case is due to go back to Judge Lewis some time in November.

LUNCHEON MEETING -- RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

When I learned that several superintendents of the State were meeting with Dr. Wilkerson, State Superintendent, on Thursday morning, October 5, I asked Superintendent Fendall Ellis of Charlottesville to meet me for lunch after their meeting. This saved me a trip to Charlottesville. When the meeting adjourned about one P. M., I invited several others to join us, and Superintendent Stuart Beville of Manassas, Prince William County, and Superintendent Wilbur Pence of Rockingham County ate with us at the Raleigh Hotel. These superintendents agreed with Superintendent Ellis that all superintendents in the State who have desegregation problems should meet and invite me to meet with them. I encouraged the idea and suggested that Superintendent Ellis, who is President of the State Superintendents Association, call the meeting as soon as it could be arranged.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Ellis said they had a total of 35 Negro children in white schools this year, an increase of 15 over last year. The elementary white school has 20 of these and Lane High 15. There was some increase in enrollment in the public schools this year while the private school enrollment remained about the same.

MANASSAS, PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Beville said that they admitted one Negro pupil to the white high school and two to a white elementary school this year. There was no reaction of any kind, and one would never know anything of a different nature happened.

ROCKINGHAM COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Pence said they had received no applications up to this time.

VIRGINIA SCHOOL BOARD MEETING, VIRGINIA BEACH, VIRGINIA

When I learned on Thursday that many of the superintendents were attending or planning to attend the Annual State Meeting of the Virginia School Board Association at Virginia Beach October 5 - 7, I decided to spend Friday and Saturday there. This was a most friendly group, and I think it was well worth my time to appear at this meeting. Several superintendents gave me special invitations to visit them, and I enjoyed seeing again many Board members and superintendents practically all of whom I know very well.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - November 2, 1961

Virginia Education Association, Richmond, Virginia

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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MMB-file

November 2, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing report of my trip to Richmond attending the VEA Convention on October 30, 31 and November 1.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
November 2, 1961

VIRGINIA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Since I had planned a two-week trip for the first part of November on my way to and from Atlanta, I spent only three days, October 30, 31 and November 1, in Richmond attending the VEA meetings. During this time, the chief meetings being held were the Board of Directors meetings and the meetings of the superintendents in which group I still hold membership.

It pleased me very much to read in the Tuesday, October 31, issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch that the Board of Directors on Monday approved by a 20 - 1 vote a motion to study the possibility of a local option policy on integration or segregation of VEA Chapters. The motion went to the VEA Convention floor on Wednesday night, November 1, and was passed by a two to one vote. All the resistance was from Southside Virginia. It is encouraging to have the educators giving some thought to this problem which has arisen already in Arlington and Fairfax Counties.

Last May, the Arlington Education Association was expelled from the Virginia Education Association after the Arlington Chapter accepted Negro members.

The Fairfax County Education Association has discussed integrating its membership. Already 14 members of the Fairfax County white association have joined the formerly all Negro local education association. Superintendent Earl Funderburk talked with me at some length about the situation and has requested that I come to Fairfax County very soon to discuss the matter further. It is causing much trouble.

Superintendent Ray Reid of Arlington County very cordially invited me, when I saw him at Virginia Beach early in October, to come to Arlington to see him. I shall try to visit both places later on this month. There are two new superintendents in that area, I should like to visit also: Warren County, and the newly incorporated Fairfax City.

I attended all the meetings of the superintendents. It seemed to me that I spoke to most of the 120 or more of those present. Those superintendents whom I have visited to discuss with them their desegregation problems seemed more cordial than usual, and many of them made a special effort to speak to me and say a word or two about their progress. To me, these expressions give a token of their appreciation.

Before leaving for Norfolk Thursday morning, I attended the University of Virginia Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa breakfast. Phi Delta Kappa is an international professional fraternity, and its Commission on the study of Educational Policies and Programs in Relation to Desegregation prepared as

a project, a Guidebook, "Action Patterns in School Desegregation", which Guidebook has been much used by some of us. The University of Virginia Chapter, Alpha Beta, also presented me the 1960 Distinguished Service Award which I feel sure was based on my work in the desegregation of schools. I have a high regard for Phi Delta Kappa.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - November 20, 1961

Martinsville, Virginia
Ashville, North Carolina
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta
Atlanta Public Schools, Atlanta
Memphis, Tennessee
Jackson, Tennessee
Nashville, Tennessee
Tennessee Council on H. R.
Southern School News
State Dept. of Education of Tennessee
George Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn.
Johnson City, Tennessee

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 20, 1961

PR ✓
~~JM~~ ✓
ML ✓
PA ✓
MBB-file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I thank you for your letter of November 17 in which you congratulated me on receiving the 1960 Distinguished Service Award from the University of Virginia, Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa. You were not Executive Director when I received it, so it may be you did not congratulate me which was not expected. Thanks for your kind words.

Enclosed is the report of my visits November 5 - 19. I enjoyed very much the Board of Directors meeting.

I am enclosing information on the National Conference on Citizenship. I'll talk with Ben about it the next time I see him which may be the latter part of this month.

I clipped the enclosed editorial from last Sundays issue of the Virginian-Pilot.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc/ 3

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
November 20, 1961

This trip was planned in connection with the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. It consumed fourteen days, and I traveled by automobile 2,280 miles, leaving home on November 5 and returning on November 19. I made visits in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, but the most of the time was spent in Atlanta and in the various cities in Tennessee.

MARTINSVILLE, VIRGINIA

July 1961 is the year of change of superintendents in Virginia. All superintendents are reelected and new ones elected every four years for those who have resigned or retired. Those who come in during the four-year period fill out the unexpired term of his predecessor who was elected at the beginning of the four year term. Martinsville has a new superintendent this year, John D. Richmond. The former superintendent, Lester Carper, accepted the position in Lynchburg as Superintendent of Schools as of July 1.

Mr. Richmond, his Assistant Superintendent, and the Chairman of his Board, who is one of Martinsville's leading bankers, met with me for a couple of hours Monday morning, November 6. This group is approaching the situation in a very logical manner. They have had no applications of Negroes to enter white schools, but they are thinking very strongly, when the time comes, in cooperating with the State Pupil Placement Board and have the pupils admitted without going to Court.

It is quite encouraging to find superintendents and school boards taking the position that court order procedures are undesirable from the standpoints of curtailing the freedom of school officials, time consuming, and really a waste of taxpayers' money. They are realizing it must be done anyway, so why be forced to do so by the Courts.

ASHVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

This was one of the most pleasant and satisfying visits that I have had for a long time. Superintendent W. P. Griffin was quite happy to see me, and I spent Tuesday morning with him in his office and visiting the school which had been desegregated in September and the new Trade and Industrial School which also opened for the first time in September.

Superintendent Earl Funderburk, now Superintendent of Fairfax County Schools of Virginia, was formerly Superintendent of Schools in Ashville and then Wilmington, North Carolina. In his opinion, Ashville and Wilmington would be the two most difficult systems in the State to desegregate. However, Ashville did it quietly and without a hitch.

Eleven children, ranging from the first to the eighth grade, applied for admission to white schools. The Superintendent and School Board decided to admit those in the first three grades. Five were in first and second grades and none in third. These five were assigned to an elementary school which served pupils from homes in the middle and upper economic levels. Children of some professional men attend this school also. Mr. Griffin took me over to the school, and we visited the classes. I have never seen a better situation. The teachers said you would never know any change had taken place. Mr. Griffin said he had not received a single phone call or any other type of complaint.

The other six in the fifth, sixth, and eighth grades, who were denied, appealed to the Board. The Board upheld the action of the Superintendent, and the parents of the applicants apparently have accepted the decision.

The Trade and Industrial School is called the new Industrial Education Center. This is a regional school which was constructed this year by Ashville, and the chief cost of operation, including teachers' salaries, is paid by the State. The Center opened on September 5, and the "Ashville Citizen and Times" included in its August 31 issue a most interesting and informative 20-page section on the Center. It is open day and night to adults and high school pupils of both races who live in this region of North Carolina. Superintendent Griffin took much pride in showing me through it. I commended Mr. Griffin warmly for the way he is operating his school system.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

This was a most inspiring Annual Meeting. The two-day session is much better than a shorter meeting. It gives an opportunity to get more ideas and suggestions from the members of the Board of Directors.

We had a good beginning by President Dabbs reading a telegram of greetings and good wishes from President Kennedy. Another highlight of the meeting was the panel on Wednesday night, consisting of Robert J. Harris, Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University; Eric Lincoln, Professor of Sociology, Clark College; and Louis Lomax, Author and Television Producer. They discussed in a most interesting manner the timely topic, "Do We Point With Pride or View With Alarm the South Today".

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director gave us a very impressive review of the chief points he intends to include in his Annual Report. He covered the five most critical ones which need our attention. They were:(1) Next year concentrate on the deep South, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. (2) Consider what we can do in the rural South. We have been concentrating mostly on urban communities. (3) The Council will have to be constantly on the alert to avoid conflicting postures.

For example, to be useful in both Virginia and Mississippi is not the same thing. The Council should continue to retain its role as interpreter of events in the South. (4) Area ofCivil Rights--find ways to supplement useful Federal programs. However, we should always retain the role of honest critic; and (5) The strengthening of the human relations program in the states. There should be a greater sharing of problems among them.

The meeting was brought to a close by an eloquent address by President Dabbs. It was practical, timely, and literary. I believe we shall receive copies of it.

During the meeting, I had the opportunity of having about one hour conference with Mrs. Charles White of the Houston, Texas, School Board. She gave me the entire story which hasn't pleased her very much. John H. Wheeler mentioned the Durham situation to me briefly. The next time I go there, I shall make an appointment with him.

To me, the entire meeting was most stimulating, and it re-vitalized my enthusiasm for the work.

ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Unless I know of some pressing problems, I hesitate to call on the superintendents every time I visit a city, especially if I visit frequently. However, I often call by telephone to extend greetings and inquire about the progress of our work. I called Superintendent Letson, who expressed appreciation of my calling him. He said they had no special problems at this time.

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

According to Superintendent Stimbert, the Memphis City School desegregation plan is different from that in other places in Tennessee. In the first place, it was done on the spur of the moment, and no one knew what pupils would go to which schools until they reported. In the second place, they took advantage of the State Law which permitted "Hearing Officials" to consider any appeals after assignments by the Superintendent and before action by the School Board. In this case, there were three "Hearing Officials", two local lawyers and a professor from Memphis State College. They had 39 Negroes applying to enter white schools this past September. These ranged from first to twelfth grade, but most of them were in the first grade. Of this number, 13 first graders were assigned to four different white elementary schools. Some of those whose applications were denied appealed to the "Hearing Officials" which group sustained the decision of the Superintendent. They can now appeal to the School Board, and if still dissatisfied, appeal to the Federal Court.

Memphis has a large percentage of Negroes. In the adult population about 39%; over all school population is over 45%; and in the first grade 51%. Superintendent Stimbert seems to be pleased that everything so far has gone well. I'm sure they expected more trouble.

JACKSON, TENNESSEE

When I left Superintendent Stimbert of Memphis about 11 A. M. on Monday, November 13, he suggested that I go by Jackson on my way to Nashville and talk with Superintendent C. J. Huckaba. He said Mr. Huckaba seemed to be worried quite a bit about his problems.

Arriving in Jackson about 1 P. M., I ate lunch and waited to see Mr. Huckaba when he returned from lunch about 2 P. M. He seemed very glad to see me.

Jackson is 85 miles east of Memphis on route 70, has a population of about 30,000, a school enrollment of 7,000 with about 35% Negro. They had six applications this year of Negro children to go to white schools, two in twelfth grade, three in eighth and one in sixth. The two twelfth graders withdrew their applications, and the other four were denied by the Superintendent and have appealed to the School Board. Western Tennessee seems more difficult than that area from Nashville eastward, but they all say they realize these applications must be accepted in time.

Sometime ago, I reported the unusual school board arrangement in Chattanooga. The one in Jackson is quite unusual also. The three Commissioners, one of them, Mayor, also are the School Board. The Mayor is Chairman of the School Board. This arrangement has been used since about 1915, according to Mr. Huckaba. When I questioned it from an administrative point of view, Mr. Huckaba said it seemed to work satisfactorily. However, it seems like a poor plan to me, but I kept my criticism to myself.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Since I called on several people in Nashville, I shall give a brief, separate report on each one.

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Miss Katherine K. Jones, Director, was very kind and came to the hotel and took me to her office. She was most helpful in telling me about the situation in the State and thinks that Chattanooga is the only city where there may be trouble. She agrees with our Executive Director, Les Dunbar, that the rural areas now need attention. Several Counties in Tennessee are making and others are planning to make the transition at this time.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

This was a most pleasant visit. Mr. Reed Sarratt, Executive Director, was away, but Mr. Tom Flake, Associate Director, and Mr. Jim Leeson, Assistant Director, seemed much interested in talking with me and showed me through the building introducing me to the employees and explaining the different phases of the work. I found all of this most informative and interesting.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OF TENNESSEE

State Commission of Education, Joe Morgan, was most cordial, and we discussed rather thoroughly the situation in the State. He said they gave the localities the freedom to carry out their own plans under the State Law. He agreed also that Chattanooga might have some trouble. It is very satisfying to talk to State Superintendents and from now on, I shall try to do so whenever I am in state capital cities.

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Dr. Henry Hill, President Emeritus of George Peabody, who since his recent retirement, has shown greater interest in the desegregation problems. When I told him in advance I planned to be in Nashville the middle of November, he wrote that he wanted very much to see me, so we arranged and spent the morning of November 16 together.

At the beginning of our Conference, I told Dr. Hill about the Southern Leadership project which was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers to the Southern Regional Council. I told him Mr. Benjamin Muse was Director of the project, and he worked with the Governors, other political officials, newspapers etc.; that I assisted Mr. Muse and served as Public School Consultant, etc. He was quite interested and wrote down Mr. Muse's address and said he had the pleasure of sitting by him at some dinner rather recently. Mr. Muse may hear from Dr. Hill.

The General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation recently has made a grant of $450,000 to Peabody College to be used for surveys, studies, conferences, or in any way the College thinks best. Dr. Hill explained to me how he had worked with Dean Rusk, while Dean Rusk was President of the Rockefeller Foundation, to get the grant for Peabody. (By the way, Dean Rusk was born in Cherokee County, Georgia, and according to Dr. Hill, is much interested in the progress in Georgia.) The grant has been received, the full amount by check, and the "Peabody Center" has been established to see that the money is spent properly. Dr. W. D. McClurkin, Director of Surveys and Field Services, has been made Director of the Center. Dr. M. E. Alford, who joined the Peabody Staff about two years ago and who was formerly Assistant Superintendent of Norfolk County, Virginia Schools, was the first man I saw when I entered the campus Thursday morning, is Associate Director of the Center, and Dr. Hill is Consultant.

At this time, they are working on a "spot map" which shows the percentage of Negroes in the southern states, starting with less than 1%; then 1% to 10%; 10% to 49%; and 50% and over. In addition to Dr. Hill, I talked with Dr. McClurkin, Dr. Alford, Dr. Ray Hamon, formerly with the U. S. Office of Education, and I met a number of others. They surely have the money to do something in the South.

Dr. Hill wanted especially to talk with me about the Prince Edward County situation. He is making a study here under the auspices of the National Education Association. He explained that this was not one of the Peabody Center projects because they felt the Center should concentrate on projects of wider significance. The Prince Edward County is, of course, local and doesn't seem to have much influence on other parts of Virginia or elsewhere. Most of us think this situation soon will be corrected anyway.

To me, this was a most enjoyable and informative visit. We agreed that we could work closely together with much benefit.

JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

On Firday morning, November 17, I had a most pleasant visit with Superintendent C. Howard McCorkle of the Johnson City Public Schools. Superintendent McCorkle told me with much satisfaction how Johnson City had prepared for two years by means of an Interracial Committee for desegregation of schools. He was most complimentary of the Committee and especially of the Negro members.

This past September, they voluntarily desegregated two white elementary schools by admitting 10 Negro pupils to the first grade of one and two to the other. There had been no applications, and the Interracial Committee recommended the assignments. Everything has worked very smoothly.

Nearby Kingsport, according to Superintendent McCorkle, also began desegregation voluntarily last September by admitting about 10 Negro first graders to white schools without incident. Superintendent McCorkle said that Bristol, Tennessee, Greenville and some of the nearby counties would probably desegregate next September. It pleased me for him to say if I planned to come back sometime and would let him know in advance, he would have the superintendents of Kingsport and Bristol meet with us.

This has been a good trip, but I feel more and more that I should now spend the major portion of my time in the "deep south". In Virginia, I should like to visit Fairfax County and Arlington very soon to talk over with those superintendents the problems arising from integregation in their local teachers associations. In Tennessee, I feel I should keep in touch with Chattanooga. In North Carolina, Wilmington will be one place

to watch, and the next time I am near Raleigh, I intend to call on State Superintendent Charles Carroll whom I know very well. Florida is moving along very well, but Jacksonville and Tallahassee may need some help. As in North Carolina, when I'm in Tallahassee again, I shall plan to call on State Superintendent Tom Bailey whom I know also.

It seems to me that I should concentrate next on Nothern Alabama. Mr. Muse has suggested some cities; also continue to work in South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana. If Arkansas or Texas should need me, I shall try to be available. At the moment, I do not see anything I can do in these two states. Mississippi is the unvisited land. I shall be ready to go there when the time seems propitious.

Brewbaker - Field Trips - November 30, 1961

Manassas, Virginia
Fairfax County, Virginia
Fairfax City, Virginia
Arlington County, Virginia

PRV
PAL
~~JHL~~
ML
MMB - file

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 30, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing the report of my trip through Nothern Virginia on November 27-28. This was a most pleasant trip and it gave me the opportunity to stop by to see Ben.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

P.S. Just read the article about Mayor Duckworth of Norfolk in the October issue of "New South". It would be unsafe for me to give my opinion of Mayor Duckworth in writing. He and I always have disagreed about practically everything.

Brew

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
November 30, 1961

Two superintendents from Northern Virginia told me that they would like to see me sometime soon to talk over developments in their systems, and one of them specified as soon after the Thanksgiving holidays as possible. I also wished to see Ben Muse who has been indisposed for the past month to wish him in person a rapid recovery and to talk over some plans with him.

MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

When I arrived at Fairfax about 5 P. M. on Monday, November 27, I called Mr. Muse to let him know that I was in the vicinity, and he most cordially invited me to come on down that evening which I did. We spent about two hours talking about the happenings since we had seen each other some months ago and discussed plans for the future. As usual, I received much help and many good ideas. I am very happy that Mr. Muse seems to be gaining his strength fast and is "rearing" to go.

FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Early the next morning, I met with Earl Funderburk, Superintendent of Fairfax County Schools. Superintendent Funderburk is quite relieved by the fact that everything has been very quiet since the Virginia Education Association voted to appoint a Committee to study the advisability of allowing local option as to whether a local teachers association would be integrated or remain segregated. As I reported previously, Fairfax has some white teachers who have joined the local Negro association. Superintendent Funderburk feels by leaving it alone for the present, the problem will be solved by the State Committee, and he believes favorably. Superintendent Funderburk also discussed some of his proposed administrative changes with me.

FAIRFAX CITY, VIRGINIA

About 11 A. M. also on Tuesday, I went to the office of the new superintendent, Robert Walker, of the new City of Fairfax. He went to lunch with me, and we had over two hours to talk about his problems. He has no integration problems because all the children of Fairfax City are attending the Fairfax County schools on a tuition basis. He is quite frustrated because there is some feeling between the City Council of Fairfax City and the Board of Supervisors of Fairfax County. The Board of Supervisors opposed the creation of the City very vigorously, and the Board seems to be making it difficult for the City.--"Not good." However, Superintendent Walker and his Board have made a very fine statement about desegregation when they have the authority. He said the Negro children in Fairfax City could attend any white school in the City if they wished. If the City managed to buy a Negro school from the County, they could attend it only if they preferred to do so. The County has taken about the same attitude.

Superintendent Walker seemed very happy to have the opportunity to talk with some one about his problems and asked me a few questions as to my opinion on the legal and administrative solution of those things facing him.

ARLINGTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Arlington is classified as a county, but it has all appearances of a city. Superintendent ~~Ray Reid~~ was planning a School Policy Committee meeting later in the afternoon when I arrived at his office but seemed in no hurry. His chief problem has about the same status as the one in Fairfax County. The only difference is that some of his Negro teachers joined the White teachers association and the Virginia Education Association expelled the white Arlington association from membership in the state association. He agrees with Superintendent Funderburk of Fairfax County that the State Study Committee could solve the problem.

According to my present plan, unless some one calls for me, I do not intend to work any more until the first of the new year. As a matter of interest and also record, since July 1, 1960, I have traveled 32,305 miles, about two-thirds by automobile and the remainder by train. During this period, these activities have consumed 186 days of my time.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

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MMB-file

mk folder
Field trips - 1962

January 23, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing report, also clipps and other materials of my last trip attending the clinic in Chattanooga January 15 - 22.

This was a most exciting clinic.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enclosures

Brewbaker - Field Trips - January 23, 1962

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Field trips - 1962

Atlanta, Georgia

Chattanooga, Tennessee

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
January 23, 1962

The latter part of last December, Dr. Nolan Estes, Assistant Superintendent of the Chattanooga Public Schools, called me to invite me to participate in a clinic on desegregation problems which they were planning for January 18 and 19. At that time, they were not sure whether the Court would order them to desegregate on January 22 or wait until September. Since the Court will not convene to consider the decision until the first of February, the chances are that desegregation will not take place until September. In either case, they thought the clinic was needed.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Since I had not been in Atlanta for some time and since it seemed to be the best way to get to Chattanooga by train and bus, I visited in Atlanta on my way. I spent the morning of January 16 at Southern Regional Council Headquarters, and in the afternoon I visited Superintendent Letson of the Atlanta schools. There seemed to be some feeling at Headquarters that everything was not working so well in student-relationships in some spots in the Atlanta system, but when I talked with Superintendent Letson, even with some leading questions, he seemed satisfied with the progress. However, I talked briefly with a teacher from Atlanta who was in Chattanooga as a Consultant, and this teacher more or less confirmed the feeling at Southern Regional Council Headquarters. I believe the teacher is in the Murphy High School.

We also discussed some of my future plans at Headquarters, and I received some good suggestions as to proposed visits.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Before leaving Norfolk, I informed Assistant Superintendent Estes that I expected to arrive in Chattanooga by the middle of the afternoon on January 17 and would be staying at the Read House in case they wished to see me in advance. This led to a two hour meeting at 8 P. M. with Superintendent Carmichael, Assistant Superintendent Estes, and several other consultants. At this time, we got much of the background and plans for the clinic.

It is impossible for me to describe this clinic to bring out the potentials that it holds for the success of desegregation in the Chattanooga schools. It is the best effort that I know of any where, and it was most efficiently planned and carried out. I am enclosing with this report some materials used in conducting the program and newspaper clippings.

A group of us who were participating in the clinic were staying at the Read House, and each morning, January 18 and 19, Assistant Superintendent Estes had automobiles to pick us up at 7:15 A. M. to join teacher leaders, and other school personnel, and community consultants at a breakfast at 7:30 in the Chattanooga High School Cafeteria. The purpose of this breakfast meeting was to review the schedule and responsibilities of teacher leaders and community consultants.

This meeting concluded at 9 A. M. at which time we had a thirty-minute telecast on desegregation, Channel 12, WDEF-TV. The TV program opened with Mayor Olgiati emphasizing the Community responsibility in desegregating the schools. Superintendent Carmichael followed Mayor Olgiati and reviewed the legal developments that have occurred in Chattanooga since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision. Then appeals to the Community for law and order were made by County Judge Frost, Attorney General Edward E. Davis, Sheriff Turner, Commissioner Dunlap, and DeSales Harrison, President of the Chamber of Commerce. I have never witnessed such strong support on the part of the leaders of a Community. In the material which I am enclosing with this report is a list of other community leaders who served as Consultants.

Dr. Carmichael arrived at the auditorium of the High School from the TV telecast at 9:45 A. M. and gave a thirty-minute orientation talk after which we went into the large clinics. Chattanooga has about 550 teachers in the secondary schools and 600 in the elementary schools. The programs were identical on January 18 for the high school teachers and on January 19 elementary teachers. Each day the groups were divided into two sections from 250 - 300 each. From 10:30 - 11:30, Dr. Carmichael and I addressed one section on Classroom Practices, while Morton Sobel and Richard Shapiro addressed the other section on Human Relations. From 11:30 - 12:30 the teachers were organized for discussion into 20 groups for high school and 22 groups for elementary teachers on the second day. These groups were provided with leaders and recorders from the school system, and each group had at least two outside Consultants. Dr. Sobel, Mr. Shapiro, Dr. Carmichael and I visited as many of these groups as we could during the hour.

In the afternoon, beginning at 1:30 P. M., the sections were reversed. Human Relations were discussed in the one that had had Classroom Practices in the morning and vice-versa. In the afternoon, a summary was given by Dr. Carmichael, Dr. Sobel and me, completing the day at 4:15 ---a long day. These foregoing descriptions apply to both days.

Included in the material I am enclosing with this report is a schedule for high school teachers which was duplicated for elementary teachers the next day; a list of the community consultants, visiting classroom teacher consultants from nearby cities which had been desegregated already,

and outside consultants on Human Relations. The speakers on the program for large groups were Dr. Morton J. Sobel of New York, an official of the Anti-Defamation League, Richard Shapiro of Atlanta, also of the Anti-Defamation League, Dr. Bennie Carmichael, Superintendent of the Chattanooga Schools, and J. J. Brewbaker, Public School Consultant of the Southern Regional Council. You will find also among the enclosed material the "Teacher Problem Census", which is a list of questions, problems and issues the teachers asked to be discussed.

Chattanooga has a very fine television program in its schools; in fact, it serves an area in Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama covered by a radius of about 60 miles. It is gratifying to know that this present year a Negro teacher is teaching Junior and Senior High School Mathematics on the television programs, and more gratifying still is the fact that this program is received by schools not only in nine counties in Tennessee, but six of the nearby counties in Georgia, and three or four in Alabama.

About 41 percent of the school population in Chattanooga is Negro.

This is the most interesting and gratifying preparatory program that has taken place to my knowledge in the field of desegregation. With this wonderful preparation and strong community support, there is no doubt in my mind that Chattanooga will make all of us feel proud. There is nothing apparent anywhere to keep this effort from being a thrilling success. I am happy to have had a small part in it.

SCHOOLS TAKE UP BIRACIAL CLASSES

Consensus of Teachers at Forum Suggests Their Total Cooperation

URGED TO STAY CALM

No 'Blueprints' Are to Be Drawn Up—Danger of Rumors Illustrated

By SPRINGER GIBSON

Assisted by experts in the field, and encouraged by positive expressions of support from community officials and leaders, Chattanooga's 500 junior and senior high school teachers dug into the problems of desegregation Thursday in discussions at Chattanooga High School.

While no single statement would conform to the conclusion of each individual, the consensus seemed to be:

We are teachers. We are charged with teaching children. It is our responsibility to do our best for each child without regard to race, color or creed.

It marked the first time that Supt. Bennie Carmichael and the administrative staff have brought the teachers together on a mass basis to probe the various aspects of desegregation, which is coming to Chattanooga classrooms probably no later than next September.

Another Session Today

Another session will be held today for all elementary teachers in the city system.

It is part of the administration's program to carry out the board of education's instructions to prepare the schools for desegregation, just as committees of laymen are at work to prepare the people of the community for the change.

The teachers first listened over television as Mayor Olgiati set the stage of community responsibility. Over TV they also heard Dr. Carmichael review the legal developments that have occurred in Chattanooga since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

They also heard over TV appeals to the community for law and order by County Judge Frost, Sheriff Turner, Commissioner Dunlap, Atty. Gen. Edward E. Davis and DeSales Harrison, president of the Chamber of Commerce.

They heard Dr. Carmichael tell them from the City High stage that "no plan can be blueprinted for you" as teachers. "Each teacher will have to put together his own ideas and his own plans."

The teachers then heard a talk by Dr. John J. Brewbaker, consultant to the Southern Regional Council, who was superintendent of the Norfolk schools when that system was desegregated.

Drawing on the experiences at Norfolk and the lessons learned there, Dr. Brewbaker urged the teachers to "go about this (desegregation) in a calm and deliberate manner. You can think more clearly that way."

Imaginary Problems

By SPRINGER GIBSON

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Imaginary Problems

He pointed out that many draw on their imaginations to create anxieties that should not exist.

"Many things that we fear," he said, "are never realized when we go about desegregation in a calm and deliberate manner."

The teachers saw and heard a vivid enactment of what can happen because of rumors, particullarly when there are tensions in the community. The enactment was conducted under the direction of Richard Shapiro, associate director of the Anti-Defamation League, Atlanta.

The teachers heard Dr. Martin Sobel of New York, an expert in the field of human relations, explain the nature of prejudices, how they work on us and the reasons for them.

Afterward, the teachers divided into small groups to discuss among themselves the attitudes, situations and tensions that must be confronted in newly desegregated classrooms and the most effective means of dealing with them.

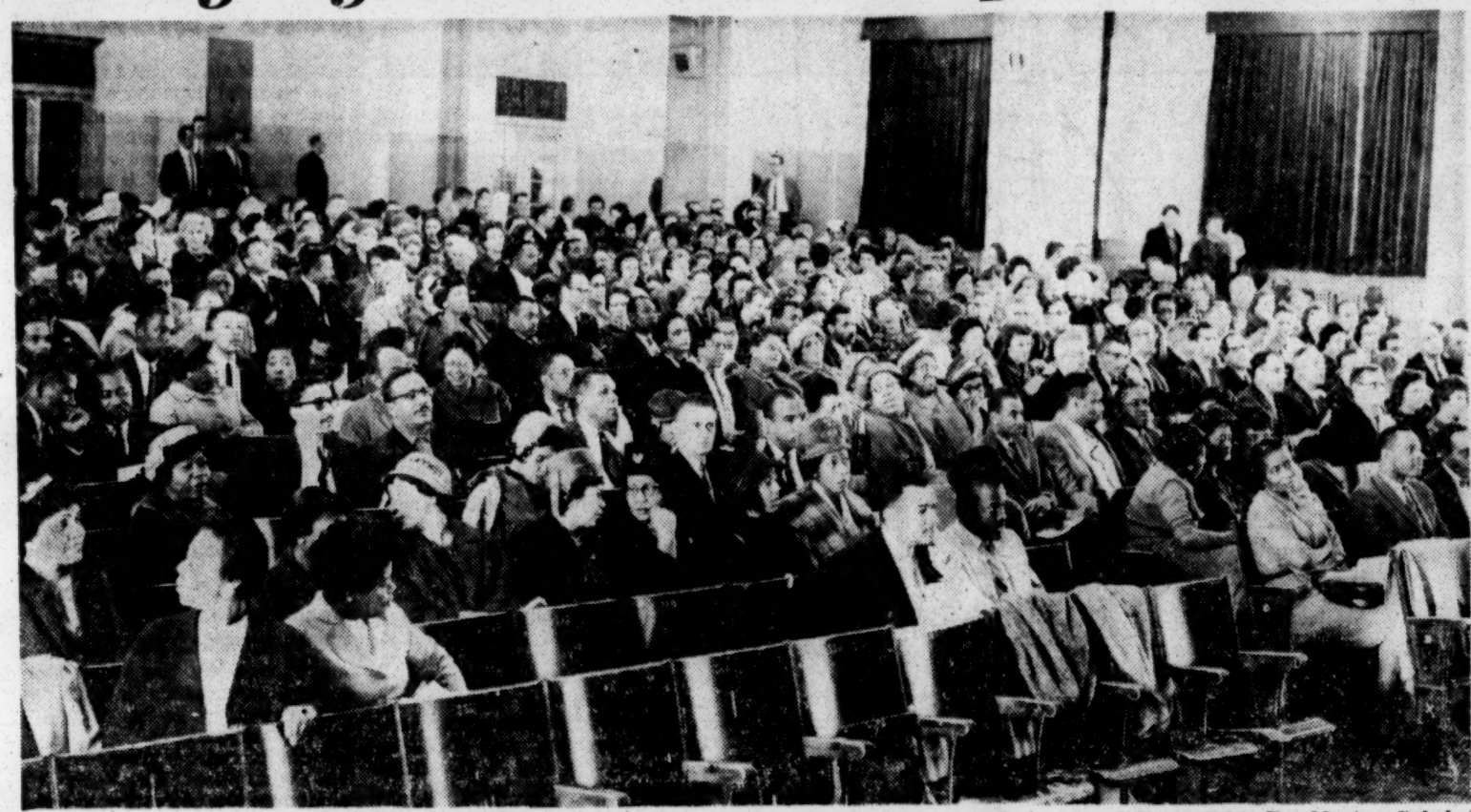
Group Discussions

In these small group discussions they had the assistance of teachers who took a training course for this purpose on Jan. 9, of secondary school teachers from desegregated schools in Atlanta, Oak Ridge and Clinton, Tenn., and of laymen in the community who have had experience in group discussions.

It was in these groups that the teachers talked out such practical problems as grouping students in desegregated classes, the relationship of teacher to students and ways to guard against showing prejudice and overprotecting those of a minority race in the classroom.

They discussed the pitfalls in interpreting each white-Negro conflict in the classroom as having been sparked by racial differences.

Desegregation Workshop Conducted for Teachers



WORKSHOP IN DESEGREGATION—At left is section of an assembly of city high and junior high school teachers and special guests during orientation meeting on desegregation in the Chattanooga High School auditorium. Visiting consultants on social relations, at right, are, from left to right, Dr. Morton Sobel, New York; John J. Brewbaker, Norfolk, and Richard Shapiro of Atlanta. A similar workshop will be held tomorrow for elementary teachers of the city system.—(Staff photos by Delmont Wilson.)

MEETING HELD TO 'PREPARE'

Elementary Staff Briefing Friday

By J. B. COLLINS

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A similar program for all elementary school teachers in the city system will be held tomorrow.

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Social experts called in as consultants for these two days include Dr. Morton J. Sobel of New York, an official of the Anti-Defamation League; Richard Shapiro of Atlanta, also an official of the league, and John J. Brewbaker of Norfolk, Va., a consultant for the Southern Regional Council on community relations in desegregation of schools.

Dr. Sobel and Mr. Shapiro were guests at the meeting here Jan. 9.

Dr. Bennie Carmichael, superintendent of city schools, told an assembly of all participants in today's program that they "could look forward to one of the most exciting experiences you have ever had in education" during the upcoming program.

He cautioned the teachers, however, not to expect to get "all the answers" from their leaders. He asked them to discuss their viewpoints with others. He said that "sounding it out" was the only way they could benefit from their experience.

MIX TIME UNKNOWN

The superintendent stated that it was not known at this

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The superintendent stated that it was not known at this time when desegregation of the city schools would come or to what extent it would be effected.

"We don't know," he said, "whether it will be the first three grades or all the grades, some schools or all the schools."

Dr. Carmichael added, "But this is not important to the task before us today.

He introduced (and asked each to stand) some 22 Chattanooga community leaders who were participating in the two days of workshops. He also introduced a group of teachers of desegregated classrooms in Oak Ridge and Atlanta schools.

The large audience was divided into two groups for clinics on "human relations" and "classroom practices." These clinics were continued during the early afternoon following a luncheon in the school's cafeteria for all who cared to eat there.

The last item on the agenda for the afternoon was the holding of a number of smaller discussion groups. Persons were assigned to these groups according to alphabetical order.

Mr. Brewbaker, former superintendent of Norfolk city schools, distributed copies of a paper he had prepared entitled "Desegregation in the Norfolk Public Schools."

In an interview during one of the "breaks" in the program Mr. Brewbaker observed that, "I used to be a segregationist, but now I am a realist, I believe."

Also in an interview, Dr. Sobel smiled when a reference was made to his name. A Morton Sobell was convicted of espionage 10 years ago in a nationally sensational case.

"Oh," he said, shrugging his shoulders, "I am quite often asked that question. But there is absolutely no relationship. I spell my name with only one "l."

Both white and Negro teachers attended these meetings - on January 18, there were 550 High School teachers - on January 19 there were 600 elementary teachers.

SECONDARY SCHOOL PERSONNEL
IN-SERVICE EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

Thursday, January 18, 1962
Chattanooga High School

9:00 - 9:30 a.m. Telecast on Desegregation, Channel 12, WDEF-TV
Large Group A (Surnames of A through Leea) - (Old Gymnasium)
Large Group B (Surnames of Leeb through Z) - Study Hall

9:45 - 10:15 a.m. Orientation - Dr. Bennie Carmichael
Both Groups - Auditorium

10:15 - 10:30 a.m. Break

10:30 - 12:30 p.m. Clinics

	Large Group A	Large Group B
10:30 - 11:30	Classroom Practices J. J. Brewbaker Bennie Carmichael (Old Gymnasium)	Human Relations Morton Sobel Richard Shapiro (Study Hall)
11:30 - 12:30	Small Group Discussion (Assigned Rooms--see attached list)	Small Group Discussion (Assigned Rooms--see attached list)

12:30 - 1:30 p.m. Lunch in Chattanooga High School Cafeteria

1:30 - 3:30 p.m. Clinics

1:30 - 2:30	Human Relations Morton Sobel Richard Shapiro (Old Gymnasium)	Classroom Practices J. J. Brewbaker Bennie Carmichael (Study Hall)
2:30 - 3:30	Small Group Discussion (Assigned Rooms--see attached list)	Small Group Discussion (Assigned Rooms--see attached list)

3:45 - 4:15 p.m. Summary - J. J.Brewbaker, Morton Sobel, Bennie Carmichael
All Groups - Auditorium

SPECIAL SESSIONS ON DESEGREGATION

January 18 and 19, 1962

Community Consultants

Akbay, Mr. Ismail, President, Chattanooga Junior Chamber of Commerce

Berke, Mr. George, General Manager, Dixie Savings Stores, Inc.

Brock, III, Mr. W. E., Chairman of Educational Committee, Junior Chamber of Commerce

Chism, Mr. Clark, Teacher, McCallie School

Curtis, Mr. John, Proprietor, Curtis Electric Company

Dendy, Mr. Donald D., Minister of Education, Brainerd Baptist Church

Eberle, Dr. August, Provost, University of Chattanooga

Elkins, Dr. Joe, Head of Department of Religion, University of Chattanooga

Hagood, Dr. Robert B., Psychiatric Director, Chattanooga Guidance Clinic

Harbaugh, Dr. Jane, Assistant Professor of History and Political Science, University of Chattanooga

Harrison, Mr. DeSales, President, Chamber of Commerce

Hipp, Dr. James, Assistant Chief Inspector, Combustion Engineering

James, Miss Leah, Executive Secretary, Family Service Agency

Johnson, Dr. Joe, Vice-President and Medical Director, Interstate Life Insurance Company

Johnston, Mr. Lamont, President, Citizens Committee for Better Schools

Jones, Reverend Major J., Pastor, Stanley Methodist Church

Marks, Mr. L. B., Assistant to the Chief, Management Services Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority

McIntyre, Reverend Ralph, Pastor, Brainerd Baptist Church

Meacham, Mrs. Ellis, Executive Secretary, Adult Education Council

Meyers, Mr. W. Roy, Vice-Chairman of Board, Hamilton National Bank

Millard, Mrs. Theresa, Executive Secretary, Travelers Aid Society

Miller, Jr., Mr. Felix G., President and Treasurer, Miller Brothers Company

Moore, Reverend Charles D., Pastor, Unitarian Church

Morland, Mr. Howard C., General Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association

O'Brien, Miss Natalie, Formerly Supervisor of Guidance and Testing, Chattanooga Public Schools

Reisman, Jr., Mrs. E. E., President, Tennessee Citizens Committee for Better Schools

Richmond, Mr. Irvin J., Executive Director, Big Brothers Association

Solomon, Mrs. Jay, Vice-Chairman, Chattanooga Council for the Experiment in International Living

Stophel, Mr. John, Chairman of Educational Committee, Chamber of Commerce

Traylor, Reverend Horace, President, Zion College

Trent, Mr. Leighton L., Associate Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association

Whitaker, Mr. Jack E., Chairman of the Board, Hamilton National Bank

Whitworth, Dr. Charles W., Dean, University of Chattanooga

Wilder, Jr., Dr. James S., Minister, Brainerd Methodist Church

Williams, Dr. Stanley B., Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Chattanooga

Winston, Jr., Dr. Nathan T., Superintendent, Chattanooga State Psychiatric Hospital

Woodward, Reverend Fred Z., Minister, Brainerd Presbyterian Church

Outside Consultants on Human Relations

Campbell, Reverend William D., National Council of Churches, 2011 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee

Long, Dr. Herman H., Director, Department of Public Relations, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

Moss, Dr. James, Research Director, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia

Rilling, Mr. Paul, Field Director, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia

Wittenstein, Mr. Charles, Area Director of the American Jewish Committee, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia

CHATTANOOGA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Chattanooga, Tennessee

VISITING CLASSROOM TEACHERS AND OTHER CONSULTANTS

Atlanta Public Schools

Mary Binns, Teacher and Adviser to Student Council, Northside High School
John Evans, Chairman, Social Studies Department, and Teacher, Murphy High School
James C. Fanning, Counselor, Brown High School
Dorothy Morrison, Teacher and Registrar, Henry Grady High School
Charles E. Thompson, Teacher of Social Studies, Murphy High School

Clinton, Tennessee

Margaret Anderson, Guidance Division, Clinton High School

Davidson County Schools

Clara Maie Adair, Fourth Grade Teacher, Straton Elementary School, Madison, Tennessee
Edward Counter, Teacher-Principal, Mountview Elementary School, Nashville, Tennessee
Annie Sue Harvey, First Grade Teacher, DuPont Primary, Old Hickory, Tennessee
Mrs. Lorantz Ross, Third Grade Teacher, Englewood Elementary School, Nashville, Tennessee
Mrs. Ernestine Talbert, First Grade Teacher, Straton Elementary School, Madison, Tennessee
Bettey Teasley, Fourth Grade Teacher, Englewood Elementary School, Nashville, Tennessee

Knoxville Public Schools

Mrs. Ada Emert, Flenniken Elementary School
Mrs. Mary Giffin, Belle Morris Elementary School
Mrs. Ima Jean Patterson, Fort Sanders Elementary School
Mrs. Constance Rogers, Lincoln Park Elementary School
Nancy Sterling, Principal, McCallie Elementary School

Oak Ridge

Carol Bailey, Industrial Arts and Special Education Teacher, Oak Ridge High School
George Bond, Principal, Robertsville Junior High School
Charles Davis, Junior High Guidance Teacher, Robertsville Junior High School
Tom Dunigan, Principal, Oak Ridge High School
Mrs. Catherine Ledgewood, Social Studies and English Teacher, Oak Ridge High School
Mrs. Ernestine Puryear, Physical Education Teacher, Junior High, Robertsville Junior High School

CHATTANOOGA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Chattanooga, Tennessee
January 16, 1962

MEMORANDUM

TO: Discussion Leaders and Consultants, Special Sessions on Desegregation

FROM: Bennie Carmichael, Superintendent

SUBJECT: Teacher Problem Census

Attached is a list of questions, problems, and/or issues that teachers requested be discussed in the sessions on desegregation on January 18 and 19 at Chattanooga High School.

BC:ag

cc: All principals

20. Can good results be possible if the School Board, central office, Principals and/or teachers accept desegregation as the inevitable legal whip rather than a basic moral compulsion?

21. Are there any established helps for one to use in ridding himself from prejudice?

22. Is it possible for a person to enter into an integrated program with a prejudicial attitude, without knowledge of the fact? If so, how can he recognize the fact?

23. Why are we so concerned with the desires and welfare of the minority? What about the desires and welfare of the majority?

24. How are we to indoctrinate, orientate, or convert die-hard teachers who still insist that the ultimate and inevitable end of integration will be intermarriage?

25. How can we alleviate hard prejudices that go back so many generations--prejudice that gives vent to the strangest of hatreds?

26. Explain how people from many foreign countries, who in many cases are enemies of the United States, can be accorded the highest type of courtesy while Africans and Negroes who were born in America and have served faithfully all their lives are denied their basic human rights.

I. SOCIAL RELATIONS

1. Problem of promoting social acceptance.

2. Implications of integration in athletics.

3. Implications of integration on social affairs.

4. To what extent will all children participate, with parental approval, in extra-curricular activities in integrated schools?

5. Would we require Negro and white to play together?

6. What plans should be made to limit social activitites--or what changes in social activities should be made?

7. Please discuss the social problems arising from children being suddenly thrown together--children resentment--teacher resentment--how to deal with hot heads--low mentality that is unable to reason intelligently--etc.

8. How will integration affect the school functions that take place in the evenings--such as the school dances, parties, etc.?

9. Discuss the full participation of Negro children in all activities of the school in which they will enroll.

10. Will Negro students be able to participate in all of the schools' activities in desegregated schools?

11. From the social standpoint, what effect will or could the child's attitude in a desegregated school have on his home life?

12. Does desegregation create any new or different health problems?

13. Handling social affairs on the secondary level.

14. Are there possibilities that a typical behavior might be interpreted in terms of race?

15. Parents will accept desegregation and respect the law but some will constantly plant prejudices in the minds of pupils. This will cause some social problems at school, even though there is effective teaching to the contrary in the classroom.

16. Fear on the part of white parents that tuberculosis, scabies and venereal diseases are rampant among Negro children--at least more so than this community. This might pose a problem in the use of washrooms and cafeteria.

17. Will both races be allowed to participate freely in all extracurricular activities? If so, how will the relationship of students be dealt with effectively?

18. What can be done to prevent isolation on the part of the minority group in an integrated situation?

19. Will the children be able to have inclusive participation?

II. PARENTAL RELATIONS

1. Some basic factors involved in parental adjustment.

2. Should parents be made aware of the moral issue as well as the legal question involved?

3. Should there be any parent sessions on classroom procedures?

4. What should the teacher do to guard against mass disturbance among parents and outsiders?

5. How can parents of Negro children transferring to all white schools be made aware of their responsibilities?

6. When they approach me, what shall I say to parents who are excited and disturbed over desegregation in the city schools?

7. What are some suggestions on dealing with Negro and white parents when difficult situations arise?

8. How can parents best be educated to desegregation?

9. Negro families need preparation for their children going to white schools--what parents may expect of white schools--Negro children.

10. How can the parents in the community help to carry out the integrated school plan on a considerably smooth basis?

11. Will the colored participate in the inter-scholastic athletic program?

12. What provisions are being made relative to parents and students who are strongly opposed to integration?

13. What can be done to establish an atmosphere of acceptance on the part of parents?

14. Parent-teacher relationship in an integrated school

15. Attitudes of parents directly involved in the integrated program

16. Should plans be made toward citywide meetings for parents?

17. What preparation and planning will be done with families who will be involved?

18. Suggested ways to cope tactfully with delayed intolerant attitude on the part of parents

19. Will there be a workshop for parents to learn about this plan of desegregation?

20. What about P.T.A. memberships?

21. To what extent will parents be allowed a choice of schools for their children?

III. TEACHING-LEARNING SITUATIONS

1. Do Negro children, generally speaking, fall into the same grade placement as white children? If their work is below grade level, how shall it be handled?

2. Will the atmosphere in the classroom be conducive for study without fear for our race?

3. How would you go about teaching the "Golden Rule" in an integrated school?

4. How would achievement levels be affected by integration?

5. The grouping of integrated students

6. Should we discuss desegregation with our pupils?

7. Seating in the classroom

8. Community and family background have a great deal to do with educational achievement. How will this affect the pupils and schools?

9. How to overcome or "un-teach" previous bias concepts of both races

10. Problems of helping pupils from different cultural backgrounds adjust to the new school situation

IV. COMMUNITY RELATIONS

1. How should the individual teacher respond to questions by citizens and pupils (in or out of community) on the question of desegregation?

2. Discuss concrete ways that the Parent-Teacher Association can work with parents in the community to help prepare them for integration.

3. What role can the school play in helping to educate parents in our community for meeting the change successfully?

4. Is it true that the majority of our citizens abide by the law?

5. Why should the dissemination of information concerning desegregation be the task of a board of education only? Should not this be a combined effort of all facets of city government?

6. How can the school educate the community to accept desegregation?

7. How will we be able to talk reasonably with parents who cannot be reached through clubs, PTA, etc., and get best cooperation from them?

8. The role of parent, teacher, community in preparing children for integration.

9. In what specific ways may citizens help?

10. Can you give us some suggestions or plans to follow which will help us prepare our children and community for desegregation? Ideas and plans which have proven successful elsewhere would be of great help to us in meeting our problems.

11. Had the churches been desegregated when the issue first arose, do you think the citizens of Chattanooga would now be conscious of the fact, that if we can serve God together, we can learn together?

12. If students and parents are intimidated, what should be the procedure for their protection?

13. What impact will school integration have on Parent-Teacher organization?

14. Attitudes of the general public

15. What is the teacher's role as a community leader and a Christian in these changing times?

V. TEACHER-PUPIL, PUPIL-PUPIL AND TEACHER-TEACHER RELATIONS

1. Discipline of Negroes in the classroom--its repercussions

2. How does a teacher help a student overcome his extreme prejudice that he will not go to a school with a Negro or learn with a Negro?

3. How can the problem of teacher-pupil communication be solved?

4. Have teachers who taught desegregated classes faced any insurmountable hardships or problems in the communities where they taught? Have their families been affected in any way?

5. Is there usually concern over grouping and seating arrangements?

6. How would it be teaching colored children?

7. Will he respond and cooperate with white teachers?

8. Am I willing to teach them?

9. Would white pupils like having Negro teachers?

10. What measures of conduct and cooperation are expected between the two races of pupils?

11. Won't there be great emotional upsets to the "conscientious" Negro student in trying to make a place for himself in a predominantly "white" school?

12. How to prepare children for acceptance of integration in their classrooms.

13. How much "coddling" is to be required in an integrated school? Special bending over for awards, etc., and special concessions as to language, morals, and corrections to another race.

14. Is it a professional ethic of all teachers to deal justly and impartially with students regardless of their physical, mental, emotional, economic, social, racial, or religious characteristics?

15. Give some specifics that the classroom teacher may use in helping shape good attitudes in human relations among the pupils enrolled in her class.

16. Suggest measures to use in handling disciplinary cases with the least possible resentment.

17. Prejudice is one of the biggest problems. What is the best way to overcome it?

18. What can be done to minimize the appearance of any attempt to set a good climate within a room? Specifically, how not to overdo it?

19. What changes, if any, are necessary to the success of an integrated classroom situation?

20. What classroom practices are now being used to lay the groundwork for good human relations?

21. What safeguards may be used to prevent psychological disturbances or minority children in an integrated group?

22. What are some suggested ways that a teacher might deal with a child who comes to school full of prejudicial animosity?

23. What specifics can a teacher use to promote harmonious relations among children of different races?

24. If a pupil-teacher conflict occurs, what suggestions would you give to best cope with this situation?

25. Are teachers expected to treat pupils differently because of their race

26. Getting the children to accept the colored children without prejudice. Perhaps I should say getting the parents to accept the fact that all children are to be treated without prejudice.

27. How can a teacher help the white children accept the Negro children?

28. What are teachers expected to do in cases where parents cause disturbance by telling pupils strange stories about the other race?

29. What is being done to keep children of both races from encountering embarrassment and insults in an integrated school?

30. Need for suggested ways to help Negro pupils become a part of the group, adjust to the classroom and become a part of it.

31. A better understanding of intergroup relationship

32. How may we have Negro children realize that no special privileges will be granted them because they have been denied so many privileges heretofore?

33. Suggestions for establishing right attitudes and relations in an integrated junior high classroom.

34. Accepting the fact that a major problem growing out of any new teacher-pupil integration program is that of teacher-pupil adjustment, is there a program being planned to this end?

35. How will we handle a situation where a Negro student is definitely in the wrong but feels he is being unjustly treated because of his color and some false impressions from other directions?

36. Since teachers have great influence on their children's attitudes, some discussion and planning should be done to improve the relationship among teachers of both races during this process of change.

VI. ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

1. What effect would the one white family in the Chattanooga Avenue School zone have on this school?

2. What should be done (or how handled) now with those former pupils who were troublemakers, but who come back to visit the school?

3. How will "requests for transfers" be handled if a parent does not want his child to attend a desegregated school?

4. Will we be teaching with colored teachers?

5. Will Avondale colored children come to Hardy?

6. In any school already staffed with white teachers, will any white teachers be shifted to another school to make room for colored teachers pressured in by N.A.A.C.P.?

7. Will white teachers be sent to staff colored schools?

8. Will white students be forced to go to colored schools?

9. Will white children be taught the ways of the colored people if taught by colored teachers?

10. Will there be police officers assigned to schools to keep down riots and fights?

11. Will gym classes be integrated?

12. Will there be separate classes for colored and white in the schools?

13. Will all grades be segregated next fall if the N.A.A.C.P. wins its fight?

14. Will the Negro children who belong in special education be sent to white schools or will there be special classes for them in the present Negro school?

15. Which do you think would be better -- to put all the colored in one class section or to divide them among the different sections?

16. How will this affect the organization within each school?

17. Considering the differences in number of students in the different schools, how do you think placement of students in sections would be to the best advantage?

18. How much more authority will be given to the classroom teachers to protect themselves and to insure discipline in case of integration? In primary grades this would not be a problem but in later years a serious one; therefore, such decisions must be made now.

19. Shall teachers in an integrated school be asked to return to any meetings after dark?

20. In integrated schools are there to be any unauthorized persons, including parents, allowed in the buildings during school hours or anyone allowed on the grounds?

21. How are incoming students being prepared to face ostracisism?

22. How should problems of pupil class assignment completely void of race be handled?

23. What is the advantage of integrating only the first three or four grades?

24. Is the Board of Education using the proposed stair-step method of integration as a means to avoid complete integration?

25. What should be the position of teachers in the city school system who have children that are eligible for desegregated schools?

26. Why has the Board of Education prolonged the inevitable desegregation of schools?

27. Assuming that the stair-step method of integration is chosen for our communities, is it not more economical, less mental strain on one or two chosen pupils, and less chance of agitators appearing in all schools, to use the organizational school set-up (6-3-3 method) with total integration developed over a period of three years, with all children attending schools inside the boundaries in which they live regardless of race, creed, or color?

28. What limitations have been set on the goal of desegregation by the Board of Education?

29. Do the school administrators, teachers, and civic leaders have the responsibility of adequately and effectively establishing the true meaning of democracy for the survival of our nation?

30. Why is it necessary for a student to make application to register in an integrated school?

31. Please discuss the problem of classification, assignment to rooms, etc.

32. Why desegregate grades 1-3 instead of all elementary grades?

33. What criteria will be used for integration of Negro teachers in desegregated schools?

34. Integration of secondary schools-time, place, if any at this point.

35. Desegregation of central office personnel. When will this be accomplished? On what level?

36. In event schools closed, for any period of time, due to desegregation, will teachers receive pay on payroll dates set up?

37. Integration of Chattanooga Technical High School. When? Why not include at this time along with elementary schools?

38. Possibility of integrated workshops preceeding integration of schools.

39. Location of new junior-senior high schools as a threat to integration.

40. What qualification or criteria has been set up for pupil assignment in desegregated schools?

41. Will the procedure of desegregation affect the Negro teacher? If so, to what extent?

42. When problems are to be solved, will all teachers meet and discuss such problems?

43. To be a totally successfully integrated program, would it be necessary to have an integrated faculty and board?

44. Will selected students from both groups be required to possess the same qualifications?

45. Please explain the zoning plans, if there are any.

46. How can we determine the type of student most capable of adjustment?

47. What can be done about sending children who are incapable of learning to an integrated school?

48. Are teachers of both races permitted to teach together?

49. Will the teachers be integrated according to qualifications?

50. Will there be token integration?

51. Will Negro teachers be considered for positions according to qualifications along with white teachers?

52. Are there any conditions under which a child enrolled in a school in which his race is a minority may be transferred to a school in which his race is in the majority? If so, what are these conditions?

53. Could a Negro child who has special talent in some area, such as mathematics, be enrolled in a previously all white school even though he did not live in the zone, if his school was noticeably deficient in its mathematics program? Would this also apply to a white child who found a Negro school that offered courses which were not offered at his school?

54. What effect will desegregation have on the absenteeism of students of both races?

55. How will desegregation affect academic problems?

56. How can white teachers be prepared to deal adequately with disciplinary problems involving white and Negro students in the classroom?

57. How can teachers be expected to cope successfully with the problems of integration when the rank and file of our community are not ready for this revolutionary change?

58. Should other children be made to sit at lunch table with Negro children?

59. Do we expect total desegregation? If so, what will be the benefits?

60. Is there a possibility of integration of teachers? If so, in classes where there is a majority of white or colored would the teacher be the race of the majority?

61. When we have integration, are we as teachers expected to "lean over backwards" in scholastic aims and disciplinary action towards the Negro child?

62. Can you give us some suggestions or plans to follow which will help us prepare our children and community for desegregation? Ideas and plans which have proven successful elsewhere would be of great help to us in meeting our problems.

63. Since colored teachers understand colored children better, is it not best to keep colored teachers where there are more colored children?

64. Should any school be allowed to take only one child of another race, for the child's sake?

65. Do school systems provide some special type education for teachers to help them deal with all aspects of teaching in a desegregated school?

66. Some basic factors involved in parental adjustment.

67. What is the procedure in other cities where a child is in the minority race and the parents wish him to be in a school with a majority of his own race?

68. In the planning of the desegregation of our schools, parents are required to file a formal application for pupils to attend desegregated schools. Why? Would it not be more democratic to rezone our schools according to potential enrollment, and require all pupils to attend the school in their zone; exceptions being as now?

69. To what extent will the school faculties be integrated?

70. To what extent will parents be allowed a choice of schools for their children?

71. What are some one, two, three specifics that can be done to insure a smooth transition in changing schools?

72. What is the basis for the selection of the schools to be integrated?

73. Will the desegregation in September affect teachers and pupils? What will this mean to present teacher placement?

74. If it is found that a student or teacher cannot operate effectively in a desegregated situation, what will be done?

75. If the total integration plan is decided upon by the court, about what percentage of Negro students will be enrolled in the new City High School?

76. Accepting the fact that a major problem growing out of any new teacher-pupil integration program is that of teacher-pupil adjustment, is there a program being planned to this end?

77. What are some curriculum changes which will necessarily be brought about by this move? If there is to be curriculum changes will they affect the non-integrated as well as the integrated schools?

78. If the selection of schools to be integrated is based on zone, will all pupils living within the confines of that zone have to attend the integrated schools? If not, what are the alternatives?

79. In the schools that are desegregated will there be a selective faculty? If so, on what basis will these persons be chosen?

80. After the children have been zoned to different schools, will the clause concerning zoning be strong enough so that one cannot go out of his zone?

81. What plans have been made to avoid overcrowding schools with the special parents' permission law?

82. What are the specific arguments against immediate and total desegregation? How do they compare with the argument for token or step-by-step, long-range desegregation? Does one greatly outweigh the other?

83. Approximately how long will it take for desegregation in our public schools to be total, and how will this affect the Negro teacher?

84. What will be the procedure for hiring teachers?

85. What will be the procedure for advancing or promoting teachers' positions as well as salaries?

86. Does token integration satisfy the decision as handed down by the United States Supreme Court to desegregate schools?

87. Will the teachers in the school designed for desegregation be integrated?

88. What effect will desegregation have upon the future hiring of Negro teachers?

89. Will the qualified Negro teacher be considered unbiasly to fill any school position, even in a predominately white school?

90. When will desegregation take place?

91. Is it possible that professional persons can be honestly unaware of racial prejudice? Will on-going procedures be provided to cope with such situations?

92. Will the occasional teacher who admits definite prejudice be permitted to work in an integrated school?

93. Should not school integration and the integration of teacher organizations be concomitant procedures?

94. Are definite steps being taken to assure acceptance of a minority group child with respect on the part of the receiving teacher, thus enhancing his sense of security?

95. One finds the term "desegregate" being used more frequently than "integrate". Does this imply limited commitment?

96. Will minority race pupils enjoy complete integration in all phases of the curriculum?

97. The first recommended step toward integration is decidedly limited. Is this limitation designed to prevent overcrowding or to lesson the chance of friction?

98. Numerous studies reveal that, in general, Negro pupils' academic performance levels are inferior to whites. Undoubtedly this will be found true in the local situation. Please dwell sufficiently on the equally confirmed conclusion that this situation is caused by a complex of factors that produce low academically motivated community and home backgrounds.

99. Possible overcrowding of some rooms - particularly first grades

100. Will psychological testing be used as a basis for transfer of pupils?

101. Fear of parents that many families may move from this community, leaving additional housing available for Negroes to move in; this in turn might result in much larger numbers of Negro pupils in the near future.

102. How important will achievement ratings be in considering the transfer of Negro pupils to previously all white schools?

103. What provision will be made for children moving into desegregated zones who wish to attend desegregated schools but have not previously applied? Will there be a waiting period?

104. Will there be Negro leaders or consultants in our seminars or other discussion groups?

105. Was, or is, the zoning condition the only basis for which certain schools are to be desegregated?

106. If only the first three grades are desegregated, do you think it would be possible to have students on the secondary level of both races in the Chattanooga system to participate together in any worthwhile educational project originating from a class activity?

107. If desegregation does take place within the schools, will the Board of Education integrate also?

108. Will the number of Negro teachers be decreased?

109. How long will it take for total integration to come about in the system?

110. How will disorders be handled?

111. What are the advantages of the Dallas Plan toward integration?

112. Several institutes should be held to prepare teachers for the change.

113. Have any studies been made to prove that token integration works better than total integration?

114. Since teachers are the ones most concerned, or most involved, in this question of school integration, why have they not been given more opportunity to express their opinions? Teachers have been, on the other hand, actually discouraged in the matter of speaking out publicly. Is this in keeping with democracy?

115. Will it be necessary for the Negro to maintain a very high scholastic average and be talented?

116. What happens to local educational associations and their conventions?

117. If the federal government is dictating to the schools, and giving the local people no choice, shouldn't the government support the schools, and relieve the people, since they are given no voice? Shouldn't this have been voted on?

118. What protection do the children have to and from school?

119. What are the plans for protecting teachers, who are willing to cooperate, against mob violence or other forms of revenge; such as, withholding credit, foreclosure of mortgages?

120. Why is it necessary for the Negro pupil to be rigidly evaluated before being admitted to another public school within the same system, even though desegregated, when that is not the required procedure for the admittance of all pupils?

121. In most instances the Negro pupils who are assigned to the white schools are screened. Will the white pupils who are assigned to Negro schools be screened? What screening method will be used?

122. What can the teacher do to help ease the tension of desegregation in our school and communities?

123. If a family living in the zone of an integrated school objects to this program, can he receive permission to send his child to another school? Will a fee be involved if permission is granted?

124. When attending the Youth Concerts at Memorial Auditorium, will the seating be segregated? I have noticed that the majority of the Negro schools were seated in most areas other than the ground floor.

125. Do you think that the Board of Education has been genuinely concerned about the welfare of all Chattanooga children in view of their seemingly determined effort to abort the edicts of the 1954 decision?

126. What should be done to prepare pupils for desegregation?

127. Have plans been set up to handle discipline problems within schools where Negro school children will enter?

128. If ability-level grouping is good in a segregated situation, it should work in a desegregated situation. Wouldn't it?

129. Should each school begin pupil orientation on integration?

130. If there are two Negro children in a grade and two classes in the grade, would it be better to put them in the same room or to separate them?

131. Plans for handling children in halls, lunchrooms, washrooms

132. What are some suggestions for the orientation of the white students before the entry of the colored?

133. What provision should be made for the colored students who are not up to standard or grade level, and who cannot carry the class work (and fail)? This will create a feeling that they are being discriminated against when it really isn't the true picture.

134. To what extent should integration be discussed in a desegregated classroom?

135. How will the pupils be arranged in the classroom, in different groups or together?

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

PR ✓
JM ✓
PA ✓
MG ✓
MJ - file

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 26, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Enclosed is copy of my report of the annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators, Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 16 - 22, 1962. I am enclosing also a copy of the 1962 Resolutions, Platform, Constitution, and Bylaws. This was a very fine meeting, and I made many good contacts.

Occasionally, I receive letters expressing appreciation of my work. (If I receive any of the other kind, I will send them along too.) I am enclosing copies from Bennie Carmichael of Chattanooga and Les Carper of Lynchburg. I'm enclosing also copy of my letter to Bill Foster.

Thanks for the copy of your Annual Report. It is a good report, and it seems to me that it is better to make it after the year ends. By the way, I can't find a copy of L - Report 30. I believe I did not receive one.

will see that he receives this

Sincerely,

Brewbaker

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 5

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
February 26, 1962

The 94th Annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 17 - 21, 1962. Atlantic City is the only City in the United States with sufficient hotel facilities and adequate meeting space to accomodate this convention with over 12,000 active members. The Atlantic City Convention Hall seats over 40,000 people and affords ample space for the great number of meetings--some of them very large--as well as space for the many large exhibits.

During the meeting, I had the privilege of talking with superintendents and other school people from practically all the southern states. I found the superintendents from Florida, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia most cordial and not only wanted to know when I would visit them again, but insisted on my doing so. This was most encouraging because these superintendents are in a position to judge the value of my association with them. They were also cordial from the other states, but a few expressed fear of doing anything at this time and preferred that I come to see them later. For example, Superintendent Shaw of Columbus, Georgia and Superintendent Self of Phenix City, Alabama both talked to me at some length but both felt since all was quiet, they did not intend to do anything that might start a movement for desegregation.

In changing trains on my way to Atlantic City in Philadelphia, I had the pleasure of getting with Thomas Bailey, State Superintendent of Florida, W. J. Woodham, Jr. of Pensacola, who is Superintendent of Escambia County, and Frank Heartsfield, a textbook representative from Tallahassee. By the way, Mr. Heartsfield told me that he is a distant relative of former Mayor Heartsfield of Atlanta. Mr. Woodham's first expression was that he might want to send for me soon. I told him I planned to come by to see him in the near future. State Superintendent Bailey said he would be glad to see me any time I came to Tallahassee. I was glad to have these incidental contacts because I feel Tallahassee will have some problems.

Superintendent Bennie Carmichael of Chattanooga seemed most happy to see me and expressed again his thanks for my visit with them January 18 and 19. Superintendent Herbert Olish of New Rochelle, New York stopped me on the boardwalk and told me about his problems in New Rochelle. He was kind enough to ask if I could come North if invited. I knew "Herb" very well when he was Superintendent of the San Francisco Schools. These examples will give an idea of the type of activities I have outside the meetings.

As usual, I attended a number of the meetings, but I shall limit my reporting to one which concentrated more than the others in my field

of interest. This was one of those meetings under the heading, "GOALS FOR AMERICANS" with the subject: To Lower and Eventually Eliminate All Prejudices and Discriminations Relating to Sex, Religion, Race and Economic Status. Max Freedman, Washington Correspondent, Manchester (England) Guardian, Washington, D. C., was consultant and speaker.

Mr. Freedman opened his discussion with the statement that he was sure no one on the panel or in the room was in favor of discrimination. He then traced certain types of discrimination from ancient Greece and Rome down through history. Race and economic status, which are closely related, took up the major portion of the discussion. Mr. Freedman went on to say that prejudice is found in all classes -- big unions as well as big businesses. Some excerpts from his discussion are: The public schools have become the arena in which the battle of citizenship is waged; only one other country, South Africa, has a comparable problem similar to the United States which is different in that discrimination is against the Negro majority -- and there is a continuous threat of violence; the supreme tragedy of our age is narrowed into a neighborhood before it is broadened into a brotherhood; in England there have been street riots when large numbers came into London from Jamaica; and Mr. Freedman ended his discussion with, cultivate the philosophy of the "shrugged shoulder" when the rest of the world sits in judgment against you -- if they had your problem, they might not do as well.

During the panel discussion which followed Mr. Freedman's talk, Frank M. Snowden, Jr., Dean, College of Liberal Arts, Howard University, observed that discrimination in ancient Greece and Rome was not based on color. Keith Goldhammer of the University of Oregon expressed concern because the voice of moderation had slowed the progress of elimination of discrimination. Another panelist pointed out that this was not only a problem of the schools but chiefly a problem of housing. Another said we should discuss the problem, not run from it. Mr. Freedman concluded by stating that there had been progress in the schools because the schools were able to cope with the problem best. However, good faith on the part of the schools in implementing this goal is dependent upon the good faith shown by government and business in supporting this goal.

It was my privilege to attend many other meetings and to hear outstanding speakers, such as, Ralph J. Bunch, Under-secretary of United Nations; Sargent Shriver, Director, Peace Corps; Frank Pace, Jr., Chairman of the Board, General Dynamics Corporation; James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration; Walter P. Reuther, President, United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implements Workers; Neil H. McElroy, Chairman of the Board, Proctor and Gamble Co.; Drew Pearson, Newspaper Columnist; Norman Rockwell, Illustrator; and many others.

The theme of the meeting was "TODAY'S CHALLENGES". -- I am enclosing a copy of the 1962 Resolutions, Platform, Constitution, and Bylaws. I appreciate the opportunity to attend.

February 26, 1962

Dr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

Your memorandums of mid January, giving your reactions to school desegregation in Austin, Fort Worth, and Houston, Texas, and Baton Rouge and New Orleans, have been received. I thank you for sending these, and I appreciate also your reactions on the activities at the University of Texas and Southern University.

All this information is most valuable to me in planning and making my visits. If you pass through Norfolk any time, be sure to come to see me.

Very sincerely yours,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

C/c: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
C/c: Mr. Benjamin Muse

CHATTANOOGA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1161 West Fortieth Street
Box 2013
Chattanooga 9, Tennessee

February 9, 1962

Dr. John J. Brewbaker
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brewbaker:

You are aware, I am sure, of the many activities since our participation in the special teachers' in-service sessions on desegregation which have precluded my writing sooner.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your highly valued assistance. We are deeply indebted to you for your efforts in behalf of a dignified desegregation of Chattanooga city schools. Your contributions were doubly meaningful since they were enriched by your broad experience in this area.

The Board of Education joins me in thanking you for your assistance in a matter vital to the continued development and growth of quality education in the Chattanooga Public Schools.

Sincerely yours,

Bennie

Benjamin E. Carmichael
Superintendent

BEC/prh

PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF LYNCHBURG, VA.
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES
ELEVENTH AND COURT

OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT

February 2, 1962

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear John:

Thank you very much for the clipping from The Virginian Pilot. So far - so good! The tension is still running fairly high in the High School, but there have been no incidences of any sort. The public generally has taken about the same position as the people in Atlanta. They don't like it but if they have to do it they are going to do it with dignity. I hope this same condition continues to prevail.

I must say at this time that the two visits of yours with the School Board were very helpful in paving the way for the successful integration of E. C. Glass High School. We shall always be grateful. It is likely that we will want to talk with you again on some other problems. I shall be getting in touch with you later. Thanks again for the clipping.

Sincerely yours,

M. L. Carper
Superintendent

MLC:b

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
April 16, 1962

The situation, with few exceptions, is such in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee that I plan to visit very little in these states except "on call" and attend certain meetings. In some instances, while driving through, it is necessary to spend the night, and I feel it is worthwhile to stop, if only to exchange greetings.

FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA

On March 13, I received a call from the acting superintendent who said that he and the superintendent who had been quite ill and was slowly recuperating, wanted to talk their situation over with me. I met with them on March 14 and found that last summer the State Pupil Placement Board had denied the applications of two eighth grade Negro pupils to be enrolled in the James Monroe High School (White). Parents of these pupils were appealing, and the Superintendent had received the usual summons from the Federal Court.

The Superintendent had fears of much damage to the school system by people withdrawing their children and influencing the Council in reducing funds for operation of schools if these pupils were assigned. I assured the Superintendent, Paul Hook, that from my experience, his fears would not materalize and tried to convince him that intelligent, reasonable Virginians had not and would not react in this way.

Mr. Hook has been ill for sometime and out of touch. Mr. Butt, the acting superintendent, walked out of the office with me as I was leaving and said he thought my observations were correct and that he would try also to alleviate the fears of the Superintendent.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
April 16, 1962

VIRGINIA SUPERINTENDENTS MEETING

The annual meeting of the State Superintendents was held at Hotel Roanoke April 9, 10, 11, 1962. In addition to approximately 100 superintendents, the State Supeintendent of Public Instruction and members of his staff were present.

My invitation to attend had come from the State Superintendent, and everyone was most cordial. I exchanged greetings personally with practically everyone there, and several talked with me at some length about their desegregation problems, and these "chats" were initiated by the Superintendents.

For example, Superintendent M. L. Carper of Lynchburg, told me about their plan of a grade-a-year, beginning with the first grade, which the Federal Judge had approved, and they had to make their assignment by the 15th of this month. He said they had sent a letter to the parents of every first grade Negro pupil requesting that they express a choice in the school they would attend next year. From about 400 letters, eight have preferred white schools and about a dozen have not replied. Mr. Carper said that he and his board met the night of April 10 and decided that these twelve would be assigned to nearer white schools along with the eight who had expressed a preference for white schools. Of course, they have the privilege of requesting a different assignment if they wish. The Judge has approved this plan for one year only.

Superintendent Thompson of Chesterfield County talked with me about some applications they have received and feel they will be assigned under

Court order. Chesterfield is just outside Richmond. Other superintendents mentioned their problems briefly.

Superintendent McIlwaine of Prince Edward County seemed anxious to tell me about the developments there and hopes the Board of Supervisors will approve the budget to open all schools. He admits he doesn't know what the Board will do.

Dr. R. O. Nelson, Superintendent of Newport News Schools, is a member of the Committee which is studying the feasibility of admitting Negro teachers to the White association in Fairfax County and the Virginia Education Association. He is not very optimistic as to the result of the study. He feels somewhat alone in his opinion which is favorable to doing something constructive.

I feel my attendance at this meeting was very worthwhile.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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PA
MLV
MJ - file

May 30, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The enclosed report probably is the longest that I have written. The trip was quite interesting.

Thanks for the copy of letter from Art Levin and Washington Post clipping relative to the Potomac Institute. I believe they are getting something worthwhile started. I have had a letter from Harold also giving some information about the establishment of the clearing house.

I am enclosing an interesting editorial from today's Virginian-Pilot.

I hope your cold is entirely well and you will try "salt water".

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Putlic School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./2

BREWBAKER REPORTS - May 28, 1962

Princess Anne County Schools, Virginia
Spartanburg, South Carolina
Greenville County, South Carolina
Atlanta, Georgia
Mobile, Alabama
New Orleans, Louisiana
Miscellanea

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
MAY 28, 1962

This trip, including Princess Anne County, consumed nineteen days in time and 2790 miles in distance. I visited over twenty-five groups of school officials and interested citizens in twelve different cities and counties in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida and North Carolina. I was pleased with what I found in all places except Baton Rouge.

PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY SCHOOLS, VIRGINIA

Early in the morning of May 7, I received a call from the office of Frank W. Cox, Superintendent of Princess Anne County Schools, requesting a conference with me as soon as possible. Since I was starting on a long trip through the South the next morning, I arranged for a conference the afternoon of May 7.

Thirty-two Negro pupils had applied for admission to white schools this coming September, twenty-two to elementary schools and ten to high schools. Princess Anne County has 15 per cent of the school population Negro. (Since my visit there, nine more have applied.)

I met for several hours with Superintendent Cox, three of his assistants and the Chairman of his school board. They are following the liberal trend in Virginia and shall attempt to handle these applications without Court action which procedure I encouraged strongly. They feel sure the majority of the elementary pupils will be assigned to white schools. Since they do not have the grades for which the high school pupils are applying in the white school for which they applied, they are not sure what will be worked out for these. There should be no trouble in making this change in Princess Anne County.

SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

On Wednesday evening, after dinner on way to my room at the Cabana Inn Motor Hotel, I had the pleasure of running into a group of Spartanburg educators who had just finished a meeting in a small private dining room almost next door to my room. Superintendent Joe McCracken of Spartanburg was in the group and stopped me and introduced the dozen or more who were with him.

Spartanburg County, a very large County, is divided into seven school districts with seven superintendents. Spartanburg City and some of the County compose the largest district of about 13,500 pupils. The smallest has approximately 3500 pupils. Two other superintendents, in addition to McCracken, were present at the conference along with about ten principals and supervisors. They had met to do some preliminary

planning for next year. I felt fortunate to meet this large number of them, very favorably, so unexpectedly.

I spent three hours the next morning in conference with Superintendent McCracken who told me everything, I'm sure, about his school system and conditions generally. He says there has been considerable change in the climate during the past year, and he is quite encouraged. I feel that Spartanburg has one of the best school systems, not only in the South, but in the nation, and Superintendent McCracken feels sure that the people there would not allow the schools to be damaged by closing or in any other way.

Superintendent McCracken gave me the names of several South Carolina superintendents who he thinks I should see sometime soon. I have made a practice of asking if there are any superintendents or others whom I should see. I have had good suggestions from this question.

GREENVILLE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Greenville County, including the City of Greenville, has one school district which appears quite a contrast to Spartanburg County which has seven. However, in Greenville County, there are several area superintendents working under Superintendent Tom Anderson, which helps to make the two county systems somewhat similar.

These South Carolina superintendents like to tell about their schools and other situations. In both Spartanburg and Greenville, I had very little to do but listen. Superintendent Anderson's impression of the situation is about the same as Superintendent McCracken's. Superintendent Anderson told me that in Greenville, Negroes had attended several of the White churches without incident. He also asked me if I would be available to come to counsel with him and his board of 17 members when they really faced the problem. This pleased me very much. There have been no applications for transfer of Negroes to White schools in either of these places. I may be too optimistic, but I feel both superintendents are hopeful that they can make the change without a Court order. This is difficult probably to believe, but it certainly could happen.

I am sincerely trying to impress all with whom I confer that the time has passed for "court orders", and point out that all sound thinking people realize the change is inevitable and Court orders add only to the expense and difficulty of making the change. I emphasize the transfers should be made in the natural normal manner like all other transfers.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL HEADQUARTERS was my first stop on Friday morning, May 11. It is always a pleasure to visit with my friends here,

and I always learn many things. It truly is the hub of the wheel. The offices have been expanded and new faces added since my last visit.

ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS. I found Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Executive Director, had offices on the same floor of the building with the Southern Regional Council. I met Mrs. Paschall and had a most interesting visit with her. She told me quite a bit about the Atlanta schools from a different angle that one would get from talking with the superintendent. In fact, she is concerned with Superintendent Letson's statement that the best way to make the change is under Court order. I told her I would have agreed with Superintendent Letson four years ago, but as I have said before, I think that time has passed, maybe with few exceptions. Thinking people are changing their attitudes faster than we realize.

Mrs. Paschall thinks I should try to get the superintendents in this area to realize the above. I told her on my next visit, I would try to see Superintendent Letson of Atlanta, Superintendent West of Fulton County, Superintendent Cherry of DeKalb County, and Superintendent Renfroe of Decatur.

MOBILE, ALABAMA

Superintendent Burns has his office in old Barton Academy which was the first public school in Alabama, opened on November 1, 1836 with 400 pupils. Mr. Burns seemed very happy to see me and said he felt sure they would have some applications of Negroes to enter white schools this coming September. He stated quite frankly that he thought Mobile would be the easiest place in Alabama to desegregate the schools. The golf courses and buses are desegregated already, and he said the lunch counters were in the process of doing so at this time.

Superintendent Burns feels the political situation in Alabama is improving. The defeat of Big Jim Folsom in the primary helped in this respect and if deGraffenreid could be elected governor, it would be a great improvement over Folsom.

In the present school board election, a Negro doctor is running for a position on the board, and many of the better white people are supporting him. Superintendent Burns thinks he won't receive enough votes, however, to be elected.

The Superintendent wishes he could recommend and the Board would approve a plan, beginning in the first grade, and not wait for a Court order, but he is sure the Board would have more problems doing this, and he thinks they will have to start under Court order. About one-third of the school children in Mobile are Negro.

When I left, Superintendent Burns very cordially said, "hurry back", and I left the usual invitation, "if I can be of help, call me".

MOBILE, ALABAMA -- AGAIN

Thomas G. Greaves, Jr., of the law firm of Hand, Arendall, Bedsole, Greaves and Johnston told me last September at the National Conference on Citizenship in Washington, D. C. that he expected me to come to see him the next time I passed through Mobile. Mr. Greaves attended the Citizenship Conference representing the American Bar Association.

Mr. Greaves had been out-of-town for sometime and was quite busy but insisted that I come by for a chat. He was interested in my brochure and asked for one to send to his brother, John A. Greaves, who is Assistant to the Dean of Admissions, University of Alabama. He said he wanted me to meet his brother since we were doing the same kind of work.

He confirmed Superintendent Burns's feeling of a better climate developing in Mobile and stated we shall have to comply when faced with the problem. I learned that Mr. Greaves was born in Lynchburg, Virginia and still has a number of relatives living in that area.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Early on Tuesday morning, May 15, I turned on television and heard that the Orleans Parish School Board on Monday night had adopted a resolution eliminating racial barriers for all public school children entering the first grade in September. The Times-Picayune reported the resolutions on the morning of May 15, as follows:

"The Orleans parish school board Monday night adopted a resolution eliminating racial barriers for all public school children entering the first grade in September.

The resolution said all children attending first grade in the fall term may attend either the school assigned for the white or Negro elementary district of their residence, at their option.

A second resolution approved by the board also directed the superintendent of public schools to inaugurate immediately an administrative study of ways and means of abolishing bi-racial school districts for all schools, commencing with the first grade.

Both resolutions were approved by all three board members attending the meeting.

MAY REMOVE OBJECTIONS

The school board was ordered by former Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright in an April 3 ruling to desegregate parish public schools through the first six grades.

Later, the board appealed for a new trial in the case. A decision on the appeal motion currently is pending before Federal District Judge Frank B. Ellis, who succeeded Judge Wright in the post.

Action by the board Monday night was taken without debate or comment. There was immediate speculation, however, that the move was taken in the hopes of removing some of the court's objections to the board's method of desegregation.

The first resolution said children may be transfered from one school to another "provided such transfers are not based on consideration of race."

It also stated the plan "is not to be construed as a permanent plan to desegregate the schools of this parish.

Rather, if added, it is "intended solely as a plan for use during the transitional period necessary for solving varied local problems, the solution of which will require additional time and study."

The first resolution directed Supt. O. Perry Walker to establish dates "for the orderly registration of all children desiring to enroll in the first grade of the public schools."

REGISTRATION BY JUNE 6

It said the registration date should be no later than June 6, 1962.

It also ordered Walker to "give full and complete public notice" of the registration plan, so that parents of all children "will be able to exercise a real and conscious option as to the school they wish their children to attend during the school year 1962-63."

"The superintendent is further directed," the resolution continued,"to present to this board the results of the aforesaid registration within 15 days after the completion thereof; and within 30 days thereafter to present this board his recommendations for administrative procedures to be used in implementing the provisions of the plan set forth in this resolution."

The second resolution directed that the study include a survey of problems related to administration arising from the physical condition of the individual schools, the school transportation system personnel and "the revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units."

ASKS PROGRESS REPORT

Walker was ordered to submit a progress report to the board at the earliest practical date, but no later than Dec. 1."

The superintendent was also told to submit a recommendation to the board as to the most effective method of complying with the demands of the reso-

lution "in ample time for it to be made effective, if approved by this board, for the opening of school in September, 1963."

Both resolutions were introduced by board member Matthew R. Sutherland. They were approved without debate by Theodore H. Shepard Jr., board president, and member Louis G. Riecke Sr. Absent from the meeting were board members Emile A. Wagner Jr. and Lloyd J. Rittiner."

Then, two days later, a motion was filed with the Clerk of the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals by the NAACP attorneys for a writ vacating a stay of the injunction granted by Judge Frank B. Ellis on May 1 to former District Judge J. Skelly Wright's ruling on April 3 to desegregate parish public schools through the first six grades. It seems that New Orleans will have more litigation.

Sometime before starting on this trip, I had written to the superintendents of New Orleans and Baton Rouge and the leaders of other groups, informing them that I would be in New Orleans May 15 - 20 and offered my services in any way that could be used. I started early Tuesday morning by telephone to find out the plans which had been made for me. Superintendent Perry Walker of the Orleans Parish Schools had scheduled me for 3 P. M. that day. In calling Mrs. C. W. Coffey, I found she had made a number of appointments for me to confirm. The first one was a luncheon also on Tuesday from 12:30 - 2:45 P. M. By the way, Paul Rilling has worked with Mrs. Coffey and knows what a "live-wire" she is. Mrs. Coffey is Vice-President of the older organization, Committee for Public Education, and Secretary of the newer one, Citizens for Public Schools. She, Mrs. Gerald Osborne, Vice-President and Education Committee Chairman of the Louisiana League of Women Voters and I had a two hour luncheon, after which they dropped me off at Superintendent Walker's office.

Before going into detail of the conferences, I shall give a brief account of my schedule.

May 15: Luncheon Meeting with Mrs. Coffey and Mrs. Osborne 12:45 - 2:45 P.M.; Conference with Superintendent Walker 3 - 4:30 P. M. Then at 5 P. M. on Tuesday also, I had an hour conference with Mrs. Louis B. Abramson, a CPS member and a strong political leader. Before these conferences on May 15, I called Superintendent Lloyd Lindsey of Baton Rouge and made an appointment with him for May 16 at 11 A. M. I also called Dr. George Deer, Dean of the Junior Division of Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge, and he invited me to have lunch with him at the Faculty Club on May 16. So I spent the day of May 16 in Baton Rouge. May 17 was another busy day. It started with a conference with Mrs. N. H. Sands, President of the Save Our Schools Organization in the hotel lobby at 9:30 A. M. At 11:45 A. M. a luncheon meeting, which Mrs. Coffey arranged, with Mrs. Coffey, Reverend Ralph Bridges and R. C. (Bob) Smith. Mr. Smith is an attorney and is connected with the Pan American Petroleum Company. He is on the board of

CPS and much concerned about what could happen to the schools. Reverend Bridges was the first person I met when I went to New Orleans in August 1960. He met me at the train. He is a strong supporter of public schools and is an officer in CPE.

After this luncheon on Thursday, Mrs. Osborne came by at 1:45 P. M. and took me to her home for a two hour conference with some other members of the League of Women Voters. May 18 - Mrs. Coffey arranged to take me to meet Harry Kelleher who is State Legislative Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and a "real wheel" in the local Chamber, as Mrs. Coffey expressed it. Mr. Kelleher is one of the strong leaders behind the school board. His law firm consists of approximately 35 lawyers and is considered one of the best in Marine Law. I was most favorably impressed with him. We left Mr. Kelleher and went by the new City Library which Mrs. Coffey wanted me to see since she is on the Library Board and had done a lot of work in getting the new building. We went in and talked and drank coffee with the Librarian, Jerome Cushman. At 11 A. M., we went by, picked up Mrs. Osborne and the two of them showed me some critical areas in the city including the Lusher School which Mrs. Osborne's son attends and which was desegregated last September by enrolling two first grade Negro girls. May 19 (Saturday)- I spent working on this part of the report after a long telephone conversation with Mrs. Osborne.

I shall now attempt, despite the danger of a long report, to give a few highlights.

SUPERINTENDENT O. PERRY WALKER - Mr. Walker seemed to be in high spirits over the desegregation progress in New Orleans. He said this has been a very peaceful year, and he had received no telephone calls except newspaper reporters relative to the School Board's action the night before. He hopes what they have done will encourage Judge Ellis to make the temporary stay of Judge Wright's injunction permanent. Really, I was not able to determine how much more they will do under the new resolutions of the Board than they have been doing. Superintendent Walker is working on the administrative procedures to be followed.

COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION and CITIZENS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

These two organizations have a number of people who are members of both. Mrs. C. W. Coffey, whose husband is an executive of the California Company, is one of the most active, if not the most active, in both organizations. They feel that much has been accomplished in working out the problems in New Orleans, and the main effort now is to get the public support of as many of the business men as possible. They are impressed with the effect of the 100 outstanding business men of Norfolk signing the petition with its strong preamble to have the schools re-opened in Norfolk in January 1959. I always impress people the best I can that this was probably the most effective and will have the most permanent results of anything that happened in Norfolk.

SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

I always enjoy talking with Mrs. Sands, and she feels they are "over the hump", and from now on everything will gradually get better.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

The chief conference with this group was in the home of Mrs. Gerald Osborne, Vice-President and Education Committee Chairman of the State Organization. She invited four other members to her home at 2 P. M. on Thursday, May 17. The six of us had a two hour conference. The group included Mrs. Charles Crawford, formerly President of the Louisiana League of Women Voters, and Mrs. Jean Reeves, President of the New Orleans League. They are making an outstanding effort for public education. I told them that they gave me a new conception of the League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Jean Reeves, President of the New Orleans League, gave me a copy of the address she made at the National Convention of the League in Minneapolis, April 30 - May 4, 1962. When she finished, she received a standing ovation from the 1600 - 1800 members present.

I want you to read this address, so I am including it in this report:

Organization Report of the
League of Women Voters of New Orleans

We in New Orleans were surprised and a little startled to be offered the opportunity to tell this convention about our work in the field of education. We fluctuate daily between optimism and despair over the situation. It is hard to do more than describe the League in New Orleans at the time of the desegregation order and what it is today and compare the development of the League's firm consensus and the moderate leadership in New Orleans. We were the first and one of the few long-established organizations that has squarely faced the issue.

To the majority of you assembled here it is imcomprehensible that to a large segment of the white population in the South the League principle "A system of free public education which provides equal opportunity for all"

is interpreted in a different way. Secondly that the preservation of segregation is of such emotional appeal that they eagerly listen to the promises of state officials and others who say that segregation will be preserved, rather than adjust to change as they will have to do some day.

In New Orleans there is an added complication: the trend since 1935, either for social, religeous or other reasons, to send children to other-than-public schools. In the year 1961-1962 school enrollment in public schools was 47% of the total white students, 47% in parochial or religeous schools, and 6% in private schools. Project this a few years and you can foresee the decline of the system due to non-support by the community, possible failure of bond issues and needed tax support. The basic requirement of a community to provide a free public school system must be emphasized over and over. The one organization usually wholeheartedly in support of public schools just last week in convention refused to pass a strong resolution to support public schools. The Louisiana Parent Teachers Association refused to pass this resolution: To resist any and all efforts to weaken, abandon, or destroy our public school system by removal or withholding of funds or by closing the public schools.

The world was informed of the first reactions in our community, they were widely publicized. Today, after the most recent ruling, the reactions of the officials are as inflamatory in some, but less strong in others. Law and order is being maintained by Mayor Schiro and the police department in New Orleans at this time.

The desegregation issue is still a campaign issue two years after the first negro child entered a white school. The candidate for election on June 5th to the Louisiana House of Representatives who is an outspoken advocate of the closing of schools has the support of the Mayor and the Governor.

Our Senator, Russell Long, recommended on April 9, 1962 in an interview on television over a local channel, that the State officials should close the schools in protest to the most recent ruling by Judge Wright in the expectation of forcing the federal authorities to back down.

The State Legislators are pre-filing bills for the next session of the legislature to cut off funds from the public schools system and no doubt there will be many other efforts of resistance we shall hear about in due course.

In the face of this tremendous official position, is it any wonder that relatively few people have the courage to strive openly to preserve the public school system of education? It must not be forgotten also, that those who have spoken out for moderation are subject to financial reprisals. The private business interests of the school board members who worked to keep the schools open have suffered greatly. Also, these people who are for moderation or compliance, are subject to indignities, telephone calls and letters, and cross-burnings. (Surprised to hear they do this in Minnesota too.) One brave soul said the other day 'it was a rather flimsy cross, they just don't make them like they used to.' How many people would have this reaction if it was done on their front lawn?

I hope this background will show why it was necessary for our League to proceed cautiously and carefully.

First we had to determine the sentiments of our own members.

Secondly we had to evaluate the possible loss in our effectiveness in serving the community in other needed program areas and Voters Service.

And lastly we had to determine how we could be effective in this highly emotional controversy.

In all ways we have followed basic League procedure with meticulous care. Many years of study of the financing of the public schools system, understanding of the services provided by it had given our members a solid foundation of knowledge about the system. Did this in itself commit our members wholeheartedly in support of such a system?

A Voters Service approach was used in the beginning, July 1960, with a series of television panel discussions; interpretation of the federal decisions, the state laws, and other aspects of the impact on the community. This was an initial attempt at communication, successful in reaching our members and the educational television audience but not the general public. This we knew we had to do.

In August 1960 our members adopted an emergency item to broaden the support position if the members were so inclined, and to reaffirm our belief in the Principle of the League quoted earlier. Our consensus in the fall of 1960 in favor of open public schools was qualified by the inclusion of the phase advocating a wise and judicious use of the pupil placement law. A year later it was reaffirmed by the members with no qualifying condition. "Support of a free public school system in Orleans Parish based on Sound

Financial Structure and Efficient Administration". Many guest speakers, many discussions and a very capable education committee brought this about with only two resignations from our membership. One of these was a member who did not think we were moving fast enough.

Statewide, there is not such a consensus today and we are therefore limited to action which concerns local matters only on a subject of statewide legislative nature. When the State legislators tried to take over the administration of our parish school system; when our elected school officials were addressed out of office, and when state financial support was withheld to strangle our system, we took action. We testified before committees of the Legislature (you might be interested in the fact that the first thing they wanted to know was where were you born?) we protested publicly in carefully worded statements; mailed letters and telegrams which were no doubt lost in the avalanche of racist clamor. Although we could not evaluate the good accomplished if any, we decided to take this action openly and publicly when possible. Then it was decided to approach from a different direction-the grass roots of the community; to develop understanding, and a voice from the majority of the population which we felt was there but not being heard. The extremists speak loudly claiming to represent a majority who want to close schools rather than integrate. It is logical to assume that a majority of the white population is in favor of segregated schools but it is proven by a comparison of enrollments in the desegregated schools between November 1960 and 1961 that adjustment can be made by our citizens. After the first order, the two schools desegregated were emptied. A year later when a second round of four schools was ordered desegregated, the drop in enrollment was only a third. Increase in enrollment in these schools is shown daily.

The New Orleans League education committee has called on city officials, state legislators from the New Orleans delegation, presidents of civic organizations, lawyers, businessmen, school officials and almost anybody. We provide speakers upon request - which really hasn't been often. We hoped that after talking to us, like a ripple in the water the circle of moderate talk would widen. I believe it has.

Also the extensive publicity given to League meetings, accomplished a lot in the community. Knowing that others can discuss an emotional problem and not suddenly grow horns, people became less fearful of just plain talk. The moderate leadership long delayed in New Orleans is gradually developing. Public opinion is being influenced by strong television editorials, more moderate newspaper editorials toward the inevitability of the acceptance of the desegregation orders. A citizens committee for public school support has been formed. Irreproachable educators are now outspoken concerning the social changes upon us. Some moral and religious persuasion is being applied. It has been announced that racial discrimination will not be allowed in the Catholic schools next year. And business and labor forces are directed toward maintaining economic stability which they claim is promoted by an educated citizenry. This all sounds good but the end to resistance is still not in sight. As the voice of the extremists becomes weaker and the moderates stronger, the political leadership will be forced to adopt a more moderate attitude, and then we will be assured of a strong public school system.

Membership participation and understanding within the League in New Orleans, a clear consensus and the dual approach through the community and through the authorities toward facing the school crisis has I believe made us

a strong League able to work to promote political responsibility in all areas of League program and Voters Service, with the respect of the community and officials alike.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Previously in the report, I told of the meeting with Mr. Harry Kelleher, Chairman of the State Chamber Legislative Committee. Mr. Kelleher has a firm grasp of the situation and is one of the most intelligent, soundest thinkers I have met. He is worried about Negro teachers in predominantly White schools and feels the large Catholic school enrollment with most of the Negroes left in the public schools creates a problem. He is worried about maintaining quality in education. I cited Washington, D. C. with its four-track system as not only holding up the quality of education but according to reports effecting some general improvement. Especially with him, I encouraged the Chamber and the business men to publicly support the schools. He, himself, is a strong supporter and is solidly behind the School Board.

LUSHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Just a word on our visit here. Mrs. Osborne of the League of Women Voters has a boy in the school, and she wanted me to visit it. They have an outstanding principal and a top notch faculty. The principal showed Mrs. Osborne, Mrs. Coffey and me through the school. Not a word was said when we passed through the room with the two Negro girls. However, I noticed they had all girls in the class. I was told later they were segregating by sex. Those who talked with me agreed with my disapproval. After we finished the tour, the principal remarked, "You notice we have two Negro girls in one class". I asked, "How are they getting along?". She said, All right". No more comments.

I feel that New Orleans is really "over the hump" and that a more reasonable climate is gradually developing despite Perez, Wagner, and others.

The school enrollment figures of New Orleans are quite interesting. In the public schools, 60% of the pupils are Negro with 40% white. The overall school enrollment is 63% in Public Schools; 32% in Catholic Schools; and 5% in Private Schools -- 1961-62 figures. The total enrollment is 149,175. Of these 94,312 are in the Public Schools; 48,079 in the Catholic Schools; and 6,784 in Private Schools. The breakdown in the white schools is 38,217 in Public Schools, 46.4%; 39,010 in Catholic Schools, 47.3%; and 5,226 in Private Schools, 6.3%. In the Negro schools, the breakdown is 56,095 in the Public Schools, 84.1%; 9,069 in Catholic Schools, 13.6%; and 1,558 in Private Schools, 2.3%.

A private school has been formed, supported on tuition grants from the State of $300 for each of the 400 pupils attending. These pupils come from the Frantz and McDonald No. 19 schools. It is interesting to note that the enrollment in the Frantz School has increased this year to 190, and McDonald No. 19 to 22. The four schools desegregated this year lost approximately 20 - 25% of their white pupils, which is quite an improvement over the year before.

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA
EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH

When I called Superintendent Lloyd Lindsey on Tuesday morning inquiring if I could be of any help if I came to Baton Rouge, he replied, "I don't think you can do any harm". However, when I arrived at 11 A. M. on Wednesday, May 16, he was very cordial and we discussed the situation in a friendly atmosphere, despite the fact we were not in accord in our thinking.

Superintendent Lindsey and his Assistant Superintendent, Robert Aertker, met with me and at the beginning of the conference, Mr. Aertker stated that he had visited the private schools in Virginia and was favorably impressed. Of course, I expressed my usual disapproval, especially with the Prince Edward County situation. Mr. Lindsey stated he wouldn't admit the change is inevitable yet, he did say in reply to my question "What would he do if he were under a Court order to admit a pupil?" that "He would have to comply with the order". He impressed me with being very inconsistent.

It is a long story about the way Mr. Lindsey became superintendent. He had held some minor administrative position in the school system, and when former Superintendent Funchess and the Board got into a strong disagreement over the desegregation issue, the Board was later packed with additional members in order to fire Mr. Funchee, and elect Mr. Lindsey, a strong segregationist in line with the Board's thinking--so the story goes--Mr. Lindsey said he felt sure the Board would be asked to submit a plan for this September. They have been in Court for some time, and he was sure also the Board would not comply. I think they are in for a lot of trouble. I told him when they didn't submit a plan when ordered by the Court, they were usually told what they had to do in following a plan or otherwise. No doubt, he will learn.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY, BATON ROUGE

Dr. George H. Deer and I had lunch together in the Faculty Club on May 16. He is a big liberal minded man. He told me that they had had Negroes enrolled at LSU for some years. Usually, they had a large summer school enrollment. However, he feels the public schools are in for a lot of trouble. He surprised me with the statement that he would not be surprised if they closed the schools. There is quite a difference in the climates today of Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

PENSACOLA, FLORIDA

Pensacola is part of the Escambia County school system. In Florida, cities are a part of the county system.

About 9 A. M. on Monday, May 21, I called the office of Assistant Superintendent R. B. Orr to find out my definite schedule for the two days I had planned to spend in Pensacola. He said Jack Sisson, an interested citizen, who I learned is in the advertizing business, would pick me up and take me to see several people during the morning. Then, at 12:30 P. M., I would have lunch with Superintendent Woodham, Assistant Superintendent Orr, and Assistant Superintendent Partin. At 2 P. M. I would talk to a joint meeting of the White and Negro principals; at 4:30 P. M. I would meet with the lay citizens committee, known as, the School Assistance Committee, and in the evening he would try to arrange for me to meet with the superintendent, school board members, and school board attorneys -- a rather full day.

As soon as Mr. Sisson arrived, we were on our way, and our first stop was at the office of Mr. Marion Gaines, editor of the Pensacola News Journal. I found Mr. Gaines much interested in the work I was doing, and he asked many questions about the Norfolk and other situations. He said they were cooperating the best they could, and practically nothing had been printed in the paper except one routine announcement. He said that maybe we don't print enough. I told him I thought too little was much better than too much. I feel the school people have the full support of the press in Pensacola.

Our next stop was in the office of Douglas Endsley, Executive Director of Escambia County Community Council. This Council seemed to do liaison work between other groups, and especially between the leaders of the white and Negro groups. Mr. Endsley seemed to have cordial relations with the Negro leaders and arranged an appointment, while I was in his office, for me to meet the next morning with Reverend William C. Dobbins who is considered the strongest leader among the Negroes.

At the luncheon meeting with the superintendent and his two assistants, we discussed in some detail the status of the problem. At the present time, there are 57 Negro pupils who have applied to enter white schools in September. The number applying does not seem to be public information since Mr. Harris and the Negro leaders thought there were many more. I don't know why the secrecy. The Negro leaders have filed a suit charging illegal administration of the state pupil placement laws by the school board, and in addition, they have petitioned for complete desegregation of pupils and teachers. The hearing will be on May 29. The school administration will not be able to process all 57 applications by May 29, so they are undecided whether to

place some of them before the date or wait until they have passed on all. There is no doubt that they are planning to assign some of these to white schools.

The meeting at 2 P. M. with the White and Negro principals, from my point of view, was quite unsatisfactory. In addition to the principals, for some reason the superintendent and his assistants, the members of the school board, and the two school board attorneys attended. I didn't know these meetings would be combined until we met, and of course, it was too late then to register an objection. The group was too diversified, and I feel the presence, especially of the board members and attorneys, reacted against the asking of questions by the principals. The administration had felt the joint meeting of White and Negro principals would cause the Negroes not to feel free to ask questions. However, all questions came from the Negroes, board members and attorneys. I don't recall a single one from the White principals. My talk covered briefly what had happened in Norfolk, Atlanta, and Chattanooga. One board member stated that they were doing everything they had done in Chattanooga except the television programs of leading citizens -- and I added also the two-day workshop for teachers and other school personnel. I think this conclusion was the most important part of the meeting.

At 4:30 P. M., I met with the School Assistance Committee at the First Methodist Church. Mr. Ed Bowers, Director of Education Services for the school system took me to this meeting and represented the school administration. This was the best conference I had in Pensacola. Mr. Wallace F. King, Supervisor of Civilian Employees at Naval Base, is chairman of this group which is composed of a cross section of leading business and professional people. Among the twenty members present were Maurice Harling, reporter for the News Journal, Mr. Gaines, son of the editor, who is a lawyer and represented the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the County P. T. A. President and another member, the executive director of the Community Services, a County Commissioner, the deputy sheriff, lawyers, ministers, doctors, and business men. I told them about the Chattanooga effort of leading citizens and the 100 Norfolk business and professional man. They are now working quietly which is good, but I encouraged them to work more openly when the time comes that the school board will need public support. This is a good group.

The next morning, Tuesday, I had a very satisfactory conference with Reverend Dobbins, President of the Pensacola Council of Ministers, and the Vice-President of the Council, Reverend I. Powell. Both of these Negro leaders are optimistic and feel the school situation will be resolved in the same satisfactory manner that the lunch counter difficulties had been. In my opinion, Mr. Dobbins is an intelligent young man with much leadership ability.

After leaving Mr. Dobbins office, I stopped by the school administration office for any last word. Superintendent Woodham, Assistant Superintendents Orr and Partin, Director Bowers, and Boyce Hathorn, Coordinator of Guidance and Testing were in conference. They invited me in, and we discussed briefly my visit. They agreed that the "diversified" group at 2 P. M. Monday was somewhat disappointing, but commented that I had made a good talk. I should like to go back to talk with the principals and teachers who received the Negro children. I shall write Mr. Orr accordingly. I feel sure Pensacola will get along all right.

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

On the morning of May 23, I had a conference with Dr. Thomas D. Bailey, State Superintendent of Florida, in his office in the Capitol Building at Tallahassee. Dr. Bailey was most concerned with the movement in Washington that Florida may be the target for a suit to force desegregation of the schools to qualify for federal aid in impacted areas. He agreed with me that Tallahassee and Jacksonville may have more problems than some of the other school systems in Florida in desegregation. He suggested that I go by to see Superintendent Godby of Leon County which includes Tallahassee. The last time I called on Mr. Godby, he was rather indifferent, but I called on him again. His secretary said he had called in but didn't know when he would come to the office. However, she was sure he would like to see me if I could wait. Since I had to drive to Savannah that afternoon, I decided to see him on my next trip. I told his secretary if he wished to see me before, to write to me. Personally, I prefer that he take the initiative.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Chatham County and Savannah compose this school district. On Thursday, May 24, I met with Superintendent McCormac, School Board Chairman, Shuman, Board member Dyer, also an attorney, and School Board Attorney, Basil Morris, from 9:30 A. M. to 12 Noon. It seems to me this group is under the influence of Roy V. Harris and is doing all it can to postpone desegregation. Mr. Morris has the best knowledge of anyone I know of all that has transpired in the field of desegregation. The Savannah Negroes have filed a class petition signed by 17 parents of 36 children to desegregate Savannah's schools. The Chatham County School Board on March 23 asked the federal court to dismiss the suit. No date has been set for the hearing.

The Superintendent and the Board do not seem to be too concerned about the climate of the community. The fact that desegregation has already taken place on buses, golf courses, lunch counters, and libraries, and Negro policemen are employed on the police force, helps to

allay their fears. This was a most interesting group, and I received many suggestions which I analyzed with them to show they had been tried and found wanting.

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

Another visit with a State Superintendent, Charles Carroll of North Carolina, proved interesting. Dr. Carroll is proud of the progress in North Carolina and feels the climate is improving all the time. He told me of the recent desegregation at Wake Forest and Davidson Colleges which pleased him. He told me with some pride that North Carolina had the largest Negro enrollment in the public schools of any state. He stated that Georgia is second. He invited me to visit any superintendents in the state at any time. He was sure they would be glad to see me.

Superintendent Jesse Sanderson of the Raleigh school system seemed very glad when I called by telephone to say "Hello" and invited me to come by. Instead, I talked with him by telephone and found they now have three Negro pupils enrolled in the White high school, five in a junior high, and one in an elementary. He said they expect to keep moving along as fast as the community will accept them.

Both State Superintendent Carroll and Superintendent Sanderson invited me to visit them in their homes on my next trip.

The report is rather long, but this was a most interesting and quite satisfactory trip. From trip to trip, I can see in practically all places, changes for the better.

June 12, 1962

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
Room 5600
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Mr. Muse has asked that we send to you the enclosed excerpts from Mr. Brewbaker's latest report.

Sincerely,

PA:bp
enclosure

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Brewbaker, Field Report

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Mulberry 3-5764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 6, 1962

To: BMuse From: LWDunbar

Subject:

PA
Per handle

Brew's report seems to me worth transmitting, in large part, to Dave Freeman and I wonder if you would not prefer that this be done rather than that you condense it as you mentioned to me over the phone you were planning to do. It would seem to me that we could send a photocopy of the following:

pp 1-4, through the sub-heading "New Orleans, Louisiana"

pp 6, beginning "Sometime before starting" -8, through "conception of the L of WV"

pp 14, beginning with "Chamber of Commerce" sub-head - end.

- : -

Good! I think this is a better idea — BM

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
JUNE 25, 1962

From newspaper reports last year and this year and from the official report of the proceedings last year of the meetings of the Commission on Civil Rights, I feel it would be helpful for me to attend these meetings. The meetings have concentrated in the most part, in the school desegregation area of civil rights. In line with this thought, I called by telephone, June 11, 1962, Mrs. Elizabeth R. Cole, Chief, Public Education Sections of the Commission on Civil Rights and expressed my feelings to her.

Mrs. Cole said she would like very much to talk with me, but she would be away from Washington on June 22, the day I had arranged to be there. She rather insisted that I give her a call the next time I was in Washington and said she would have the official report of the proceedings of this year's meeting sent to me. Since she was trying to get the U. S. Office of Education to sponsor the meeting of the Commission next year, she suggested that I talk with some one in that office which I arranged to do. The report of my visit is given in a later section of this report.

MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

The main purpose of my visit to Washington was to stop by for a chat with Ben Muse with whom I had not talked for sometime and to call on Harold Fleming who had expressed a desire to see me soon. I reached Ben's home about 1 P. M. on June 21, ate a very delicious lunch which had been prepared by Mrs. Muse, and Ben and I talked over our mutual plans for a couple of hours. Ben gave me some good ideas of approach to the problems in Powhatan and Prince Edward Counties, Virginia and other suggestions which I shall follow. I always get help from Ben's wide experience and sound thinking.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Harold Fleming arranged a meeting for me at 10 A. M. on June 22 with Mr. Ralph Flynt, Assistant Commissioner for Research, U. S. Office of Education. Mr. Flynt was most cordial and invited Mr. Robert M. Rosenzweig, Assistant to the U. S. Commissioner of Education to sit in the conference with us. Mr. Flynt said they were organizing to approach the problem from two angles: (1) Research in some cities where desegregation has taken place to show the present situation in those cities. These have been selected; namely, Atlanta, Louisville, Nashville, New York, and Washington, D. C. The superintendents in these places have promised their cooperation, and this project is ready to get underway; (2) The "Clearing House", a report on the progress of desegregation in various school districts to show

the problems which have arisen, how they were resolved, and the results whether favorable or unfavorable. This report should serve as a guide for superintendents and school boards which are new in the transition. Mr. Flynt stressed that this would be different from the "School News" in that it will show the educational aspects, the why, the how, and the results. The "School News" reports progress as it takes place without attempting to show the educational implications.

There are several aspects of the study which Mr. Flynt and Mr. Rosenzweig are trying to resolve; such as, should the study be made by the U. S. Office in Washington, in a regional office in Atlanta, or by a southern university engaged by the U. S. Office to do the job. They seem to be disposed to do it in Washington. Another aspect concerns the gathering of information for the report. Should a questionnaire be used or a personal consultant? My opinion was sought, and I was inclined toward doing the work from the Washington office where it could be better supervised, and trained consultants be used to gather the information, rather than a questionnaire.

Mr. Flynt requested that I send in suggestions in writing which I am doing. In addition to the above, I suggested that the consultants be brought together in the U. S. Office of Education for a period of orientation and training before they go out to do the work. They also should be required to inform themselves on what has been accomplished in the area of school desegregation by reading the various reports and other material available. Probably written guides, suggesting approaches and types of interviews, and an idea of the classes of people to see; such as, the superintendent, board members, school board attorneys, principals, counselors, teachers, public officials and others would be helpful. All of these people could give information from an educational view point. For example, I found the Chief of Police of Norfolk most helpful in the manner in which he prepared his force to enforce the law.

I feel that Mr. Flynt will be conservative in his approach and Mr. Rosenzweig more liberal. I believe what they are planning to do will be helpful, and Mr. Flynt said they felt they had a responsibility in the executing of the laws of the land. He expressed the feeling that the youth had the twentieth century attitude about the matter and that many of the older people were trying to perpetuate an "anachronism".

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POTOMAC INSTITUTE

As soon as I finished my conference at the U. S. Office of Education, I went over to the Potomac Institute and talked with Harold Fleming. He was much interested in what progress the U. S. Office was making on the "Clearing House", and in our discussion, he advanced some of the ideas that I am using in my suggestions. He agreed with me that the information should be collected by a consultant, rather than by questionnaires. He also advanced the idea of the orientation or training period and that they should go out well prepared and well informed in order to do a good job.

June 25, 1962

Mr. Ralph Flynt
Assistant Commissioner for Research
U. S. Office of Education
Room 3A015
New Federal Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Flynt:

My conference last Friday with you and Mr. Rosenzweig was most pleasant and interesting. I feel you are undertaking a project which will be most helpful to school officials who are facing for the first time the problems arising during the early days of the transition period of school desegregation.

You requested that I write you any suggestions which I might have in approaching this project. In my considered judgment, in the first place, I believe it would be best to make the study in the U. S. Office of Education in Washington which will enable you and your staff to give the necessary supervision as the work progresses.

In the second place, I am convinced that the information for the "Clearning House" should be gathered by consultants rather than questionnaires -- but the consultants should be well trained and well informed before beginning the work.

I suggest that the consultants be brought together in the U. S. Office of Education for a period of orientation and training before they go out to do the work. They also should be required to inform themselves on what has been accomplished in the area of school desegregation by reading the various reports and other available material. Probably written guides, suggesting approaches and types of interviews, and an idea of the classes of people to see; such as, superintendents, school board members, school board attorneys, principals, counselors, teachers, public officials, and others would be helpful. All of these people could give information from an educational viewpoint. For example, I found the Chief of Police of Norfolk most helpful in the manner in which he prepared his force to enforce the law.

If I can be of help at any time, please do not hesitate to call me.

Very sincerely yours,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

PA ✓
ML ✓
PR ✓
MJ-file

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
July 24, 1962

Two days, July 17 and 18, were spent in Richmond, Virginia, visiting Governor Albertis Harrison, State Superintendent Woodrow Wilkerson, Superintendent H. I. Willett of Richmond, and Superintendent J. S. Caldwell of Powhatan County. It was my intention to visit part-time Superintendent T. J. McIlwaine of Prince Edward County also, but I was informed by Superintendent Caldwell of Powhatan that Mr. McIlwaine was on a three-month trip to Japan. Mr. McIlwaine was born in Japan while his father was a Presbyterian missionary there. He still has two brothers who are missionaries some where in the Orient.

GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

Governor Harrison and I became well acquainted during the desegregation days in Norfolk, and he often told me privately that we were doing the best we could under the circumstances. I asked him when the Prince Edward Schools would be reopened, and he replied that if I had asked the question in January he would have said this coming September, but now he didn't know. He explained what he had already stated in the press, that for the State to operate the schools would require a revamping of the state's financial set-up. In fact, he said if the state should operate Prince Edward Schools, it would have the same obligation to operate all other public schools in the State.

Governor Harrison shows much concern over the school situation in Prince Edward and also concern over what could happen in Powhatan County. He expressed the opinion that the people of Prince Edward were not financially able to pay for private schools much longer.

STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Dr. Wilkerson, State Superintendent, and Harry Elmore, Assistant State Superintendent, talked with me about the state desegregation problems with emphasis on Prince Edward and Powhatan Counties. They are greatly concerned, but for the present are leaving the matter in the hands of the local authorities. This has been the policy of the state school administration from the beginning, and I believe it is generally true throughout the South. They act only when they are forced to do so.

RICHMOND CITY SCHOOLS

Superintendent Willett was quite busy working on the applications of new pupils to be assigned and on certain details of the suit brought by 11 Negroes who had been denied admission to two white schools last year. The suit was brought in the U. S. District Court before Judge John D. Butzner, Jr. on July 23, and it challenged the constitutionality of the State Pupil Placement Board and requested the Court to direct the City of Richmond to prepare a plan for desegregation of the City's schools.

The Virginian Pilot of July 24 reported that Judge Butzner took the case under advisement.

Richmond schools will assign more than 90 additional Negroes to white schools this coming September. These added to the 37 now assigned, will give Richmond more than 130 Negroes assigned to three senior high, three junior high, and two elementary schools. The Chandler Junior High School has the largest number, 75 - 80 in a school enrollment of 700. One white elementary school will have 15 Negroes assigned this coming September.

POWHATAN COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Caldwell met me in Richmond on July 17, and I talked with him by telephone for more details on July 18. He feels sure that Powhatan authorities would follow the pattern of Prince Edward County if they have to desegregate this coming September. However, there is some confusion between the State Pupil Placement Board and the local school board in the processing of the applications which may delay the matter for a year. Mr. Caldwell feels that the sentiment of the people is fast changing for the better and that the situation will be much improved in a year from now. My impression is that Superintendent Caldwell and the school board would oppose the closing of the public schools, but right now the board of supervisors and the more vocal people of the County including the Commonwealth Attorney would model after Prince Edward. I brought to the attention of Mr. Caldwell that the people should realize that they would be better off financially if they kept the public schools open for those who wished to attend them and receive state appropriations for public schools and tuition grants for those who preferred to attend private or public schools outside the County. In this connection he agreed with me, that it would be only a matter of time until the financial burden in Prince Edward would be too much for the people to bear. He asked me if I would be willing to come to Powhatan later to talk to the P.T.A. and other groups, and I assured him that I would come whenever he thought was the best time.

Powhatan County has only two schools; one for white children, grades 1 - 12, with about 800 pupils and one for Negro children, grades 1- 12, with about 650 pupils. The situation now is that 37 Negro children have applied to go to the white school. The two who were nearer the white school, for some reason which I do not know, have withdrawn their applications. This leaves 35, all of whom are nearer the Negro schools; however, white and Negro children are living in the same community and the white children are of course attending the white school. Mr. Caldwell realizes that the Judges now are giving careful consideration to the situations, especially where both races are living in the same community, that the children should have the privilege of attending the same school. He feels that the controversy between the two boards will result in the delay of a year and the climate will be better then.

Another development has taken place in Powhatan County which portrays the sentiment of the people. Three years ago, a small group was organized and persuaded some of the parents of first grade pupils to send them to a private school which was being established in a rented room. They managed to get a teacher from the school system. The first year they started with 25 in the first grade. Last year, they rented another room and added another class of 25 first graders, and this year they have done the same. Now they have three grades, 1, 2, and 3 of 25 pupils each in the private school which is conducted in rented rooms in an old garage. The superintendent says the building is not too bad.

This group has grown and has organized into a Foundation, selling stock and planning to build an 8-room building to be supplemented by the use of churches in case the schools are closed or may be for those children who do not wish to go to the public schools in the event they are desegregated.

A tragic situation could develop, but I hope the climate will change in time to prevent it.

ADDENDUM: July 26, 1962

Since completing my report, a most interesting and much wished for event has taken place. The July 26, 1962 edition of the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch reports:

"RICHMOND (AP) -- A federal judge today ordered Prince Edward County to reopen the public schools it shut three years ago to avoid racial integration.

District Judge Oren R. Lewis directed the Prince Edward School Board to make plans for the admission of pupils to the schools "without regard to race or color."

Lewis, in an opinion filed in the Richmond District Court, told the school officials of the rural Southside Virginia county to consider the public school applications "at the earliest date."

* * *

Prince Edward's schools, Lewis ruled, "May not be closed to avoid the effect of the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court, while the Commonwealth of Virginia permits other public schools to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers."

In the decision Lewis ordered that these plans be submitted to all counsel of record by Sept. 1, if possible, and to the court on Sept. 7."

This is good news. It will have a wholesome effect on Powhatan County also.

July 31, 1962

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

I received your report today and read it with much interest. I would like to hear more when you are here, about your discussions with the governor and superintendent in Powhatan especially.

Which brings me to a sad matter. I am planning to be on vacation August 4 - 9. I shall come back to the office on Friday, August 10 but will have to take off about lunch time to drive to Tuskegee where I am speaking that evening. The few hours that I am in the office will likely afford us an opportunity to speak only briefly; maybe we can get together, at least on the phone, Saturday, August 11?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

July 26, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing copy of my report of the Richmond visit; also, a brief annual report of my work from July 1, 1961 - July 1, 1962.

My next trip which I am planning now will include a half dozen places in northern Alabama. I shall leave Norfolk early on the morning of August 6 and shall be gone for about two weeks. Enroute to Atlanta, I shall go by Roanoke City, Roanoke County, and Gainsville, Georgia. Both Roanoke City and County have submitted new plans to the Court, and I am interested in knowing more about them.

The Gainsville school people were doing much good thinking when I saw them in June 1961. I'd like to know what progress has been made since that time. I shall spend Friday and Saturday, August 10 and 11 in Atlanta. I expect to visit Southern Regional Council office and Mrs. Paschall on Friday.

I shall drive to Birmingham on Sunday and visit with Rev. Jimerson and the Birmingham President of AAUW on Monday.

August 14 through 17, I am planning to visit the superintendents in Gadsden, Decatur, Sheffield, Florence, and Huntsville.

Les, I hope to see you on August 10. If you are on vacation, I'll have to be satisfied talking with your associates.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

PA ✓
PR ✓
MJ file

Yes, I'm sure you'd like to read this. Bill

August 2, 1962

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

After your telephone call last Sunday evening, I gave more thought to those whom I might contact in connection with the Prince Edward County situation. In addition to Superintendent J. S. Caldwell of Powhatan County, I decided to call the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Woodrow Wilkerson.

Mr. Caldwell was not in his office when I called Monday morning, so I called Dr. Wilkerson first. He appreciated my call very much and said he had not talked with anyone over there yet but would let them know of my availability at the proper time and thought I could be of much help to them. I told him that I would be in Norfolk this week and when I returned about August 20, I'd be here until the middle of September. At his request, I gave him my schedule in Georgia and Alabama for August 6 - 20 so he could reach me during that time if he needed me.

I talked with Mr. Caldwell on Tuesday morning, and he was most pessimistic. He said whenever they decide to reopen the schools in Prince Edward that my experience and counsel would be of great help to them, but at this time they have no idea of reopening the schools and that they would be hostile to me. He continued that they would make sure any plan submitted now would not be acceptable. He feels sure the people will continue to fight the Courts and do without any education if necessary. Mr. Caldwell did not know when Mr. McIlwaine would return or who was serving, if anyone, during his absence.

Before becoming Superintendent of Powhatan County, Mr. Caldwell was teacher and administrator in Prince Edward County and also was in a business capacity there for several years. He feels that he knows the people there very well.

Ben, I appreciate your call and suggestions.

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin
100% COTTON
FLUORESCENT

I am returning under separate cover your book, "Race and Reason". I thank you for lending it to me. I read it with much interest -- then reread your review of it, "A Virginia View of Race and Reason". I agree with you that Putnam is a rather convincing writer, but you are still more convincing.

Sincerely yours,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

PR ✓ (Have ack. + inform him of change)

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 23, 1962

TA ✓
ML ✓
SB ✓
MA - file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing report of my trip August 6 - 20, 1962.

This was one of the most interesting and satisfying trips that I have had. When I left Alabama, I had a most favorable impression of the people whom I met. I think Rev. Jimerson is doing an outstanding job. I am expecting to spend a week in Birmingham about the middle of October.

By the way, from newspaper reports, Virginia will double its number of Negro pupils in white schools again this year. The Richmond News Leader reports more than 1,117 Negores will be enrolled in 128 formerly white schools. This will make 29 school divisions that have desegregated schools. Last year, there were 533 in 75 desegregated schools in 20 school divisions.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

8/24/62

Les, I am enclosing some interesting clippings from this morning's issue of the Virginian Pilot

Brew

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
August 23, 1962

Several reports had come to my attention about the plans that the Court was requiring from Roanoke City and Roanoke County, Virginia; consequently, I scheduled these places on my trip, leaving Norfolk on August 6.

ROANOKE CITY, VIRGINIA

It was my good fortune to have the opportunity to talk with the three top administrators here, so I spent one full afternoon visiting with them, Dr. E. W. Rushton, Superintendent, Dr. Frisby Smith, Director of Instruction, and Miss Giboney, Director of Personnel.

Federal District Judge Michie had decided that Roanoke City should submit a plan to facilitate the desegregation process and set July 18 as the required date for it to be submitted. The School Board proposed in the plan for this coming year that all first graders be accepted in the white schools if they lived in the attendance area regardless of race. By March 15, 1963, the Board will submit a plan for complete desegregation of the school system. The school officials feel that they will have to desegregate, at least, two grades a year for the plan to be acceptable.

In the two years since Roanoke began desegregation, they have admitted 93 Negroes to White schools; however, the manner in which force had to be used by the Court apparently was the determining factor in requiring a plan rather than the number of pupils assigned. These are in all grades except the senior high schools and none has applied for the senior high grades.

Approximately 108 first grade Negro pupils live in attendance areas to make them eligible to attend white schools. Of this number, 80 live in the attendance area of one school where there will be only 60 first grade white pupils. In the first grade of this school, the Negro pupils will be in the majority if all decide to attend.

From the above data, there should be over 200 Negro pupils attending white schools in Roanoke City during the coming year. This is good progress.

ROANOKE COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Herman Horn and Assistant Superintendent DeWitt Miller had an unexpected meeting in Richmond on the morning of August 8 at the time I was scheduled to meet with them. However, I had the privilege of meeting with Mr. Charles Jennings, Director of Instruction, who seemed to be "carrying the ball" in desegregating the schools.

Federal District Judge Michie had called for a plan from Roanoke County on July 18 on the same day he was receiving a plan from Roanoke City. The County's plan is to assign all 7th and 8th grade pupils, regardless of race, to the school which serve the attendance areas in which they live. The County must desegregate the school system in seven years which means two grades each year. They too must submit in more detail their plan for extending desegregation to Judge Michie by March 15, 1963.

Unofficially, they plan to expand in both directions which means the following year they would include the 6th and 9th grades. I asked why not the 1st and 9th, and the reply was there is some objection to desegregation of the first grade. They had last year one Negro pupil in the 8th grade in a white school, and the Court has ordered another one to be placed in the 8th grade this coming year.

There are about 60 eligible 7th and 8th grade Negro pupils living in attendance areas of white schools. This means there should be approximately 60 Negro pupils attending white schools in Roanoke County the coming year. This also is good progress, an increase from one to 60.

GAINSVILLE, GEORGIA

Superintendent R. D. Blakeney and School Board Chairman George W. Moore met with me in Mr. Blakeney's office on the afternoon of August 9. Both of these gentlemen were much interested in the progress desegregation was making, and they expressed the opinion that Atlanta had set a good example and Georgia shouldn't have too much trouble. They felt that South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi would have quite a few problems.

Since I visited them last year, they have worked out attendance areas for all schools with the purpose of the school to serve all pupils in the area regardless of race. They have some Negroes in predominantly white school attendance areas and some white pupils in predominantly Negro school attendance areas. These school officials, as well as many others, hope that the members of the minority race, Negro or White, will voluntarily apply to attend a nearby school of his race or where his race is in the majority. They are completing this year a new high school, grades, 8 - 12, in a Negro section of the City. This has its own implications.

Gainsville's big problem right now seems to be what to do with a Negro child whose mother is white. They live in a predominantly white school attendance area, but the child wants to go to a nearby Negro school. The mother wants him to go to a white school but not the one which serves the attendance area. She said she would have him tutored again this year, as she did last year, before he could go to either of these two schools. It is an embarrassing situation, and the chances are he will be tutored again this coming year. I advanced the thought that when there are several other Negro children assigned to the white school, it would be less embarrassing to this particular child.

ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Superintendent John Letson was out of the City, but I had an interesting telephone conversation on the morning of August 10 with Deputy Seuperintendent Rual Stephens. Dr. Stephens felt that the climate in Atlanta is improving despite the fact a bond issue was recently defeated which included $26,000,000 for schools. He said different reasons have been advanced for its defeat; such as, Negroes seemed to feel it would be of advantage to the white people, while many white people seemed to feel it would improve the opportunities for desegregation, and, no doubt, some people were just opposed to increasing taxes.

Due to pending litigation, Dr. Stephens isn't quite sure of the number of Negroes that will be assigned to white schools this fall, but the school board has assigned at this time 44 new ones to 11 different high schools. This will give Atlanta a total of approximately 50 this coming year. Dr. Stephens gave me a cordial invitation to visit them whenever I am in Atlanta.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

As usual, I found my visit to headquarters most pleasant and profitable. I spent some time talking with the various staff members, and since Dr. Dunbar had to leave immediately after lunch to go to Tuskegee Institute to make a Commencement address that night, I took advantage of the opportunity to have lunch with Dr. Dunbar, Paul Anthony, and the new Director of the Voters Education project to give us more time to talk over various problems.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

When I left Birmingham on Tuesday, August 14, at noon, I felt much better about the situation than I did on Monday about noon. I had visited many more people than I had expected to see, and while some gave discouraging reports, others were rather encouraging. I wish I had allowed myself more time, as the one day and a half ended too soon.

My first visit was with Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director of Alabama Council on Human Relations. Others were Mr. James A. Head, business man; Mr. Charles Morgan, Jr., attorney; Bishop George M. Murray of the Episcopal Church; Mrs. Charles E. Feazel, AAUW; Dr. John E. Bryan, Sr., former superintendent of the Jefferson County schools; Dr. Frazier Banks, former superintendent of the Birmingham schools; and Dr. Theo Wright, present superintendent of the Birmingham schools. There were others I had to postpone seeing until next time, and with Mrs. Feazel and Frazier Banks, I had only telephone visits.

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations had stepped out of his office and when I tried the door about 9:30 A. M. on Monday, August 13, it was locked. His secretary opened the door and explained that Mr. Jimerson always locked the door when he went out; that they had had some threatening telephone calls. In a few minutes, Mr. Jimerson came in and his secretary, Mrs. Cox, said that some one had just called and said in a deep voice, "I'm coming up there and kill you all", then hung up. He said they had been receiving quite a few calls of this kind, and I could see that he was tense and jittery.

In talking with Mr. Jimerson, I found he was doing an excellent job making contacts and lining up influential citizens for the cause of open schools and desegregation. I found out that part of his tenseness was due to the poor financial condition of the Alabama Council. It would be tragic if he has to close for lack of funds. I believe the business men would raise the funds if some one would take the lead. Of course, Mr. Jimerson is not the one to do this.

Mr. Jimerson gave me a pessimistic impression of Birmingham. He fears that the meeting of the Southern Leadership Conference scheduled to meet there this fall will cause real trouble. The only place they can have integrated meetings is at the Gaston Motel which is owned and operated by a Negro multi-millionaire. Mr. Gaston is too big for the politicians to bother.

The power and influence of Eugene (Bull) Connor, one of three City Commissioners, gives Mr. Jimerson much concern. The Commissioners have divided up their duties and responsibilities, and Mr. Connor has charge of the police and fire departments, the public schools, and libraries. He appoints school board members, and makes other appointments in these departments. It seems that many people are really afraid of him. Apparently, he is quite cruel in his instructions to the police in dealing with Negroes, and one of his suggested solutions, according to Mr. Jimerson, is to buy 100 police dogs and sick one on any Negro who demonstrates in any way. Mr. Jimerson said that many people do not know the brutality that is carried out. It seems that Bull Connor "runs City Hall".

Very recently, 89 prominent citizens had a signed statement published in the newspaper directed to the police department, that they had better see that law and order is maintained. In January 1962, 1000 or more private citizens signed a petition to keep open the parks, even if desegregated, but the parks have been closed by the City Commissioners. One signer, the Manager of Sears, Roebuck and Company, had his store picketed by the K.K.K. I could go on and on, but these incidents give some idea of Mr. Jimerson's problems.

Despite all of this gloom, he arranged a luncheon meeting to have me meet three of the men I named in the opening paragraph: Charles Morgan, Jr., Attorney, who is taking an active part working with Mr. Jimerson, Bishop George M. Murray of the Episcopal Church, who also is quite active, and James A. Head, owner of a large stationery and furniture store, who is a past president of the Chamber of Commerce and now is Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100 men who are working to improve the

industrial development of the City. These three men did not disclose as much gloom as Mr. Jimerson had. I promised them that I would return in October for further discussion. They and others feel that the school board and administration are not too strong, but the business men would come to the rescue.

When I told Mr. Jimerson that I knew Dr. John E. Bryan, Sr., whose office is in the Comer Building also, he took me to see him Monday afternoon. After Dr. Bryan retired from the superintendency of the Jefferson County schools, he served six years as executive secretary of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce. He told me that he trained a younger man and turned the Chamber job over to him last January. My interview with Dr. Bryan was more encouraging. He feels that the school people lack strength and courage, but his six year's association with the business men gives him confidence that they will come through. Dr. Bryan gave me a cordial invitation to stay and go with him to the Kiwanis Club luncheon the next day, but I had another appointment and accepted for the next time I'm in Birmingham. By the way, Dr. Bryan, at the present time, is working with the Alabama Region National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Mr. Jimerson and I had a conference with Mr. Head in his office after our luncheon. I am very favorably impressed with Mr. Head. Mr. Jimerson gave me a half dozen other names to see on my next trip among which are those of Kermit Johnson, Superintendent of Jefferson County schools, and Charles Zukoski, Chairman of the State Committee for Better Schools. Mr. Zukoski has recently retired, at least partially, from the Vice-Presidency of the First National Bank of Birmingham. I am relating more about Mr. Zukoski in my report on Gadsden from a state-wide angle.

Mrs. CharlesE. Feazel of the Alabama Chapter of the American Association of University Women did not answer her telephone when I called her on Monday morning. I called her off and on during the day, and when I received no answer, I decided she was on vacation when my letter telling her of my coming to Birmingham arrived, which was the case. I called her before leaving on Tuesday morning, and she had returned from a three-week vacation late the night before and was very pleased that I called again. She and I decided it would be better to see her the next time I came, as she would like to go over all the material she had received during her absence. Then too, the AAUW is working out a program with the League of Woman Voters, and this would give them time to get together. She felt that they would like for me to meet with their combined group when I return which is tentatively in October.

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS

About a year ago, when I wrote to Superintendent Theo Wright that I would be glad to come to Birmingham on my way to Montgomery, he replied that his school board had instructed him to talk to no one about the situation, at that time; therefore, I approached him with some caution.

To my surprise, when I called him on Tuesday, August 14, at 9 A. M., stating that I was in Birmingham and wished to extend greetings, he reacted most cordially with: "Good, where are you? You are just two blocks from here, please come by --- Could you have lunch with me?" I went immediately to his office and spent most of the morning with him.

Dr. Wright seemed to be in a talkative mood and told me first about losing his only son about two years ago in a plane accident at Langley Field. He was a Colonel in the Air Force and had gone through both World War II and the Korean conflict -- a very tragic accident.

Then, he said one of his big problems was to get the Commissioners to appropriate enough money to operate the schools; that they would build buildings and then would not give enough money to operate -- and he continued, another problem is the threat to desegregate the schools. He seemed quite nervous over the situation.

Federal Judge H. H. Grooms of Birmingham was ordered on August 3 by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans to file within fifteen days an answer to a petition of mandamus presented to the Court by the Birmingham Negroes who seek desegregation of the schools. It seems that Judge Grooms has been practicing delaying tactics for the past two years, and now he is delaying because he says there is almost an identical case before Federal Judge S. H. Lynne, also of Birmingham, to be heard on October 3, 1962.

Superintendent Wright has fears as to what the Fifth Circuit Court will do before October 3. In analyzing the case with Dr. Wright, since at this time he has no active applications from the Negroes, I told him the chances are he will be ordered to submit a plan of desegregation of the schools by a specific date. He said their attorney thought that would be the decision also, but one cannot be sure. I told him that I would follow the case with interest, and if I could be of help before I return in October to call me. He replied with much interest that he would send me information on developments.

When I asked Dr. Wright what would happen when they had to assign some Negroes to white schools, he replied that all members of the school board have threatened to resign -- also the schools might be closed for a day or two -- just a cooling off period. This attitude of the Board evidently is one of the weaknesses the people are talking about.

Dr. Wright and I ended our visit by his walking back to the hotel with me about 11 A. M., and we had our "coffee break" at the corner coffee shop.

However, before leaving Birmingham for Gadsden, I called Dr. Frazier Banks, former superintendent, who since his retirement directs the Birmingham area Educational Television station. I promised to visit him to see his station on my next trip. I also went by Mr. Jimerson's office and gave him a final report of my activities which pleased him very much.

GADSDEN, ALABAMA

My visit with Ike Browder, superintendent of the Gadsden schools, was one of the most pleasant and interesting and set the stage for some good future work. Ike is one of the important leaders in Alabama. He has a background in politics as well as a broad experience in school work. When he was principal of the high school in his home town of Scottsboro, Alabama in the 30's, he was elected to the State Senate and served four years, 1935 - 39. For six years before going to Gadsden, he lived in Birmingham and was Director of the University of Alabama's resident extension program.

In 1954, Ike and his Board received a letter signed by 14 Negro citizens requesting that the Board give consideration to desegregating the schools, and the letter offered any help they could give in doing so. Since then, there has been no activity except at the present time, there is some movement to desegregate the public recreational facilities.

Ike says he would like for me to let him know well in advance of my next visit to Alabama, and he would plan a meeting in Birmingham of some of the outstanding leaders of the State to meet him him and me. One day during the week of August 20, Mr. Charles Zukoski of Birmingham (whom I have mentioned before), Chairman of the State Committee for Better Schools, has invited Superintendent Ike Browder of Gadsden and three attorneys, one from Mobile, one from Montgomery, and one from Grove City, to go with him to call on Governor-Elect Wallace in the interest of working out a sensible solution of this problem. This is the group, with Attorney Joe Johnston added (who wrote the Alabama pupil placement law) that Ike would like for me to meet with. He also said, if possible, he would take me to see Governor-Elect Wallace. By the way, Governor-Elect Wallace was a page boy in the State Senate when Ike was Senator, and he tells that Ike Browder gave him his start in politics.

Ike and I spent all of Tuesday afternoon of August 14 talking and visiting in the City, and he was proud to show me the new science wing to the high school which he had designed. I stopped by his office for another brief chat Wednesday morning on my way to Decatur. Men like Ike Browder give much encouragement even to a gloomy situation.

DECATUR, ALABAMA

Superintendent H. R. Leeman was much interested in talking and getting all information available; however, they have had no indication, at this time, of any Negro pupils wanting to attend white schools. He said buses had been integrated for some time but nothing else.

SHEFFIELD AND FLORENCE, ALABAMA

When I arrived at Sheffield on Thursday morning, August 16, Superintendent C. M. Brewster was out visiting a school building. He soon returned

and suggested that he call Superintendent Rufus G. Hibbett of Florence and Superintendent R. E. Moore of Tuscumbia. I had not written to Mr. Moore, but he had expressed a wish to Mr. Brewster to see me. This was about 11 A. M., and Mr. Hibbett said he would be right over, but Mr. Moore was planning to be out-of-town for several days and couldn't come. Both Mr. Brewster and Mr. Hibbett apologized for not writing because they intended to write and suggested we all meet together. We had a nice meeting of a couple of hours in Mr. Brewster's office in Sheffield. They have no immediate problem and no applications but are intensely interested in having all the information ready when the time comes. Both Sheffield and Florence have desegregated more or less routinely their buses and libraries -- and I'm sure "they sit down". They feel that since all military installations and activities are integrated, it will be easier for the Muscle Shoals area to follow suit. The school population in the Muscle Shoals area is about 20 percent Negro.

Both Mr. Brewster and Mr. Hibbett suggested that when I come to Birmingham the next time that about a half dozen of them in this area drive down for a meeting. They offered to arrange the meeting, if I let them know in advance, which I gladly promised to do. This is a wonderful group, and they want to be as well prepared as they can. I enjoyed talking with them.

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

Coincidentally, a fourth grade Negro pupil who had just moved to the City applied for admission to a white school on the morning of August 17 at about the same time I arrived at Superintendent Raymond Christian's office. This pupil lives on one of the Military reservations in Huntsville. The school population of Huntsville is about 12% Negro.

Superintendent Christian, Assistant Superintendent Burkett, and I had a short conference, and I could see that Dr. Christian was disturbed by the fact that State Superintendent of Public Instruction, W. A. LeCroy, and the legal adviser to the Governor were already on their way to Huntsville and would have a conference with Superintendent Christian that afternoon. I could judge also that Superintendent Christian did not prefer their visit and felt this could be better handled by the local school people.

Seven lunch counters had recently been desegregated very smoothly, and no one in this area pays any attention to bus transportation, as the Negroes sit where they prefer to sit. Just like the early days of desegregation in Norfolk, Virginia, these localities would have little trouble if the politicians would leave them alone. Dr. Christian said that he would like to be included when the group of Northern Alabama superintendents meet with me in Birmingham in October.

When I left Alabama after my visit of one week, my impressions of the State and of the people were most favorable, and I am looking forward with much pleasure and interest to my next visit.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

PR-2
SB
ML
PA
MA-file

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 24, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing copy of my report on my Washington, D. C. visit September 20 and 21.

My plans are still the same for October. Expect to be in your office the morning of October 11 and hope to see you then.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
September 24, 1962

J. J. Brewbaker

September is a busy month for school people, so it occured to me this would be a good time to spend a couple of days in Washington, D. C. renewing and making new contacts related to but not directly concerned with the operation of schools.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

I spent September 20 and 21 visiting four different organizations, as follows:

UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION

My first call was on Dr. Ralph Flynt, Assistant Commissioner for Research. Dr. Flynt seemed glad to see me and said he wished to tell me the progress that had been made since my last visit. He said they thought it advisable to select someone from his department (he didn't want to increase the personnel of his office) to direct this study which I described in a former report. After carefully screening the members of his staff, they selected Ed Ford of Missouri. He said they felt Mr. Ford was far enough south not to be objectionable to southerners. By the way, Dr. Flynt told me he was born in Georgia.

They intend to explore and discover local people in various professions or business who have favorable attitudes to furnish information. They will use also available outside consultants from time to time to give information and suggestions.

Dr. Flynt invited me to visit him whenever I am in Washington; that he would like to keep me informed as to the progress being made.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Mrs. Elizabeth Cole, Chief, Public Education Section is on vacation with her husband in Europe, but I had the pleasure of talking with Dr. Laurence W. Knowles who is in charge during Mrs. Cole's absence. Dr. Knowles is Professor of Law at the University of Louisville and is now on a one-year leave of absence, working with the Commission on Civil Rights.

Dr. Knowles showed much interest in the work I am doing and asked me to read and give my comments while in his office the section about desegregation in the Norfolk schools which will be in the next report of the Commission, entitled, "Equal Protection of the Laws in the Public Schools". I read this section eagerly and found it quite accurate. I understand the report will be printed and ready for distribution in October. At the present, it is in mimeograph form, and Dr. Knowles gave me copies of the report of the four southern states, but

he said the information must not be given out until the report is ready for public use. However, I have permission to give some general information about the report.

This report consists of four southern states, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kentucky; and four northern cities, St. Louis, New Rochelle, Chicago, and Philadelphia. (St. Louis may not be strictly northern but considered so in this report.) The report was written by eight lawyers on a contract basis who are members of the law faculties of Universities in the respective States and Cities. For example, Dr. Edward A. Mearns, Jr. of the Law School of the University of Virginia wrote the Virginia report, and Dr. Laurence W. Knowles of the Law School of the University of Louisville wrote the Kentucky report. These law professors gathered the information from school people, business men, lawyers, teachers, parents, both White and Negro. Another example, to give some idea of the report, is the Virginia report includes Legislative Background, then the school systems of Charlottesville, Norfolk, Richmond, Warren County, northern Virginia, and a Summary. This report promises to be most interesting.

Dr. Knowles said they were planning another similar report to come out about next April which would include eight more states and cities.

NATIONAL CHAPTER, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Last August, about a week before I left for my visit in Birmingham, and Northern Alabama, I received a letter from Mrs. Alice Fulmer Dunham, Staff Associate of the Elementary and Secondary Education section at the National Headquarters of AAUW requesting information on desegregation in different places, including Atlanta. Mrs. Dunham had received a request for information from Mrs. Charles E. Feazel of the AAUW of Birmingham for this information, and when she requested it from the U. S. Office of Education, she was referred to me. In my telephone conversation with Mrs. Dunham at that time, she asked me to come by to see her on my next visit in Washington.

In approaching the AAUW National headquarters at 2401 Virginia Avenue, N. W. through the grounds of George Washington University, I was so favorably impressed with the magnificent building that I could hardly believe it belonged to the AAUW. It is a large modern, built in 1959, eight-story building with a beautiful lounge, cafeteria and other rooms on the first floor, auditorium and conference rooms on the second floor and offices on the six upper floors. However, I learned that three floors at present are rented to a section of the National Science Foundation which affords the AAUW a nice income.

Mrs. Dunham had invited me to have lunch with her on September 21 which I enjoyed very much. She told me the chief concern of the AAUW

is to furnish information to any of their chapters when they requested it. Of course the National Chapter of AAUW is integrated, and they have several Negro employees in the building.

It was my good fortune to meet also Mrs. Tompkins, the President of the National Chapter. My visit was a most pleasant one, and I promised Mrs. Dunham that I would furnish her with information whenever needed if I had it.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE

Whenever in Washington, I drop in and have a chat with Harold Fleming. We brought each other up-to-date on happenings of mutual interest. It is always nice to see Harold.

This was a most interesting and worthwhile trip.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

√MA - copy for Freeman
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WB√
PA√
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MLV
MA - file

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 29, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing my report for trip October 9 - 20 to Atlanta, Birmingham, and Chattanooga.

Hope you have recovered and feel better than ever.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
October 29, 1962

My chief objective in this October trip was to spend a week in Birmingham working with groups brought together by the Alabama school administrators and to have conferences with some of the business and professional leaders of Birmingham. The groups had state-wide representation. Enroute to Birmingham, I stopped off at Atlanta and from there made a one-day visit to Chattanooga.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

At 10 A. M. on Thursday, October 11, I called on Dr. John W. Letson, Superintendent of Atlanta Schools. Dr. Letson is very pleased over Atlanta's progress, especially at Murphy High where they have the largest number of Negroes assigned. Since Murphy serves a rather low economic area, a smooth transition is even more gratifying.

He and I discussed also the forthcoming CBS program scheduled for October 24 which includes Atlanta, Clinton and Norfolk. He feels it will be good for Atlanta and is cooperating fully with CBS. The Norfolk School Board decided also to cooperate, but it seems the Norfolk City Council brought sufficient pressure on the School Board to cause a withdrawal of its permission. The Council stated it would "open up old wounds", offend the state organization etc. There is one important difference: Norfolk is fiscally dependent on the City Council while Atlanta is not.

As I understand, the program is to show how smoothly desegregation is working in these places despite the University of Mississippi episode. CBS has sufficient information to use Norfolk in the broadcast; they will be unable to get and use present classroom activities since they are prohibited from entering the schools.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Paul Rilling and I had an interesting conference in which we reviewed my visits on this trip and discussed some future plans.

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director, and Mr. Oliver S. Holmes, Associate Director met with me in their office on October 19. They gave me some interesting reports on activities which are taking place in Savannah and Brunswick, Georgia.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Dr. Carmichael, Superintendent of Chattanooga Schools, had to be absent, attending a meeting in Chicago, but he arranged for me to meet

with Dr. Elizabeth L. Dalton, Coordinator of Secondary Education, who has been working closely with the superintendent on the problems of desegregation, and R. A. Taylor, Assistant Superintendent for General Administration.

There are now 45 Negro pupils, grades 1 through 3, assigned to classes in five different elementary schools. Both Dr. Dalton and Mr. Taylor said there had not been a single incident of any kind.

At the present time, Dr. Dalton is writing the story of desegregation in the Chattanooga Schools. This will come out in booklet or brochure form and should be very interesting, judging from the table of contents which she had set up already in tentative form.

It is interesting to note the approach Chattanooga is taking toward the recent development regarding transfers of pupils, at the pupil's request, "when the school he is zoned to attend is predominantly of another race".

To show the disagreement in the Circuit Courts of Appeals and because of the wide scope of the article as written in the October 11 edition of the Chattanooga Times, I am quoting below the article in full. The decision of the Supreme Court on this appeal will be quite significant because up to this time, this type of transfer generally has been allowed. The Virginia case referred to is Charlottesville.

WITT TO ATTEMPT HIGH COURT PLEA

Seeks to Present School Board
Argument on Transfer Plan

By Springer Gibson

The city school board Wednesday authorized Raymond Witt Jr. its vice chairman and attorney in desegregation litigation, to seek permission to file a brief as friend of the court when the U. S. Supreme Court reviews the pupil transfer plan of the Davidson County and Knoxville school systems.

Witt is expected to request George McCanless, state attorney general, to sponsor such a move. The attorney general's sponsorship, he said, offers the best avenue for getting the Chattanooga argument before the Supreme Court when it is not a litigant. Witt also may suggest to Memphis that it join Chattanooga in the proposal.

The Knoxville and Davidson County plans permit the transfer of a pupil at the pupil's request when the school he is zoned to attend is predominantly of another race.

NOT APPROVED

The Chattanooga board is not operating under that plan, although it desires to do so. District Judge Frank Wilson did not approve that part of the school board's plan for desegregation. The board has appealed Judge Wilson's transfer decision and the case is expected to be heard by the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati in February.

In the meantime, Witt said, the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Knoxville and Davidson County case will determine ultimately the result of its own appeal.

For that reason, it was decided, it would be to the advantage of the board to have its arguments presented when the Supreme Court considers the case.

Witt said that there have been conflicting decisions in the 5th and 6th Circuit Court of Appeals relating to transfers. He said that the 6th Circuit has upheld the Davidson County and Knoxville plan whereas the 5th Circuit has held such a plan unconstitutional in a Dallas case.

Avon Williams, Nashville attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, pointed out that the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals also has ruled such transfer plans unconstitutional in a Virginia Case.

ILLINOIS CASE

Witt noted that the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in a desegregation case in Illinois that all state administrative remedies must be exhausted before a case may be accepted in a federal court. He said this may have significance in connection with the transfer proposals.

At the present time under the Chattanooga plan a pupil is required to attend the school in which he is zoned, unless the zone line has been changed, in which case he may continue to attend the school he attended before the zone lines were changed.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

My first call in Birmingham was on Reverend Norman C. Jimerson early Monday morning, October 15. Mr. Jimerson felt better than he did when I

saw him in August, despite the Talladega experience, and he was much pleased that the recent Southern Christian Leadership Conference had been held without any major incident. He assisted me in completing my schedule for the week in Birmingham.

Some grouping of the items in this report will help to save time and space; therefore, I shall discuss the individual conferences first and then the group conferences.

The Episcopal Church and office of Bishop George M. Murray was in the next block above the Tutwiler Hotel where I was staying, and I made my next call on him. He seemed to be pleased with the improvement in the climate of the City and told me that he was a college classmate of Governor-Nominate Wallace. He and the others with whom I talked are quite discouraged with the attitude of Governor Wallace.

My next individual conference was with James A. Head, owner of a large stationery store and Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100 business men who are seeking new industry for the City. Mr. Head was quite enthusiastic about the improvement that was taking place and told me how they had held the meeting of the SCLC in Birmingham without major incidents, and he cited certain improvements and changes in the attitudes of important people. In fact, Mr. Head suggested and arranged a conference for me with James E. Mills, Editor of the Post-Herald. Mr. Mills is an example of some of those who are changing. I shall relate my conference with him later in the report.

Mr. Head has had much to do with the organization of the group of Senior Citizens which consists at present of 89 members, 10 or 15 of them Negro. He gives much of the credit for the successful meetings of SCLC to this committee. It seems the committee urged Commissioner Bull Conner to see that law and order be maintained which I understand was done very well.

Just before I left Mr. Head's office, Mr. Harry Pritchard, a director of the Alabama Gas Company, came in to see Mr. Head. I was invited to stay to meet him, and we had some interesting conversation about the Alabama situation. Mr. Pritchard lives in Tuscaloosa and is Chairman of the Tuscaloosa School Board.

At 8:30 A. M. on October 17, I called on Superintendent Kermit Johnson of Jefferson County Schools. His school system has had no applications of Negroes to enter white schools, so we discussed the situation generally. He has a more hopeful attitude than the superintendent of Birmingham; however, he is not facing the problem at this time. Dr. Johnson is a very fine superintendent, and everyone with whom I talked in Birmingham has the highest praise for him.

Mrs. Charles Feazel of the AAUW met me at 12 Noon for lunch. The AAUW and the League of Women Voters had not formed definite plans, and she asked me for information as to procedures. I told her that I would send her the names of the leaders in the organizations in New Orleans and Atlanta where the groups had done a good job. She said she would call on me later for more help.

At 1:30 P. M., I met with Dr. Frazier Banks, former superintendent of Birmingham, and now Director of the Birmingham Education Television program. He was superintendent of the Birmingham Schools when the first petitions and applications for Negroes to enter white schools were received. He reviewed the history of the case and shaking his head said, "I'm afraid we are in for trouble".

My heavy schedule on this day took me at 3 P. M. to the office of James E. Mills, Editor of the Birmingham Post-Herald. As I stated previously, Mr. Head asked me to see Mr. Mills because of his changing attitude.

The Birmingham News had been more liberal in its policy than the Post-Herald, but now there was beginning to be a change, and the Post-Herald also was showing a more logical, liberal policy.

Mr. Mills opened the conversation with he had read my brochure and that he didn't have too much admiration for my sponsors. He said the Rockefeller Brothers are always sticking their noses into something which was none of their business; we could get along better without outsiders coming in to cause trouble, etc.

As tactfully as I could, I pointed out that the Rockefeller Brothers did much good; for example, the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg of which I am very proud. He agreed with this. I told him my sole purpose was to exchange experiences and give any information that might be helpful. I continued that some one did a good job when the SCLC had its recent meeting in Birmingham. This statement seemed to please him very much. (I knew that Mr. Mills had worked closely with the Senior Citizens Committee on this.)

We then discussed the coming election in Birmingham to change the city government from the Commissioner type to the Mayor-Council type. He is strong for the change and so am I except I would go still further to the City-Manager-Council type.

In concluding the conference, he said he hoped that they could get by with token desegregation in 1963. He was sure they would have to start then and that they just as well prepare for it. I wished them much success, and he cordially invited me to come to see him whenever I am in the City.

GROUP CONFERENCES

There were two group conferences. The first was held on October 16 at 10 A. M. and the second one on October 18 at 10 A. M. Both groups met

with me at the Tutwiler Hotel. The Hotel was most cooperative and gave me permission to use the very attractive living room of one of their suites.

The conference on October 16 consisted of seven superintendents of Nothern Alabama. Superintendent C. M. Brewster of Sheffield suggested when I saw him in August that a group of them meet with me in Birmingham in October to continue our discussion. He organized the group and did a good job bringing the following to the meetings:

Superintendent C. M. Brewster, Sheffield

Superintendent Rufus G. Hibbett, Florence

Superintendent R. E. Moore, Tuscumbia

Superintendent James F. Moore, Jr., Muscle Shoals

Superintendent H. R. Leeman, Decatur

Superintendent R. L. Christian, Huntsville

Superintendent Theo Wright, Birmingham

Superintendent Kermit Johnson of Jefferson County was unable to be present because of a previous commitment.

We discussed several problems in which the group was interested, but most of the time was used listening to Superintendent Theo Wright of Birmingham and Superintendent R. L. Christian of Huntsville. These were the only ones present who were facing immediate desegregation. Both told of their situations in detail. The hearings for Birmingham resume October 24 and the plaintiffs are asking for complete and all-out desegregation. The applicant in Huntsville has been denied, and the superintendent is waiting further action on the part of the parents.

This group decided that it was a good idea to get together to talk over these matters, and I suggested superintendents and their school boards should talk over their approaching problems as well as groups of superintendents. We have reached the stage where we can at least talk about desegregation.

The second and last group conference was held on October 18 at the Tutwiler. Superintdent Ike Browder of Gadsden proposed to me in August that he try to get together some state leaders to meet with me in Birmingham in October. This group was smaller than the first as a number who were invited were unable to come and maybe one or two didn't want to attend.

Those present were Superintendent H. D. Nelson of Tuscaloosa, Dr. Robert Bills, Assistant Dean of Research, College of Education, University of Alabama, and Superintendent Ike Browder of Gadsden. Several others were invited including State Superintendent-Elect A. R. Meadows. Superintendent

Browder wanted especially for me to meet Dr. Meadows. We fear he is too closely affiliated with Governor-Nominate Wallace. I told Superintendent Nelson of Tuscaloosa that I had the pleasure of meeting his Board Chairman Pritchard on Wednesday.

This group discussed the situation generally, including academic achievement. They agreed that those involved should meet often to discuss those matters facing them.

Superintendent Browder won't give up. He gave me a warm invitation to attend the annual state meeting of the Alabama Superintendents to be held in Mobile, November 11, 12, and 13. He said he would introduce me to the superintendents and also arrange for groups to meet with me. I tentatively accepted the invitation and promised to do my best to attend. This would afford superintendents an opportunity to meet me away from their offices which a few still prefer. I feel it is quite worthwhile for me to attend.

My impression of the people of Alabama is more favorable with each visit.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

PR✓
SB✓
ML
PA✓

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 5, 1962

MA-file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing my report for my attendance at the State Superintendents Conference and Virginia Education Association Meeting October 30, 31 and November 1, 2, 1962.

I shall see you November 19 and 20 at the Annual Meeting.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
November 5, 1962

The Virginia Education Association including the Department of School Administrators of Virginia held its 78th Annual Convention in Richmond, October 29 - November 3, 1962.

Probably the most significant event of the Convention was the passage of the "local option" policy by the delegate assembly by a vote of 591 to 550. Last year a local option study committee was appointed to report its findings to the board of directors of the Association and then to the delegate assembly for final action.

The local option study Committee recommended that the present V. E. A. membership policy remain unchanged and that local option not be permitted. The Committee's report had been approved by the board of directors by a vote of 13 to 3.

After a 45-minute debate in the delegate assembly, the Committee's report was voted down by secret ballot by a vote of 591 to 550. The secret ballot was a departure from the usual procedure, and the delegate assembly voted to depart from the Constitution and By-laws and use the secret ballot in this case. This change also required much discussion before the secret ballot procedure was used.

The local option plan means that local associations have the privilege to integrate their teacher associations, but the Negro members cannot become members of the Virginia Education Association. The State Negro organization is the Virginia Teachers Association.

The immediate effects of the change are:

(1) The Fairfax Education Association is free to integrate as it has indicated it may.

(2) The Arlington Education Association which lost its affiliation with VEA last year when it accepted about 80 Negro teachers into membership may now regain VEA affiliation. At the present time Arlington has only one local teachers association of approximately 1200 members, about 80 of whom are Negro.

It was my privilege to speak to the majority of the more than 100 state superintendents present, and a number of them voluntarily told me about their local situation. Superintendent Caldwell of Powhatan said they were waiting for action by the Federal Court, and Superintendent McIlwaine of Prince Edward, who has recently returned from a three-month

trip to Japan, also said Prince Edward was waiting for Court action. A number of other divisions, about 10 this year, had desegregated quietly without incident. The latest count brings Virginia to thirty desegregated school divisions.

It was my privilege also to hear some outstanding speakers among whom were Dr. Francis Keppel, Dean of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University; and Dr. Lindley J. Stiles, Dean of the School of Education, The University of Wisconsin. Dr. Stiles formerly was Dean of the School of Education, University of Virginia.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 30, 1962

MA - pls write last graf of letter + copy report for David Freeman

PR ✓
PA ✓
SB ✓
ML ✓
MA - file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing my report for trip to Mobile, Pensacola, Birmingham, and Atlanta, November 9 - 20, 1962.

I am so sorry I could not stay for the entire Southern Regional Council Annual Meeting. The short time I was there was most enjoyable and interesting.

By the way, in your changing secretaries so often, I have been missed in the L - Reports. I have not received L - 32 through L - 36.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
November 30, 1962

This trip was planned with two main objectives in mind: first, to attend the Annual Conference of the Alabama Association of School Administrators in Mobile, November 11, 12, and 13 to which I had been invited; and second, to attend the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, November 19 and 20. Since there were several days between these meetings, I planned to visit Pensacola and Birmingham during the interim.

MOBILE, ALABAMA - CONFERENCE OF ALABAMA SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

There were more than 100 superintendents, classroom teacher, Parent-teacher, and College and University representatives attending this three-day conference. Among these were the president and the executive secretary of the Alabama Education Association, the executive secretary of the Alabama Parent-Teacher Association, and the president of the Mobile classroom teachers. The tone was set by some state-wide happenings; such as: the November 6 election in Birmingham changed the City form of government from the antiquated commissioner type to the modern Mayor-Council type; on Friday, November 9, the Trustees of the University of Alabama, mindful of integration violence in Mississippi, in open session, expressed its determination that law and order must be maintained at all times on the campus of the University, and that the Board would not condone, and would take any measure it seemed necessary to prevent violence, riot, or disorder; on the following day, Saturday, November 11, the University of Alabama Alumni Council added its support to the trustees' stand for law and order; and one day after the end of the conference, November 14, the University of Alabama faculty of more than 600 members added its strength by approving a three-point resolution affirming that:

1. UA must discharge its duties in a manner consistent with the law of the land.

2. It is the duty and purpose of the faculty to teach all students enrolled at this institution.

3. Learning can flourish only in a peaceful atmosphere free from the threat of violence.

A News source said only one faculty member voted against the resolution.

It is most encouraging that Governor Patterson, a member of the Board of Trustees, was present when the unanimous vote of that body was taken. Also, the alumni group commended Governor Patterson and Governor-

Elect Wallace for their assurance "That law and order shall and will be maintained at the University of Alabama". These reports are most encouraging.

The registration of the delegates began Sunday afternoon, and I feel sure I met practically everyone there. Dr. Frank Newell, Superintendent of Calhoun County Public Schools, cordially invited me to be their guest at the opening dinner meeting that night which I accepted. The speaker was Dr. Carl Adkins, pastor of the Dauphin Way Methodist Church. Dr. Adkins is a powerful and courageous speaker. He began by describing the vital role of the educational profession in the modern world, and then he suggested that both educators and ministers have not fully met the challenge of their professions. Some excerpts from his address, as follows:

> "If we had," he said, "things which have happened in our state and our sister state would not have happened."
>
> Contending that "masses cannot be educated as masses" but that education must reach each individual on an individual basis, Dr. Adkins defined the "great school leader" as "one in whose presence other people gain a desire for knowledge and purpose to live higher, nobler and more useful lives."
>
> TRUTH HARD TO FIND
>
> The minister spoke of the problem of finding truth in the confusion of modern times and he commented that "the truth is difficult to obtain because of the prevalence of cheap imitations."
>
> "And we are paying a hideous price," he declared. "They have paid that price in Mississippi and we will pay it in Alabama unless certain people like you try to make your neighbors understand what it means to be a citizen of a law-abiding country."

Despite the fact that he is a Methodist, Dr. Adkins has been pastor of the same church in Mobile for 13 years. I had been previously introduced at the meeting, and when the meeting adjourned, I spoke to Dr. Adkins, commended him on his address and we talked for some time. He said he knew of my work and that at present they were working to have all the ministers in Mobile, Protestant and Catholic, propose a resolution for calmness and obedience to the law.

On Monday, November 12, I attended the sessions and had the privilege of hearing and meeting Dr. A. R. Meadows, State Superintendent Elect. Dr. Meadow's address was on Relationship of local

superintendents with state authority, but in meeting him after the meeting, he was most cordial and thanked me for attending the meeting. Superintendent Ike Browder introduced me to him and told him of my work. He expressed his regrets for not being able to attend the Conference with me in Birmingham last month to which Superintendent Browder had invited him.

Another highlight of my attendance was a group meeting with six interested superintendents at 4 P. M. after the general sessions of the day had concluded. Superintendent Ike Browder of Gadsden and Superintendent LeRoy Brown of Anniston arranged the meeting. Those present were:

Superintendent C. Frank Newell, Calhoun County
(Also President of the Association)
Superintendent LeRoy Brown, Anniston
Superintendent Ike Browder, Gadsden
Superintendent David W. Self, Phenix City
Superintendent W. W. Elliott, Tuscaloosa County
Superintendent T. H. Kirby, Opelika

We had an interesting round-table discussion for one hour.

The Conference concluded on Tuesday afternoon by adopting the following resolution:

"The association believes that the uninterrupted operation and continued development of the public school system of Alabama is essential to the preservation of our democratic way of life and the growth and development of the great state of Alabama."

My attendance at the Conference was a most interesting and helpful experience. It seems to me that the sound thinking leaders in Alabama are making a state-wide effort to meet this challenge, and I am encouraged to feel they will succeed. I have visited in Alabama three times for a total of about 25 days since August 1, concentrating on the Birmingham area. I have covered the entire state rather thoroughly, and my impressions continue to grow more favorable.

After I left Mobile, I read in the November 15 edition of the Birmingham News that an integration leader on November 14 placed before the Mobile school board a petition signed by 27 residents requesting the Board to act within 60 days to "provide for the elimination of all racial distinction and discrimination from the public school system, including the assignment of pupils and professional school personnel on a non-racial basis, with all deliberate speed".

PENSACOLA, FLORIDA

One of those interim days was spent in Pensacola. I went down from Mobile by Greyhound. I had a most interesting conference with Assistant Superintendent Reuben B. Orr and one member of the School Board. They are exceedingly well pleased with their situation and attribute their success to excellent preparation in advance.

Of the 58 Negro children who applied, 28 were assigned to 10 different schools, grades 1 - 12. Two more were quietly accepted later, and seven of the original ones moved or for various reasons did not report. At present, there are 23 Negro children attending White schools, and every one with whom I talked assured me that one would never know a change had taken place.

Dr. Orr feels that I could be of help in Duval and Hillsborough Counties, especially in Duval. I am planning to visit Duval in February.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

My first call in Birmingham on the morning of November 15 was at the office of Rev. Norman Jimerson, Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations. Mr. Jimerson was away in North Carolina, and I did not see him on this trip, but his secretary, Mrs. Annette Cox, was most helpful and told me of some of the developments since I had been there.

Mrs. Charles E. Feazel, the AAUW representative, wrote to me while I was in Mobile, thanked me for information I had sent to her and said she had had a very helpful talk with both Bishop Murray and James Head, whom I had suggested that she see. She said the League of Women Voters was working on the state level and felt there was nothing I could do for them until after Christmas. She closed by saying, "It is good to know that your kind offer of help still stands".

Mr. James A. Head, the business man on whom I lean heavily in Birmingham, seemed quite happy to see me. He is greatly encouraged with recent developments and asked me to go by again to see Superintendent Theo Wright of the Birmingham schools and to give him all the moral support I could. Mr. Head asked me for a dozen more brochures. He has distributed quite a number to his friends and feels they are helpful. You will remember that Mr. Head is Chairman of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100 men working to bring industries into Birmingham.

Superintendent Theo Wright gave me an appointment Friday morning at 8 A. M. He starts to work very early, and on this day he had a Board

meeting at 10 A. M. He told me of the decision of Judge Seybourn Lynne in October which combined the two cases, reported on before, and gave the NAACP attorneys until December 1 to file additional briefs, and he set December 31 as the deadline for the school board attorneys to file answers to the briefs. Judge Lynne implied in his statements that there would be no desegregation before September 1963. Superintendent Wright is nervously waiting.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

My plan was to attend the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, November 19 and 20, and stay over to have three or four conferences on November 21. However, my stay was cut short by illness in my family, and I was able to attend only part of the first day of the Annual Meeting. Even this short time was quite worthwhile in that I saw and talked with some of my colleagues whom I had not seen for some time and heard the reports in the business session which brought me up-to-date in this area of the Council's work. I missed the program sessions in which I am much interested but hope to inform myself of these through reports of the meeting.

This was a most satisfactory trip.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PA ✓
SB ✓
ML ✓
MJ - file

February 11, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1963
RECEIVED

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing my report for trip to Savannah and Atlanta February 3 - 9, 1963.

Sorry that I missed you and hope you had an interesting trip. Hope to see you in March.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
February 11, 1963

On February 3, I began my first trip since the latter part of November 1962. In the meantime, however, I did write a few letters, answered some questions, and thought through some tentative plans for the spring of 1963.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

The meetings of the Associated Public School Systems give me an opportunity to see and talk with some superintendents who still prefer talking about their desegregation problems away from home. The National annual meeting of this organization in July 1962 was held in Seattle, Washington which was too far for me to travel. During the fall and spring following the National meeting, regional meetings are held. The southeastern regional meeting was scheduled for Savannah February 4 and 5, and I planned to attend it. When I reached Savannah on the morning of February 4, the superintendent told me due to other conflicting meetings in Georgia, they had postponed the APSS meeting. He apologized for not notifying me but said the decision had been very recent, and there was nothing in the papers about it. He assured me I would receive notice of the next meeting. I was anxious to attend this regional meeting as I thought there would be some superintendents from Mississippi in attendance, and at this time I am angling for all the entrees I can find into this state. However, I am planning to attend the American Association of School Administrators annual meeting to be held in Atlantic City, February 15 - 20, and I'm sure I shall have an opportunity there to see some of the Mississippi superintendents.

Superintendent D. Leon McCormac and I had a nice visit while I was in Savannah on Monday, February 4, at which time he told me that the plaintiffs had petitioned all out desegregation including faculties as well as pupils. They are expecting the case to be heard very soon now. Savannah should have no particular problem. It seems all other organizations and activities are desegregated already to some extent except public schools and churches.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

On Tuesday, February 5, I traveled on to Atlanta by train and spent the remainder of the week there, and in the surrounding area.

DeKALB COUNTY SCHOOLS

On Wednesday, February 6, I visited in the superintendent's office in Decatur and talked at some length with Deputy Superintendent S. A. Moss. There seems to be no immediate problem here, and in reply to my

questions, Mr. Moss said they had separate attendance districts for white and Negro pupils, that they had no active applications at this time, and they thought it would be wise for them to wait for a court order before proceeding. In reply to another question about the climate of the community, Mr. Moss thought they would not have any more trouble than Atlanta. When I observed that Atlanta's example should make it easier for DeKalb and other Georgia school systems, he agreed that no doubt it would.

Before I left the School Administration Building in Decatur, I went by Superintendent Cherry's office, spoke to him and Mr. Candler, School Board Attorney. They were busy preparing the papers necessary to offer for bids the bonds which had recently been voted for new buildings. Superintendent Cherry most cordially invited me to come again real soon; he would like to sit down and have a long visit with me.

On Thursday and Friday, February 7 and 8, I spent the time visiting Southern Regional Council Headquarters, Mrs. Eliza Paschall and her group of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, and Mrs. William Pauley of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

I paid three visits to Southern Regional Council and had two pleasant and interesting visits with Paul Anthony. I missed Leslie Dunbar who was out of the City attending Council activities elsewhere. Paul Anthony and I analyzed the present situation the best we could and discussed future plans. In my opinion, there is cause for optimism in a number of regions.

ATLANTA AND GEORGIA COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Atlanta and Georgia Councils on Human Relations made it easy for me to visit with representatives of both Councils at a luncheon at Southern Regional Council Headquarters on Thursday, February 7. I had previously had a short visit with Mrs. Paschall and Mrs. Perkins of the Atlanta Council on Wednesday.

We had present at the luncheon on Thursday Mrs. Joseph Masuck, Education Chairman of the Georgia League of Women Voters, Mrs. William Pauley, Executive Secretary of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Executive Secretary, Mr. Tom McPherson, Assistant Executive Secretary, and Mrs. Charles Perkins, Secretary of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. We had a most helpful discussion of the situation in Atlanta and nearby communities as well as in Georgia generally.

Despite my disappointment in Savannah, I feel my trip was most worth while.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 28, 1963

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1963
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Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing my report for trip to Atlantic City and Washington, February 14 - 24, 1963.

I expect to be in Atlanta again about the middle of March, probably March 15, and hope to see you at that time.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

✓ MJ - give me a picture, please, of first page + second page down to "Washington"

PA ✓

SB ✓

MJ - file

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
February 28, 1963

The trip to Atlantic City to attend the annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators, and stopping off in Washington, D. C., enroute home, had as its chief purpose to review old contacts and to make new ones. I was especially desirous to meet AASA members from Mississippi and to try to determine when the time would be right to make some visits in this state.

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

The American Association of School Administrators has decided, from now on, to have all annual meetings in Atlantic City. This is the only place in the United States where hotel facilities and places to meet are adequate. The registration this year was over 26,000 members in attendance. This was an average of over 500 from each of the fifty states.

Delegates began coming in large numbers on February 15, and most of them were ready to begin activities on February 16. The meeting was held February 16 - 20, 1963.

In addition, to talking to old friends and making new ones, (I talked with a number from each southern state) I attended several of the more important meetings. The outstanding speakers whom I heard were Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson; Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina; Judge Harold R. Medina, U. S. Circuit Judge of New York; Tobias R. Weaver, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Education, London, England; and Francis Keppel, the new U. S. Commissioner of Education. Of all these, Terry Sanford made the most impressive speech for education and the general welfare. Many of us "shook hands" with him after his address, and he seemed pleased when I told him that we needed more governors like Terry Sanford.

In all the groups, I kept my eyes open for the "Mississippi boys". On Sunday night at the meeting of the Associated Public School Systems, from 11 to 12 o'clock (what an hour), I met an old friend of mine from the University of Southern Mississippi (old name: Mississippi Southern) at Hattiesburg, Dr. Ralph Owings, who is dean of the graduate school and the school of education at University of Southern Mississippi. I had forgotten that Ralph was located in Mississippi. I told him that I would like to meet some of the superintendents from Mississippi and told him why. He said he would do the best he could the next several days to bring us together -- that they should talk with me. Before we left the meeting that night, Ralph found Superintendent W. L. Rigby of Gulfport, who is facing some impacted area problems and told me that he felt sure that he and Superintendent R. D. Brown of Biloxi would be

interested in seeing me. These two cities are close together, and I understand there is a joint suit pending at this time.

Ralph told me that the Mississippi delegates were having a luncheon on Tuesday, and he would see how many of them would like to see me Tuesday afternoon or Wednesday. I suggested to Ralph that they have breakfast, lunch, or dinner with me at my hotel on Wednesday. Ralph saw Superintendent Kirby P. Walker of Jackson who arranged for a luncheon meeting with me on Wednesday.

Four superintendents from Mississippi, other than the two I had seen, met with me at the Colony Motel, where I was staying, Wednesday for lunch. These were Kirby P. Walker of Jackson, Thomas L. Reeves of Long Beach, F. W. Young of Yazoo City, and L. O. Todd of Meridian. Dr. Owings was leaving for home and couldn't be with us.

We had a most interesting discussion, and they all felt they must prepare for the inevitable; however, all except Superintendent Reeves of Long Beach, felt it would be best for me not to come to see them at this time. Superintendent Reeves said to let him know two weeks in advance when I was coming his way. He felt that the Gulf Cities would like to see me; namely, Long Beach, Gulfport, and Biloxi.

Ralph Owings of the University of Southern Mississippi gave me a most cordial invitation to visit him at Hattiesburg. This may give me an opportunity to see Superintendent S. H. Blair of Hattiesburg whom I did not see in Atlantic City.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Whenever I am in the vicinity of Washington, I find it advantageous to follow up on whatever information that may be available there. Then too, I am a member of the Planning Committee of the National Conference on Citizenship, and this Committee was meeting on Saturday. I was sure I would see Justice Tom C. Clark, who is President of the National Conference, at this meeting, and I was hoping I would be able to see Boyd Campbell from Jackson, Mississippi, who is on the Board of Directors of the National Conference. Unfortunately, Boyd Campbell died February 22, the day before our meeting. He was a very influential citizen of Jackson and Mississippi. He was President of the Mississippi School Supply Company. All the superintendents knew him favorably and well. Also, he was Director, First National Bank of Jackson, Mississippi Power and Light Company, and the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad. He was also President of the Chamber of Commerce of the USA, 1955. His passing is a blow to the State of Mississippi. I feel sure he could have been much help to us.

It was my privilege, and I deem it an honor to have been with Justice Clark for about three hours. I sat next to him at the luncheon and also at the discussion table in the afternoon. He was our

luncheon speaker. When we adjourned, he gave me a cordial invitation to visit him any time.

After I decided that I would stop off in Washington, I wrote to Mr. Ralph C. M. Flint, Associate Commissioner for Educational Research and Development, for an appointment while I was in Washington. He had to be in a budget meeting at the time, and I had the pleasure of meeting with Dr. Hunter Conrad, Director of Program Planning and Related Activities. We talked chiefly about the efforts of the Office of Education in connection with the "Clearing House" which was reported in some detail by me in my June 25, 1962 report, pages 1 and 2. In short, it was to be a report on the progress of desegregation in various school districts to show the problems which have arisen, how they were resolved, and the results, whether favorable or unfavorable. The report would serve as a guide to superintendents in their efforts to effect the smoothest and best approaches and solutions to the problems.

Dr. Conrad said that Ed Ford, who had been employed to direct this project, resigned after one month, to accept an assignment in a foreign country. Since then, very little progress has been made. The project has now been referred to Dr. Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, for his consideration, etc. I know Dr. Keppel and called by his office to congratulate him as our new Commissioner, but he was in a meeting, and his secretary wasn't sure how long it would last. I asked her to give him my card and to tell him that I had called.

While in Washington, as usual I called Harold Fleming. He was celebrating at home since it was Washington's Birthday, but we had a very interesting conversation by telephone. All seems to go well with him.

This was a most interesting, and I feel very helpful trip.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

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MLV
MJ-file

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

March 25, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing my report for trip to Roanoke, Atlanta, and cities in South Carolina, March 10 - 21, 1963.

Sorry I missed seeing you on this trip. I expect to be in Atlanta again April 18 or 19 and hope to see you then.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
March 25, 1963

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF VIRGINIA SUPERINTENDENTS
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

The Annual Conference of the Division Superintendents of Virginia was held at Hotel Roanoke, March 11, 12, 13, 1963. The Conference was sponsored by the State Department of Education. Practically all the superintendents attended and also some of the retired superintendents, school board members, members of the State Department staff, and representatives of text-book and supply companies.

Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, opened the Conference with an address which told of sound educational progress in the state and a wholesome spirit of optimism.

It was my privilege to speak to many of the superintendents present and to confer briefly with a number of them. Desegregation was progressing smoothly in most places, when it was being attempted, and only a few superintendents seem to have much concern with reference to it. Superintendent T. J. McIlwaine of Prince Edward County had some fears that the Board of Supervisors could not be compelled to appropriate money to open the schools which would cause the Federal Government to do so, thus giving the Federal Government undesirable control over the local schools and would also set a bad precedent which could be followed in other places.

Superintendent J. S. Caldwell of Powhatan County showed great concern over the situation which is developing in his county. In ruling that certain Negro children in Powhatan must be admitted to white schools, Judge John D. Butzner, Jr. issued an injunction against closing the public schools under any condition. Since the people know the schools must remain open, the ardent segregationist are trying to force all the white people in the county to send their children to private schools, which are planned to be constructed, thus leaving the public schools to be attended only by Negroes. Superintendent Caldwell said he thought I could be of much assistance in the County, but it would be suicidal for him, position wise, to invite me or even to introduce me. I told him I hoped there would be enough sound-thinking people with enough courage to resist this pressure. However, this is a vicious type to resist.

Only one other superintendent showed some concern, Superintendent M. L. Carper of Lynchburg. It seems they have some controversy over the location of a high school because of the race situation. He thinks I can be of help talking with certain groups of parents and would like for me to visit him some time in April.

I spent March 11 and 12 with the superintendents in their conference in Roanoke, then on March 13 drove to Anderson, South Carolina--a long drive for me, 335 miles. However, it was a beautiful day after two miserable ones, and the drive was quite pleasant.

ANDERSON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent W. Henry Cone became Superintendent of the Anderson, South Carolina Public Schools last July 1. He and I had a two hour conference, and I found him to be one of the more liberal-thinking, forward-looking superintendents in the South. His school district has about 11,000 pupils, approximately 20 per cent of them are Negro. They have had no petitions or applications from Negroes to enter white schools up to this time. I feel that Anderson, Greenville, and Spartensburg will experience very few problems when they have to desegregate their schools.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Cone was born in southern Georgia, graduated from the University of Florida, and received his doctorate from Harvard University. He has had eight year's experience as teacher and administrator in Florida and five years in Massachusetts, four of them as superintendent. I am relating this to show his broad background and his potential as one of our outstanding educational leaders in the South.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

My visit with Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council was both interesting and helpful. Paul and I discussed my work for April and May, and he gave me a number of "leads" which will help me in making my work more effective.

Mrs. Frances Pauley of the Georgia Council on Human Relations gave me some most helpful suggestions with reference to certain places and situations in Georgia. I always find my visits with her quite worth while.

ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

It is coincidental that some important developments take place during my visits to some of the school districts. When I asked Superintendent H. A. Marshall of the Orangeburg schools as to desegregation in his City, voluntary or otherwise, he told me about the open-house which was held on Sunday (the day that I arrived) by the Kelsey-Hayes Company, tool manufacturer, which was attended by approximately 500 people, one-fourth of whom were Negroes. No one seemed to be concerned over this which pleased Superintendent Marshall. This Company employes about 700 people.

Then on Monday, March 18, the day I had my conference with Superintendent Marshall, the news came over television that the convictions of the 373 Negro College students in an anti-segregation march, which took place on March 19, 1960 in Orangeburg, have been ordered reviewed.

The Orangeburg march of March 19, 1960 involved an estimated 1000 students of Claflin and South Carolina State Colleges there. The march was called off after 373 were arrested. Each arrested marcher was sentenced to pay a fine of $50.00 or serve 30 days in jail. The convictions which were upheld by the South Carolina Supreme Court will now be reviewed by that Court after the March 18 order to do so by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Superintendent Marshall said the only other attempt there was a petition filed by the NAACP in 1954 asking for complete integration of the schools. This apparently caused quite an explosion, and Mr. Marshall described it as a "mess". Since then, there has been no other effort in the schools. This school district has 7800 pupils, about 58% of them are Negroes. Mr. Marshall feels they will go as far as the Courts will permit them before they desegregate, but they will desegregate before they resort to closing the schools.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

In ordering a review of the Orangeburg march of March 19, 1960, the U. S. Supreme Court called attention to its February 25 reversal of convictions of 187 Negro State House marchers at Columbia. Conviction of the State House marchers was over turned on the grounds their right to free speech and free assembly had been violated when the state arrested them. This was noted in the same newspaper article which told of the Orangeburg decision.

Dr. Guy Varn, Superintendent of Columbia Schools, told me that he wanted me to see some of their integrated schools. He was referring to about 200 Puerto Rican children whose parents had been transferred to Fort Jackson since January 1, 1963 and were living in the Columbia school district. He said he understood about 800 more Puerto Rican families were being transferred here. The children are about as dark in color as Negroes and darker than some. We agreed that these transfers which were being accepted gracefully and the Clemson University desegregation would be helpful when the public schools have to desegregate.

Dr. Varn, after our morning visit to three or four schools, had Dr. Claud Kitchen, Administrative Assistant, and Mr. Clark Brockman, Co-ordinator of Instruction, to meet with us at which time we discussed the successful desegregation in Chattanooga, Knoxville, Pensacola, Atlanta, and other places. After our discussion, Dr. Varn took us as his guest, to the Palmetto Business Men's Club for lunch.

The lunchroom counters in Columbia were quietly desegregated about a year ago. Transportation and the libraries are also desegregated. Dr. Varn does not anticipate too much trouble but is sure the change will have to be under a Court order. About one-third of the school population is Negro.

The superintendents of Sumter, Florence and Darlington were not available because of their attending the annual teachers meeting in Greenville on Thursday and Friday. They understand that I shall see them in April, and the superintendent at Darlington is attempting to arrange for me to see all three of them in one conference. This, of course, saved time and enabled me to get home three days earlier on this trip.

It is my good fortune to find more and more outstanding educational leaders among the superintendents in the South. This fact alleviates my fears and continues to give me optimism.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

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MJ-file

May 4, 1963

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing my report for April 15 - May 3, 1963.

You will note from my report the "about-face" in Baton Rouge. It is most encouraging.

I am planning my May trip now and shall be in Atlanta on May 20, probably arriving from Tallahassee sometime on Saturday, May 18.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
May 4, 1963

This was one of my long trips from April 15 to May 3, 1963 inclusive, a period of 19 days, during which time I traveled 2675 miles. Not only was this a long trip, but it was a most interesting and encouraging one. I visited three new cities, Florence, South Carolina, Montgomery, Alabama, and Hattiesburg, Mississippi. I had visited Montgomery before, but this was my first official visit. The others were re-visits, and all showed much improvement except Sumter, South Carolina.

FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Very soon after I entered my room about 4:30 P. M. at the Holiday Inn in Florence on Easter Monday, April 15, my telephone rang, and Superintendent Henry L. Sneed, Jr. was calling to ask that I see him that evening. Since my appointment had been made, it developed that he had to be in Columbia the next day in connection with a legislative committee hearing on the state's proposed tuition grants bill.

Mr. Sneed came across the street from his office to my room, and we had a very interesting conference until about 6 P. M. Up to this time, there have been no applications in Florence by Negroes to attend white schools. He feels that they are satisfied with the provision that Florence has made for them.

Mr. Sneed was concerned about the proposed state's tuition grants bill. He, along with practically all other superintendents with whom I talked, is opposed to tuition grants. I found one outstanding exception: Sumter.

Later in the evening, I had an unexpected and pleasant experience by attending the movie, "To Kill a Mockingbird" with Mr. and Mrs. Sneed. As I was leaving the Holiday Inn dining room about 7:30 P. M., they drove up, and Mr. Sneed said that they had been trying to call me in my room to invite me to go with them to see the movie. I accepted, of course, and enjoyed it. The theatre was well filled, and I feel this movie will be most helpful in the South. When I reached Montgomery on Friday, April 19, it was showing there. My brother told me that during the first few days the people had formed long lines before the theatre to see it. It was being shown also in New Orleans and the other cities which I visited. It has a southern setting, somewhere in Alabama. However, Macon was mentioned somewhere in the movie.

While I was in Florence, I called Superintendent Mangum of Darlington and arranged to see him on my next trip, at 10 A. M., May 13.

SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

This was a most disappointing visit. I met with Superintendent L. C. McArthur, Jr. and Vice Chairman of the school board, Robert O. Purdy II. These two met with me on my earlier visit to Sumter on January 9, 1961. This is one place where the situation has grown worse with time. They told me that additions to some of the churches had been completed for school use if the time ever came that they needed them. They were most uncomplimentary to any outside "interference", as they called it, and as usual, they would get along all right if left alone. Truthfully, that is exactly what I intend to do.

They pointed out that Clarendon County, one of the original cases, had done nothing yet. I could not refrain from adding that we have one of the original cases also in Virginia, Prince Edward County, which has developed into a most disgraceful and tragic situation.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

This time, I had visits with both Dr. Leslie Dunbar and Paul Anthony. They felt I was visiting some strategic spots on this trip, and we worked out one more short trip for May. As in the past, I received good help from both.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

This was my first official visit with Superintendent W. T. McKee of Montgomery. They have had no applications from Negroes to attend white schools, but they do have Maxwell Field which is being affected.

Superintendent McKee said the Federal Government was building a $400,000 elementary school on the grounds of Maxwell Field to take care of about 500 federal employees' children. I understand these children may attend the new school on the base, or if they prefer, continue to attend the segregated city schools, but the city will not receive any federal funds for their education. The high school children will continue to attend the segregated city schools.

The transition will not be easy in Montgomery. The Governor lives there which makes the situation worse. In fact, he is making it worse for the entire state.

MOBILE, ALABAMA

Upon my arrival on Monday, April 22 at 9:30 A. M. in Superintendent Cranford Burns office in Mobile, he said that he hoped he had not upset

my plans, but he had invited all his board members who could attend to meet with us at 10:30. I assured him that I was delighted that he had, and I could give them all the time they wished. He also stated that his board was no longer hiding its head in the sand, but in a fast changing climate was attempting to meet the problem in a sensible manner.

The meeting at 10:30 consisted of only one board member, Mr. Kenneth Reed, a business man who had been on the board for some time, serving as Chairman as far back as 1954. Dr. Burns, Dr. C. L. Scarborough, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Pupil Personnel, were also present. The other members were unable to come because of previous commitments. They wanted to know about everything that we had done in Norfolk, feeling that Norfolk and Mobile had many similar characteristics. They were especially interested in the best way to handle dances and other social activities. Our conference ended at 12 o'clock because Dr. Burns and Mr. Reed had luncheon engagements, but Dr. Scarborough and I talked for another hour on the details. I promised to send him the present procedure used in Norfolk, after five years of experience, relating to all social activities.

Superintendent Burns seemed to have a high regard for the SOS group, and told me that his daughter was a leader in it. I told him that Paul Anthony would be in Mobile on May 16, and he would be glad to talk with him about anything helpful that he could do. Dr. Burns thanked me and made a note of the date.

It seems that the Department of Justice had issued an order to Mobile to the effect that all schools serving the children of federal government workers would have to be desegregated by September 1963 or federal funds for the education of these children would be withheld. However, the order has been modified and does not specify a definite date. Dr. Burns said that 12,000 of their 75,000 children would come in this group, and they attended practically everyone of their 75 schools. In this case, the Federal Government could not build a building as it is doing at Maxwell Field in Montgomery. The children are too scattered. The school officials are not sure when they will have to comply with this order.

It seems to me that the climate in Mobile is getting better all the time for the change and the major roadblock will be Governor Wallace. However, he is having his problems. I read in the Montgomery Advertiser on Sunday, April 21, that his lieutenant governor was taking jabs at him. I have heard the state attorney general has been taking jabs also. A break may come in the official family.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Superintendent C. Perry Walker seemed to be in good spirits despite the fact that they were to be the defendants in the Fifth Circuit Court

of Appeals on April 24 and 25. I talked with him the day before. It is the old case in which Judge Wright ordered desegregation through the sixth grade which order was modified later by Judge Ellis, who succeeded Judge Wright, by permitting the grade-a-year plan providing they stripped the process of certain limitations and took all who applied. The NAACP is appealing the decision of Judge Ellis to enforce the original six-year decision of Judge Wright. Superintendent Walker said everything is quiet, and that New Orleans is not experiencing any marches of protest such as those in Birmingham.

My final conference in New Orleans was a luncheon meeting on Thursday, April 25, with a group of five citizens with whom I had worked on former visits. When I arrived in New Orleans, I called Mrs. C. W. Coffey and invited her and some of our mutual friends to meet for lunch or dinner. We selected April 25 for a luncheon, and she as usual was successful and had to meet with us Dr. Robert Lancaster, President of the Citizens for Public Schools organization, Reverend Ralph Bridges, Episcopal Minister, who is on the board of Citizens for Public Schools and Committee for Public Education, Mrs. Robert Lancaster, member of the boards of both the above committees, and Mrs. Gerald Osborn, First Vice-President of the Louisiana League of Women Voters. Mrs. Coffey is on the board of both the above named groups also.

We met for about three hours and had much discussion about the situation in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and the state generally. This group feels that desegregation is moving along very well but is concerned about what they feel is weak school administration, ineffective teaching personnel, especially in public relations, and the lack of money for public education. Tuition grants, $360 plus $44.00 for supplies etc. per pupil who attend private non-sectarian schools, is much more than is given per pupil in public schools.

This group informed me also about the change in board members in Baton Rouge. Recent elections in both Baton Rouge and Birmingham have elected more liberal-minded people over the strong segregationists.

The group expressed interest in the American Legion Convention scheduled to meet in New Orleans soon. It is the feeling of this small group that the New Orleans hotels would be willing to accomodate those attending the Convention on an integrated basis.

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

My visit in Baton Rouge on April 24 was most pleasant and interesting. Superintendent Lloyd L. Lindsey had written to me that they would be glad to see me, and I spent three hours with Mr. Lindsey, Dr. John D. Greene, Director of Instruction, Mr. Robert Aertker, Assistant Superintendent, and several other members of the staff.

The attitudes of the administrators and the climate of the community were in striking contrast to what they were when I visited Baton Rouge, May 16, 1962. I was told by the group of citizens with whom I ate lunch in New Orleans that the change came about in Baton Rouge by the defeat of the segregated-minded board members with whom the board had been packed by the recent election of more liberal-minded members. Superintendent Lindsey stated frankly that they had decided they could not sacrifice the welfare of the children and the community because they opposed to desegregation in principle. They feel they will have to desegregate this coming September, and the school board has asked the superintendent to present a plan for doing so. They are not sure at this time whether they will recommend beginning with the first grade and working up or with the twelfth grade and working down. They may even accept applications for all grades as we did in Norfolk. They have requested me, as was done in Mobile, that I send them in detail what had developed in the social activities in Norfolk over the past five years. The fears of most people seem to lie in the social life of their children in desegregated schools.

The change in the climate of the community was indicated by the fact that Superintendent Lindsey showed me a petition signed by 400 of the leading and outstanding citizens of Baton Rouge urging the school board to comply with the orders of the Courts, but to limit the number of Negro children assigned to white schools as much as possible. He showed me another petition of 800 names of average citizens urging that segregated schools be maintained.

I stressed the weight this petition of 400 leading citizens would have on the Community, comparing it with the one signed in Norfolk by 100 leading business and professional men. I have found no place that has changed more quickly than Baton Rouge and with more determination to meet the challenge. Baton Rouge, I feel sure, will come through without too much trouble. This gives all of us optimism, including the school officials there.

HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI

Dr. Ralph S. Owings, Dean of the School of Education and Psychology of the University of Southern Mississippi, asked me several times to come by to see him at any time I happened to be in the vicinity of Hattiesburg. This is a very impressive looking and large University with approximately 6000 students.

Hattiesburg is about one-third of the distance (360 miles) from New Orleans to Birmingham. I arrived in Dr. Owings office at 11 A. M. on Friday, April 26, and was greeted by his secretary, a young lady who had taught in one of Norfolk's neighboring school systems who said she had heard me speak a number of times. I am not sure whether this impressed her favorably or otherwise, but she was quite cordial.

Dr. Owings was disappointed that I had been unable to see any of the Mississippi superintendents on this trip, but frankly said that they were fearful of what might happen. I was impressed with the fact that the White Citizens Council with the implied or otherwise consent and support of Governor Barnett was spreading as much terror as possible.

After a most pleasant chat with Dr. Owings, I proceeded on to Birmingham.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

This was the most interesting of my four visits to Birmingham. I found some frustration because of the two city governments operating at the same time, and because of the protest marches under the direction of Dr. Martin Luther King which were beginning to cause many of the more liberal-thinking people, especially those people who had worked for the new and more liberal form of government, to resent Dr. King's uncompromising position. At this time, an effort is being made to get Dr. King to declare a moratorium to allow the new city officials an opportunity to try to resolve the problem.

Despite all this confusion, everyone with whom I talked said the climate and situation generally in Birmingham is greatly improved over what it was a year ago. The leaders are quite optimistic, and the situation is far from what reports would lead one to believe.

An unexpected opportunity presented itself on Sunday, April 28, for me to get a viewpoint of an average citizen of Birmingham. I decided to eat lunch at the Britling Cafeteria, about a block from the Tutwiler and happened to sit next to a man, Leon Triplett, who was employed by the Hayes International Corporation. As we were eating, a large crowd of people began pouring into the cafeteria, and Mr. Triplett remarked they are people coming from church. He continued, we had three Negroes at my church again this morning, the First Baptist Church, and this is the third Sunday, beginning with Easter Sunday. We had felt they would not come back, but they are coming and are being accepted by more churches each Sunday. (The Birmingham Post-Herald carried an inconspicious short item on an inside page Monday morning, "Negroes Visit White Churches". It stated, "Groups of Negroes carrying printed cards saying, "We come in a spirit of love" visited 39 churches here yesterday. They were accepted at nine.") I am not sure, continued Mr. Triplett whether we were wise or not when we accepted them the first Sunday.

A policeman was standing inside the entrance to the cafeteria, and in reply to my question, Mr. Triplett supposed he was there to keep out any Negro who might try to enter. He felt that Birmingham could control the Negro activities but feared what might happen if the extreme element of the white race should get started.

This average citizen seemed to be accepting the situation, hoping that nothing of a serious consequence would happen. However, this may not have been quite the viewpoint of another average citizen since Mr. Triplett was employed by Hayes International, but I am sure there are a lot of people like him in Birmingham. The casual visitor and I understand many of the citizens would not know anything is happening here unless he accidently ran into it, saw it on television, or read about it in the newspapers.

My next conference in Birmingham was a long telephone conversation early Monday morning with Mrs. Charles Feazel, Chairman of the "Social and Economic Issues" of the American Association of the Birmingham University Women, an organization of 550 members.

Mrs. Feazel said she was disappointed that something of a more positive nature had not developed in the school system, but she was pleased with the recent election of citizens of more moderate attitudes. She said her organization had not been able to do much yet, but was ready to help at any time. She felt the best thing they could do now was to give out the right kind of information.

Mrs. Feazel concluded by saying that she was pleased with the change in government at city hall, and she felt a much better climate had developed in the City during the past year. Now people were not afraid to discuss the situation.

My next visit was with Reverend Norman Jimerson, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Mr. Jimerson looked so much better, and he said he felt better but was still frustrated. He was having trouble trying to get Dr. King to be more reasonable and also trying to influence the Negroes to temporarily cease to attend a couple of the white churches where the ministers were being threatened by their congregations of losing their job. He felt, and rightly so, that the Negroes were doing injury to the cause and bringing about the loss of some of their strongest friends. -- If people would only be reasonable.

While I was in Mr. Jimerson's office, David J. Vann, the man who did the most to bring into existence the new government, walked in. I understand from others that Mr. Vann is a member of the leading law firm of Birmingham, and his firm supported him all the way despite the vile and rough criticism thrown at him by Bull Connor and the other opponents. When Mr. Vann walked in after he found out who I was, said he was both angry and disappointed because the Negroes led by Dr. King would not give their friends an opportunity to do something. By their friends, he meant the newly elected Council for which he had worked so hard to put in office.

At the present time, there are two sets of government operating in Birmingham. The Commissioners meet, and then the Mayor and Council meet on

the same day at different times. So far, they have been in agreement, but no one knows when they will disagree. The decision of a local state judge that the newly elected officers should take over the government has been appealed to the Alabama Supreme Court. In an editorial in the May 1 edition of the Birmingham Post-Heard, "TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT" the editor said, "The Alabama Supreme Court has its hands full, we are sure, but it certainly would relieve a lot of headaches in Birmingham by moving as quickly as possible to settle the question of who's supposed to be running the City".

After my visit with Mr. Jimerson and Mr. Vann, I ran into Dr. John Bryan, Jr., as I left the elevator on the first floor. He seemed very glad to see me, and after we talked for awhile at the foot of the elevator, we went to his office on the ninth floor to continue our conversation. I did not know until he told me that he was one of the newly elected Councilmen. In fact, he led the field of 75 in the elimination and again received the largest vote of the 18 from whom the nine were selected. He received over 30,000 of the approximately 42,000 votes cast. I learned also that Dr. Bryan has been selected "Man of the Year" for 1962 by the Young Business Men's Club. He asked if I could do anything to persuade Dr. King and the other Negro leaders to give the new Council an opportunity to get to work on the problem. He said the City Council would appoint a bi-racial committee which he preferred to name The Citizens Community Relations Advisory Committee with a minimum of 10 members to a maximum of 24, with half of them white and half Negro if the Negroes would cease their marches and quiet down. He said they were asking for the appointment of the bi-racial committee, the intergration of lunch counters and the upgrading of positions for Negroes. He was in favor of all these things, but the Council was prevented now by "Marches" and "two governments".

As I stated in a former report, Dr. Bryan and I have been good friends for a number of years. He was Superintendent of Schools of Jefferson County for a number of years and since his retirement has served several years as Executive Secretary of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce. He is a popular and influential man. His father was a Presbyterian minister and was much loved and highly respected by all the people in this area.

Dr. Bryan took delight in giving me copies of a speech by Honorable Albert Boutwell, the new Mayor of Birmingham, which I am attaching as part of this report.

James A. Head, owner and operator of a large school supply store and one of the strong workers in the Chamber of Commerce as well as a private citizen for a better Birmingham, was in a jolly mood when I saw him on Tuesday morning, April 30. He said there has been a wonderful

improvement in the situation and that he felt he had enough influence with the Negro leaders and that he could effect the changes which Dr. Bryan felt so necessary now. He was confident that they were well on the way of resolving the problem. However, at the time of making this report, he has not been successful.

My last call on Tuesday morning before leaving for Huntsville was on Dr. Theo Wright, Superintendent of Schools. Dr. Wright is still nervous and frustrated but feels the situation generally is greatly improved. However, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has not given a decision on the "Hearing" of last November, and he does not know where the schools stand at this time. The appeal was on a petition by the Negro attorneys for complete and all out desegregation of the pupils and teachers in the schools.

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

On Wednesday morning, May 1, I called on Dr. Raymond Christian, Superintendent of the Huntsville Schools. Dr. Christian reviewed what had happened in Huntsville since the first child applied last August and was denied admission to a white school. Out of that hearing before the school board came a petition for complete and all out desegregation of their schools similar to the one in Birmingham. This petition will be heard by the Federal Judge on May 28, 1963.

Huntsville has before it also a petition to desegregate all schools which are attended by the children of parents employed at the Redstone Arsenal. This petition is similar to the one in Mobile.

In conclusion, with the exception of Sumter, South Carolina, I found much improvement in the attitudes of the leaders and the general climate in the South.

Speech by Hon. Albert Boutwell
Mayor of Birmingham
To the National Conference of Christians & Jews
at the Redmont Hotel, Birmingham
April 19, 1963

I am privileged and pleased to be here as your guest. If I am correctly informed as to the purposes of this great organization, I believe that you and I share one precept in common. I am told that you believe that basic conflicts between men can only be achieved by discovering and cultivating areas of understanding.

I am told that you believe that the emotional and intellectual differences that divide and separate men of differing beliefs should be worked out by local men, in local ways, and to meet the peculiarities of local problems.

If these assumptions are true, then you and I meet on common ground. But I must warn you, however, that even on common ground, I tread warily.

I was taught from childhood that even the Devil can quote Scripture to his own advantage. And after the recent experiences of campaign and election, I think you will agree that some caution should prevail.

The disciples of violence, on whichever side they stand, eagerly wait every statement of policy or intention. They scan it for some vulnerable phrase, sentence or paragraph that can be isolated from its context and used for a self-serving purpose.

I call this the hazard of deliberate misunderstanding. It involves using only that portion of a statement that would please or offend a particular viewpoint. This hazard imposes a deadly restraint upon discussions or actions.

No man, who has accepted the responsibilities I have accepted, can ignore this hazard. But, by the same token of responsibility, I cannot be intimidated into silence or indecision by the fear of being deliberately misunderstood or misinterpreted.

Knowing, as I do, that impulsive words or actions, in a time of stress like this, can inflame tempers that are equally dangerous on either side, I have no intention of speaking or moving until I have given all the possible consequences careful and soul-searching consideration.

The conditions which now prevail in this great city bear the hallmark of the century in which we live.

We have passed the mid-point of your century and mine. For a while, when Woodrow Wilson's words in "The New Freedom" were still fresh and challenging ... when the supposed high objectives of World War One seemed possible of fulfillment, we yearned to call our century, "The Century of Democracy."

But, in 1917, there began to rise the towering spectre called international communism, and the century no longer can be said to belong exclusively to the democratic concept.

(more)

For a while, during the Rooseveltian era, we wanted to call our century, "The Century of the Common Man." But, steadily and surely, many of the denominators that made us common have slipped out of perspective, and the title no longer fits.

If History finally gives our century a label, I think it may be called the "Century of Conflict."

Choose any decade, and you find on it the mark of conflict ... elemental conflict between ideas and interests ... between capital and labor, nationalism and colonialism, imperialism and economic self-determination ... and finally between traditionalism and liberalism.

It is not strange, therefore, in a century so keynoted by conflict, that here, in this land and in this city, we find that we, too, are in the midst of conflict.

It is in the attempt to resolve this many-faced conflict that I believe your organization and the new government of the city of Birmingham share a common purpose.

I do not believe it is the purpose of this organization to make all men Jews, or all men Christians. It is not your purpose to convert all men to Catholic persuasion or to Protestant belief. As I understand it, your purpose is to seek to resolve the conflicts between men - to establish common tolerance, and to affirm the guarantee of spiritual and intellectual freedom.

We share a parallel concept.

The purpose of the new government of Birmingham ... or of any government, anywhere, is not to deliver total power, control or direction to any element of the society or economy. It is to resolve the differences between them, that they may dwell in peace and joint prosperity.

It is not the purpose of the new government of Birmingham to serve with priority the single ambitions or hopes of any one race, but to resolve the differences between them, so that they may live in peace and mutual well-being.

Toward this end, there is engraved over the east entrance of the Jefferson County Courthouse the best expression of the high purpose of any government. It was written a century and a half ago, by Thomas Jefferson ... to render "equal and exact justice to all men, regardless of state or persuasion."

Before I enter upon an elaboration of how conflicts may be resolved, and how we hope to render equal and exact justice and government service, I must remind you of the logistics of military combat. If a battle commander were to reveal his final and ultimate objective, and detail the precise maneuvers to reach that objective, he would almost certainly be defeated.

I am also reminded, and would have you remember, that violent reaction is a potential on both sides, and that here, too, caution is a part of wisdom. Winston Churchill first said, "He who would ride a tiger, should first plan on how to dismount."

With these cautions in mind, let me lay down certain of the broad principles on which I believe this city can soon begin the resolution of its conflicts.

(more)

Let us first agree, however, that our conflicts are not confined to the inter-racial discord that presently prevails. If we were to presume that by solving this one problem we would wipe out all our difficulties, we could very easily lose the larger battle. Solve those problems we must, and we must solve them soon. But inter-racial conflict is not our only problem, and I am not convinced it is our greatest.

We have conflicts that are area-wide ... economic, geographic, and political. There are conflicts over what government can do, and what government should do.

If I were to single out one key that I genuinely believe leads to the resolution of all conflicts, I should say that key is public education.

I do not mean education in its commonly accepted sense. I do not mean schools and teachers, although they are included. I mean the wholesome and thorough education of the whole adult population, Negro and white, capital and labor, urban and outlying community, in the problems, the beliefs and the ambitions that produce our conflicts.

I am convinced that there can be no real assumption of civic momentum and political cohesion until we accomplish general understanding. I am further convinced that no true understanding really exists until it is shared by everyone concerned.

No accord will be lasting, no peace will be permanent until, and unless we can educate each party to each conflict into a reasonable understanding of the other parties. We cannot resolve race differences by getting the white citizenship alone to understand the Negro. Responsible Negro leadership has an absolute and essential responsibility to undertake to help educate the Negro to a comprehension of the white man's position and belief problems. Understanding is not - has never been, will never be a one way street.

A distinguished Jewish professor once said, pertinent to this, that any man who undertakes to combat intolerance in others, must first examine himself for evidences of it.

This broad principle of talking out differences and opening ways to understanding can, and should be applied to every area of conflict: social, racial, and economic. And, in the talking out, even, of problems, I pray that we may be governed by the spirit of restraint ... the spirit of reserved judgment and action until we are profoundly sure in which direction lies right and justice.

There is, in the New Testament, in the Acts of the Apostles, one of the profoundest pieces of political and spiritual advice ever offered.

It was given by a Pharisee, a teacher and doctor of the law. Certain of the apostles had been brought before the council of the Chief Priest, possibly for punishment by death. Beginning in the 34th verse, is this passage:

"Then stood there one up in the Council a Pharisee, named Ga-ma-li-el, a doctor of the law ... and said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend to do as touching these men.

(more)

"I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought;

"But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

Let me, then, clearly define the restraints that should guide us in the new government:

First, I said, during the campaign, that nothing can be politically right which is morally wrong.

Second, I have said, again during the campaign, that whatever solutions we find, they must be solutions within the law.

Third, I have said that in my conception of the law, it is a respecter of neither persons, races or creeds. It will be equally applied, equally enforced against all who break it or seek to take it into their own hands.

Fourth, I have said that local agencies and local citizens are sufficient, and exclusively sufficient, in time, to the solution of local problems. We will not be intimidated by pressure or directed by interference.

I believe that when the whole community of this city understands and accepts these restraints, and is fully informed on the problems that face us, we will enter a new era of economic and cultural progress.

We have, already, a broad foundation of restraint and good judgment.

We are becoming increasingly aware that the areas of agreement among us are by far, far greater than the exaggerated areas of disagreement.

We have seen recently practiced by our law enforcement people a degree of restraint that has won them nationwide praise. Chief Jamie Moore, and the men and women serving under him, deserve our heartiest commendation and encouragement.

Equal praise for restraint is due that self-chosen and self-imposed by the news media of Birmingham ... news writers, editorial writers, city and managing editors, television and radio commentators and reporters.

I praise the restraint exercised by a vast majority of the Negro community. In fervor, which to many of them was a spiritual crusade, they have shown a restraint from violence of words and conduct that does them honor and gives all of us hope.

The white community, which in other places and times, have reacted in open violence to the things we have experienced here, has demonstrated a public and private restraint that I am proud of. I am delighted that newspapers and other media, outside the state, have taken note of that fact.

This attitude of restraint, this waiting on calmer judgment, is the solid

foundation of our hope for future peace and understanding.

When the new government is in undisputed leadership, I am completely convinced that with deliberation, diligence and determination we shall take the first confident steps into a new age for this city ... and an age marked by peace and rewarded in common prosperity for all our people.

# # #

BREWBAKER REPORT - April 15 - May 3, 1963

Florence, South Carolina
Sumter, South Carolina
Atlanta, Georgia
Montgomery, Alabama
Mobile, Alabama
New Orleans, Louisiana
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Birmingham, Alabama
Huntsville, Alabama

COURT TERMS:
DAWSON COUNTY
1ST MONDAY IN MARCH
1ST MONDAY IN AUGUST
HALL COUNTY
3RD MONDAY IN JANUARY
3RD MONDAY IN JULY
1ST MONDAY IN MAY
1ST MONDAY IN NOVEMBER

Sidney O. Smith, Jr.
JUDGE SUPERIOR COURTS
NORTHEASTERN JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
P. O. BOX 545
GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA

COURT TERMS:
LUMPKIN COUNTY
3RD MONDAY IN MARCH
3RD MONDAY IN SEPTEMBER
WHITE COUNTY
2ND MONDAY IN APRIL
2ND MONDAY IN OCTOBER

May 24, 1963

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

While I am no longer a member of the Gainesville School Board on account of my present public office, I recall with deep appreciation your two visits here and the valuable advice you gave us in regard to our local school problems. I suppose that school business gets in your blood, because I retain an interest in this work whenever I run into other school people.

Recently I made the acquaintance of Mr. Albert D. Oliphant of Chester, South Carolina. As a member of the elected school board in that county, he mentioned that they have been using a consultant from the University of South Carolina and I told him about your visits to Gainesville. I am writing to inquire if you are still involved in this work for your foundation. If so, I would appreciate it if you will try to arrange your itinerary to call on Mr. Oliphant. Their problems will be different from ours because of the fact that their Negro population is 56% but I know you can be of valuable assistance to them. You will find Mr. Oliphant a gentleman in every respect and I am sure a gracious host.

Very truly yours,

Sidney O. Smith

Sidney O. Smith, Jr.

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REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
May 31, 1963

Included on this trip, May 12 - 23, 1963, were two new cities, Darlington, South Carolina and Brunswick, Georgia. The others had been visited before. I visited this time two school divisions in South Carolina, two in Florida, two in Georgia, one in North Carolina, and Southern Regional Council Headquarters.

DARLINGTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent G. C. Mangum was in a talkative mood or it may be that is his usual mood. He started at the beginning and told me the story of the Darlington area; good race relations before 1954 when they had a Negro on the School Board, poorer race relations for several years, and now again some improvement.

It seems the "protest march" in Orangeburg several years ago was caused, according to Superintendent Mangum, by the NAACP accusing the Coble Ice Cream and Milk Corporation of supporting financially the White Citizens Council. The Coble Corporation was boycotted in Darlington, and the pupils at the high school refused to buy the milk. A controversy followed, and some of the pupils were suspended. After sometime, the Negro leaders presented to the School Board some requests and an ultimatum. The requests were to fire the principal, take back the pupils, and stop using Coble products, or else, the pupils would apply to go to the white high schools. This was four or five years ago. The requests were denied and some pupils applied who were also denied. At this time, five of these pupils are still applying, and the case is before the Fifth Federal Circuit Courts of Appeals.

Superintendent Mangum feels that the climate is such now that there would not be too much trouble. However, there is no Negro on the school board at this time -- the board members are appointed by a legislative committee. Over fifty per cent of the school enrollment is Negro in the Darlington schools.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent T. A. Carrere seemed very happy to see me. I had visited Charleston on two former trips and have kept in close touch with the situation. He told me that Charleston and Darlington are the only South Carolina school systems under immediate Court Order. Charleston has 13 applications of Negro children to be assigned to white schools, and these are on appeal in the Fifth Federal Circuit Court on the same basis as Darlington's.

Superintendent Carrere says his school board has accepted the inevitable, and he feels there will not be too much difficulty in making the assignments under Court order. They have, at this time, a school enrollment of 73 per cent Negro. I have felt for sometime that Charleston will come through all right.

We spent sometime talking about the tuition grants in Virginia. Some one has told many people in the South that the tuition grants are working well in Virginia. I point out at all times their short-comings, and misuses and emphasize that many people in Virginia are not pleased with them. Educators generally do not like the idea in practice or in principle.

Instead of reporting on these school systems in order of my visits, I am grouping them. I shall skip Brunswick until later and now report on the two Florida cities. Of course, in Florida, the cities form part of the larger County school division. It is coincidental that the two South Carolina cities were facing similar situations and also the two Florida cities were approaching the problem in much the same way. For sometime, I have felt that Jacksonville and Tallahassee would be the two most difficult school systems in Florida. Each is only a few miles south of "South Georgia". Today, I feel greatly encouraged with both of them.

JACKSONVILLE AND DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA

Superintendent Ish Brant had been called away to sign some school bonds in New York, and in reply to a telegram I received from him at Charleston, I arranged by telephone to meet with Charlie Council, Director of Education for the schools. I was happy to have an opportunity to talk with Mr. Council for he was very familiar with the situation. He said they had adopted the same plan that was used in Tennessee, beginning with the first grade to start in September 1963. He said he understood the plan had been approved, and if there were no objections from the plaintiffs, all first grade children, regardless of race, would attend the school serving the attendance area where they lived. He said they would allow the voluntary "transfer out" provision if the Court approved.

TALLAHASSEE AND LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

Superintendent Amos R. ~~Godby~~ was attending a program in one of the junior high schools when I arrived at his office on Friday morning. When he came in later, he seemed anxious to tell me what they are doing. This is the first time he has shown any interest or enthusiasm in talking with me. When I mentioned the good job Pensacola was doing and the encouraging program at Jacksonville, he replied, we are doing the same thing as Jacksonville. He said earlier this spring, they sent a letter to the parents of each of the 17,000 pupils telling them about the plan to accept all children regardless of race in the first grades this coming September. He said they did not receive a single application in

the early spring registration from first grade Negroes to attend white schools; however, they received three applications from high school Negroes to attend the white high school. He said these would be considered and probably accepted, at least, two of them. Mr. Godby said there would be another registration later in the summer, and some may apply then. He commented that only about half of those eligible to enter school had registered. This is so often true with Negroes; they do not value the importance of doing things on time.

BRUNSWICK AND GLYNN COUNTY, GEORGIA

The first Georgia school division I visited on this trip was Brunswick. This is the first time I have visited here. Superintendent Ralph E. Hood was interested in talking about most everything, including his and my retirement. He said he would like to talk with me in about a month, that they were being "threatened" with a desegregation suit, and he could tell me more later. I told him I would be glad to give him any information I could even after my second retirement.

Superintendent Hood said they had very few children now of government worker and there were no Negroes among them. He had no suit facing him of the "impacted area" type.

DEKALB COUNTY, DECATUR, GEORGIA

When I called Superintendent Cherry on Monday morning to confirm an appointment of either Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning, his secretary said he would be away this afternoon and had to attend a grand jury hearing tomorrow morning. She told me that they had no immediate problems in desegregation, so I saw no reason to postpone my visit to see him. From newspaper reports, they may have problems with "fire bugs".

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Both Dr. Leslie Dunbar and Paul Anthony were available for conferences, and I enjoyed my visits with them. We discussed and exchanged opinions on the stategic places, and I promised to send them any information that came to me that I thought would be helpful. The indications are that I shall continue to have some request for information from time to time, and many of these I shall send on to Southern Regional Council.

CHARLOTTE AND MECKLENBURG COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

My last visit on this trip was with Superintendent Craig Phillips of the Charlotte Mecklenburg County Schools. Dr. Phillips came from Winston-Salem to Charlotte this past July, and he is doing a good job in his new position. About the time he came, a merger had been effected

of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County school systems.

This school system has one of the most interesting developments that I have found. Last September, one of the elementary schools became predominantly Negro with about 400 Negro pupils and 60 White ones. The faculty and principal were changed from White to Negro. At the opening of the school in September, all the White children had moved away or had requested transfers except 11, who remained in the school. Dr. Phillips said now in May, 12 other white children have returned to the school, making a total of 23 white children in a school of 450. It will be interesting to watch the developments in this school.

Dr. Phillips said this coming September, they would have five schools to which pupils regardless of race would be assigned on a geographical basis. He said some might request to be reassigned. He said each year they added more schools to be in this class of assignments. In reply to my question as to what happens when a Negro child in some of the other schools applies to go to a white school, he said we assign them upon their request.

It seems to me that Charlotte is one of the cities of the best racial climate of any that I have visited.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

During my last two trips, I have had request for information which I feel is of enough interest to be reported. There is also a change that has taken place in Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia which indicates an improvement in the racial climate. On the 11 o'clock T. V. news report on Friday night, May 24, there was a routine announcement that all Norfolk and Portsmouth motion picture theatres began admitting Negroes today; however, this is prohibited by State Law, but I feel the State will cause no trouble. The only follow-up of the event was an inconspicuous item in the Ledger-Star on Saturday, May 25. Despite the fact it was on the front page of the second section of the paper, it was near the bottom of the page with a very small "heading". It is short and interesting, and I am quoting the article:

CITY MOVIES INTEGRATED

Motion picture theaters in Norfolk and Portsmouth have begum admitting Negroes.

The dropping of the racial barriers came quietly Friday after an agreement among theater operators in the two cities.

Theater sources said the agreement applies to all theaters in Norfolk and Portsmouth, including neighborhood movie houses and drive-in theaters

Two weeks ago, a small band of Negro and white demonstrators carried placards along Granby Street, urging further desegregation of public facilities in Norfolk.

An assistant manager of a downtown Norfolk theater said only a few Negroes bought their way into downtown movie houses Friday. At least two Negroes reportedly purchased tickets, then walked away from one theater.

The new admission policy will mean that at least one neighborhood theater operator won't have to turn his back anymore.

The manager, who asked that his name not be used, said he had occasionally admitted Negro sailors in the company of white sailors. "one of the white boys would buy the tickets, and I'd sort of turn my back and they'd all go in."

He didn't think the practice had cost him any business.

TUITION GRANTS

Dr. T. A. Carrere of Charleston, South Carolina said there were rumors that the best non-sectarian private schools in South Carolina would not accept pupils with state tuition grants if the state adopted them, and asked me about this situation in Virginia, especially about Woodbury Forest. The following is a quotation from my letter to Superintendent Carrere:

"This morning I called J. G. Blount, Jr., Finance Officer for The State Board of Education, and Mr. Blount said as far as he knew all non-sectarian private schools in Virginia accepted students with state tuition grants except the Collegiate school in Richmond, Virginia. He said he knew that Woodbury Forest had accepted one or two. Norfolk City has not had any to apply to go there. He said further that a few of the schools would accept them but would not sign receipts or in any way acknowledge the grants in writing."

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE SCHOOLS

Superintendent Lloyd L. Lindsey of Baton Rouge, Louisiana and Assistant Superintendent C. L. Scarborough of Mobile, Alabama asked me the status of social activities in the Norfolk schools after five years of desegregation. The following is a quotation from my letters to Superintendent Lindsey and Assistant Superintendent Scarborough:

"Last Monday, May 27, I had a conference on the subject with the key members of the administrative group, including the superintendent and

his three assistants. As I stated when I saw you, in the beginning we transferred the responsibility for dances to the parents who conducted them by invitation in meeting places, including the Country Clubs, outside the school buildings. At present, some of these are being held in school buildings with parent sponsorship, but the question has arisen as to how far they can be considered private if held in public buildings. The Norfolk administrators seem to be of the opinion, in order to maintain private control, they will have to be held outside of school buildings.

In the activities, such as, plays, other stage programs, choruses, bands, athletics etc., which are part of the school program, the Norfolk school officials from the beginning have taken the position that any pupil who is eligible and qualified would participate. Up to this time, the participation of Negroes has been in the choruses and athletics. I feel sure they would be included in any school activity if they showed talent and qualified."

This, the last official trip I shall make as a consultant, was most pleasant and interesting.

BREWBAKER REPORT - May 12 - 23, 1963

Darlington, S. C.
Charleston, S. C.
Jacksonville and Duval County, Fla.
Tallahassee and Leon County, Fla.
Brunswick and Glynn County, Ga.
~~R&R~~
Dekalb County, Ga.
Atlanta, Georgia - SRC
Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, N. C.
Miscellaneous items

SAVE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by
J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
Norfolk, Virginia

Address delivered before the members of Phi Delta Kappa and friends at the University of Virginia, May 20, 1960, upon receiving the Distinguished Service Award for the school year, 1959-60.

Change must take place or there is no growth - physical, economic, technological, social, and in the human being, we must add emotional, moral, spiritual, and mental. The manner in which we adjust to change is determined by the maturity of the individual. Maturity does not always develop in the same ratio as physical growth or chronological age. There are many young people who are quite mature while many older people are very immature. The maturity of the individuals determines the maturity of the society of the community in which they live.

It is quite natural that when changes come which upset our way of life, adjustments must be made. A community is fortunate if a major portion of its citizens have sufficient maturity to calmly evaluate the situation, on an intellectual level, and decide on the best plan to follow. The verities which are fundamental to the integrity of the individual and to society must not be disregarded.

Physical changes are natural and there is of course no protests when they come; economic and technological changes come through the efforts and ingenuity of man and are accepted with pride and satisfaction, but social changes often come through the aspirations and ambitions of minority or less favored groups trying to reach the economic and social level of the higher or more favored groups. As is so often the case, men who have the "odds" against them do not proceed in the best manner and thus antagonize the more favored groups, not only by their ambitions but also by the methods used in attaining them.

It has been my privilege to live not only in two centuries but in two distinct generations. In this sixty-five year period many economic and technological changes have taken place. I have experienced and observed the transition from the kerosene lamp to the electric light; from the open fireplace to gas or electric heat, from the crude outdoor toilet facilities to modern bath rooms; from horse and plow to mechanized farm equipment; from horse and buggy to automobile and airplane; and many others, including education from a one-room tin roof school to the most modern building with latest equipment. These changes have caused no eruption in our society but have been accepted as quite normal in the progress of an ever improving civilization of a great nation.

What is the difference between the changes just described and the social change we must make today if we comply with the May 17, 1954, Decision of the

Supreme Court of the United States? Very soon after this decision was handed down, I had the privilege of serving on a panel in New York City with Dr. Frank P. Graham and others. Dr. Graham expressed the belief that we had been making progress toward racial change in a gradual normal way and that if this decision could have been delayed for some time yet, the transition would have been much easier. This statement seems sound for it is very apparent that relations between the races have greatly deteriorated since the decision. Change that comes in a normal, evolutionary manner is accepted. On the other hand, sudden, enforced change, without the willing participation of those involved, causes protests, resentment and sometimes revolution.

Regardless of how we feel, we are faced with the problem before us. Shall we defy the Decision of the Supreme Court or shall we, as we have done in the past, accept the Decision as the proper interpretation of the law and comply with it in the best manner possible?

What is the most important institution, in our democratic life, at stake right now? It is the public schools. Shall we destroy them and establish a system of private schools? In my opinion, this is impossible and any attempt along this line would result in irreparable damage to the education of our youth. The public school system is the most important institution in America today and it must be preserved and improved. The value and power of education is recognized by the leading nations of the world. We must not destroy the most essential resource of our people.

On May 31, 1955, a little more than one year after the May 17, 1954, Decision, the Supreme Court implemented its original decision and called for public school desegregation with "deliberate speed." On June 28, 1955, the Governor of Virginia and the State Board of Education sent a memorandum to all division superintendents stating:

> "It has not yet been possible for the Commission on Public Education to propose and the General Assembly to enact appropriate legislation which will enable the State Board of Education and the local school authorities to adjust to a new and different basis for the operation of public schools.
>
> "Meanwhile, local school authorities are faced with the necessity of completing the formulation of plans for the coming school session.
>
> "In view of these facts and circumstances, the Governor and the State Board of Education hereby declare and adopt as the policy of this Commonwealth that the State Board of Education will continue to administer its functions, in cooperation with the local school authorities, to the end that the public schools of Virginia open and operate through the coming school session as heretofore."

This was the 1955-56 school session.

The Commission referred to was appointed by the Governor on August 30, 1954, and was later known as the Gray Commission.

The Norfolk City School Board on July 1, 1955, expressed in a resolution grave concern and stated, "Though this decision leaves unmarked the road to be traveled, the objective is clear..... We intend, without mental reservation, to uphold and abide by the laws of the land. We believe in the public school system and pledge our efforts to its continuation in this City. We believe that our primary duty is to preserve and promote the welfare of all children involved through education and that any system by us administered must be devised to achieve this end within the framework of the law....."

Early in July, 1955, we received our first petition, signed by 233 Negro citizens, calling upon us to comply with the Supreme Court Decision and its reaffirmation of May 31, 1955, of "good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date."

At this time much help and comfort came from a statement of the late Judge John J. Parker, a great jurist, who remarked in the Clarendon County, South Carolina, case on July 15, 1955: "The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation."

During the latter part of 1955, there existed in Virginia much confusion. On November 11, 1955, the Commission on Public Education, or the Gray Commission, made its report to the Governor.

The following quotation summarizes the report of the Commission: "The Commission has been confronted with the problem of continuing a public school system and at the same time making provision for localities wherein public schools are abandoned, and providing educational opportunities for children whose parents will not send them to integrated schools.

"To meet the problem thus created by the Supreme Court, the Commission proposes a plan of assignment which will permit local school boards to assign their pupils in such manner as will best serve the welfare of their communities and protect and foster the public schools under their jurisdiction. The Commission further proposes legislation to provide that no child be required to attend a school wherein both white and colored children are taught and that the parents of those children who object to integrated schools, or who live in communities wherein no public schools are operated, be given tuition grants for educational purposes."

Following the report of the Gray Commission, an Extra Session of the General Assembly was called to provide for a convention to vote on changing Section 141 of the Constitution to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. This Extra Session commenced on November 30, 1955, and ended December 3, 1955, and authorized the election on calling the convention. The election was held on January 9, 1956, and the convention was authorized by the voters. Since Section 141 provides: "No appropriation of public funds shall be made to any school or institution of learning not owned or exclusively controlled by the State or some political subdivision thereof," the purpose of changing Section 141 was to permit the payment of tuition grants to private non-sectarian schools.

The regular session of the General Assembly convened on January 11, 1956, and the Constitutional Convention was called and adopted the recommendations of the Gray Commission.

After the General Assembly adjourned and went home agitation began now by a group known as massive resisters. The sentiment in the State became so strong for Massive Resistance, which had as its main purpose to prevent a single Negro child from entering any white school, that another Extra Session of the General Assembly was called on August 27, 1956, and ended September 29, 1956. In some way the Gray Commission Report - the mandate of the people - was shelved and was not heard of, as such, again. Thus, the State continued in confusion until the State Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Three Judge Federal Court both declared the Massive Resistance Laws unconstitutional on January 19, 1959.

During these confusing times on the State level, what was happening in Norfolk?

On May 11, 1956, the Norfolk City School Board and the Superintendent of Schools had served upon them their first summons to answer within twenty days, the complaint, Civil Action Number 2214, of eight legal pages, which in substance was that the defendants were operating separate schools for Negro and white children which is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The School Board and Superintendent were caught in a dilemma - the Federal Courts requiring the cessation of discrimination with "deliberate speed" and the State Laws requiring segregation of the races.

Litigation in Norfolk had been marking time for some time now, awaiting developments on the State level, but the petitioners were becoming impatient, or at least their attorneys were, and they realized that the School Board would not take action until an individual actually made application for a specific school.

The first applications were made on June 10, 1958, and by July 17, 1958, we had received 151 applications for admission of Negroes into the white schools for the 1958-59 session.

On July 17, 1958, the last day of receiving applications, the School Board adopted the following Standards and Criteria:

1. The assignment shall not endanger the health or safety of the child assigned to or the children already enrolled in the school.

2. The assignment shall not interfere with the proper administration of the school.

3. The assignment shall not interfere with proper instruction of pupils already enrolled in the school.

4. The assignment shall be made after consideration of the applicant's academic achievement and the academic achievement of the pupils already within the school to which he is applying.

5. The assignment shall be made with consideration for the residence of the applicant.

6. The assignment shall consider the physical and moral fitness of the applicant and their relation to the general health and welfare of the pupils already enrolled in the school.

7. The assignment shall consider the mental ability of the applicant seeking enrollment.

8. The assignment shall take into consideration the social adaptability of the applicant seeking enrollment.

9. The assignment shall take into consideration the expected emotional and social adjustment of the pupil to the school to which he is assigned.

10. The assignment shall take into consideration the cultural background of the applicant and the pupils already enrolled in the schools.

In applying these criteria, the Board authorized the Superintendent to administer a program of tests and interviews. At the end of one month, on August 18, 1958, the Board adopted the following resolution disposing of all 151 applicants and transmitted it through its attorneys to the Federal Judge:

"Stripped of the racial overtones, the basic problem here is whether certain pupils should be transferred from one school to another or initially enrolled in a specific school. The reason set forth in their requests is primarily that it is more convenient for the students to attend the selected school than to attend another school to which, otherwise, they would be assigned.

"Although the School Board is aware that the petitioners are all of one race asking to be assigned, for the first time in the history of the Norfolk City School System, to schools of the opposite race, it has attempted to approach the problem from the standpoint of sound education.

"Accordingly, the first premise in considering any of these applications is that only those pupils who are sufficiently mature or advanced scholastically should be considered. Upon this assumption, the School Board on July 17, 1958, adopted a resolution setting forth certain criteria to be applied toward all applications for transfer or enrollment. At the same time, procedures were set up for testing the applicants and otherwise processing the petitioners. After careful examination and extensive interviews, the information relative to all of the applicants has been collected by the administrative staff and reviewed by the School Board.

"There were 151 children who applied for transfer or initial enrollment. One withdrew his application, 61 declined to take the tests prescribed by the School Board, and one declined to complete the testing procedure by refusing the interview. Accordingly, the Board hereby declines these 63 applicants.

"Of the remaining eighty-eight, sixty were clearly unsuitable for the assignment requested. The vast majority failed to meet the minimum scholastic requirements. The others were denied for

equally cogent reasons. As for the remaining twenty-eight, the Board feels that these applicants fall into two categories:

(1) "Of four of these pupils, one has sought assignment to Maury, one to Granby, and two to Blair. Considering these applications against its understanding of the United States Supreme Court's decision in Brown versus the Board of Education, the School Board believes that the individual applicants would receive no educational benefit from the requested assignment, but would only suffer thereby. It is believed that the isolation which would be caused by such an assignment would be detrimental to educational progress and may well cause emotional instability and even detriment to health.

(2) "Of the remaining twenty-four children, nine requested entry to Norview Elementary School, six to Norview Junior High School and the remaining nine to Norview High School. As to these children, the Board feels it must deny their applications because it is not in the best interest of the applicants nor of the present students to grant such petitions. Racial conflicts have occurred in this area in the past and the Board is of the opinion that integration there would renew such conflicts and produce grave administrative problems within the school system - all to the detriment of good education and the public welfare.

"Nine of the Norview children, who have met the minimum scholastic requirements, are applying for entrance to Norview Elementary School. They reside in the Rosemont-Coronado area in which the City of Norfolk is now making plans to build an elementary-junior high school which will be ready for occupancy in September, 1959. In addition to the reasons set out above, the School Board believes that the transfer of these nine children would at most be for the period of one year, or until the Rosemont School is opened, and the dislocation occasioned to the children by the multiple transfers is not good for the children. It must be further borne in mind that the school to which they seek entrance, Norview Elementary, is so crowded that it will be on part time during the school year 1958-59.

"Accordingly, the 151 petitions are denied."

This resolution denied the applications of all 151 pupils on the basis of the following six criteria:

1. Residence of pupil - nearness to school
2. Those who refused to take the test
3. Those who failed to meet minimum scholastic requirements
4. Those who would suffer because of isolation
5. Racial tension
6. Too frequent transfers

Seven days later, August 25, 1958, the Federal Judge called the School Board and Superintendent into Court and reviewed, in seventeen legal size pages, the history of this litigation, reminded us of our oath to carry out the law and the other responsibilities of our positions, and referred all applications back to us for further consideration, ending with the following statement:

> "With complete faith in the integrity and ability of the School Board of the City of Norfolk, as well as your desire to obey the law of the land and do justice to all mankind, the applications of the 151 Negro children are referred back to you for such further consideration, if any, as you may deem proper and legal by reason of my remarks."

The Judge called for our report on August 29, 1958, at 10:00 a.m., allowing only four days to restudy these cases. In his remarks he accepted the criteria of geographical limitations, scholastic achievement, and would give some thought to too frequent transfer, which he later accepted. He made it clear that he would not accept racial tension or isolation.

The attorneys made our report on August 29, 1958, at 10:00 a.m., as ordered by the Court. The Board prefaced the assignments with the following statement: "Contrary to what all the members of the School Board and the Division Superintendent of Schools honestly and sincerely believe is in the best interest of the applying children, the children in the affected schools and the public in general, but pursuant to the law as interpreted by the Court, these 17 children will be assigned to the six white high schools as listed." The remaining 134 were denied as in the first report.

The School Board petitioned the Court to defer the assignments for one year, and gave reasons for the request, but was refused. The District Judge refused to grant a stay of his order until the School Board could appeal to the Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals. Therefore, the Board delayed the opening of the schools until the Appellate Court could hear the case on its merits.

The Court of Appeals denied the request and the School Board, by resolution on September 27, ordered the schools to be opened on September 29, 1958, with the 17 Negroes admitted. The Governor was advised and he sent a letter to us on Sunday, September 28, by special messenger, closing the six high schools affected and removing them from the public school system.

They remained closed until February 2 and were opened after both the State Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Three Judge Federal Court had declare the Massive Resistance Laws unconstitutional on January 19, 1959.

This action closing six of our high schools denied education to approximately 10,000 children. Everyone waited anxiously to see what would happen. The citizens did not rise up immediately and demand that the schools be opened; instead, there was considerable feeling because the law did not close the Negro schools from which these children came. The City Council attempted to close all schools above the sixth grade by withholding funds in an effort to close the Negro high schools. However, a group of citizens petitioned the Court to issue an injunction against the Council to prevent this and the Federal Judge ruled

the Council had no control over school funds after it had approved the school budget. Hence one catastrophe was averted.

What happened to the 10,000 children forced out of school? After it appeared that the schools might not open for some time, many enrolled in other public schools far and wide, some entered private school when they were available, but the largest number went to tutoring groups set up by teachers and parents. All of these were make-shift arrangements and the children in most cases suffered severely, educationally. Unfortunately, a rather large group dropped out of school thus ending their formal education. The people were becoming more concerned all the while. Their own children were being deprived of their natural heritage and most valuable asset through no fault of their own. Thus came the public petition to the City Council on January 27, 1959, signed by 100 leading business and professional men of Norfolk:

> "While we would strongly prefer to have segregated schools, it is evident from the recent court decisions that our public schools must either be integrated to the extent legally required or must be abandoned. The abandonment of our public school system is, in our opinion, unthinkable, as it would mean the denial of an adequate education to a majority of our children. Moreover, the consequences would be most damaging to our community. We, therefore, urge the Norfolk City Council to do everything within its power to open all public schools as promptly as possible."

The Federal District Judge issued an order on January 23, 1959, stating that the statutes of the Commonwealth of Virginia were declared to be "in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and therefore void" and the said School Board and Division Superintendent of Schools were now "restored to their respective rights, duties and obligations of which they were purportedly divested," and were enjoined from discriminatorily closing any school because of racial integration.

The School Board by resolution, therefore, directed the Superintendent of Schools to open the six closed schools on February 2, 1959.

A tense situation prevailed throughout the City. Between 75 and 100 news media representatives coming from as far away as London surrounded the buildings. The chips were down. The people rose to the occasion. The police department, mostly in plain clothes, did a wonderful service. There were no incidents. Each day the tension grew less and the rest of the school year was rather peaceful. Only five were admitted in September, 1960, two of whom were admitted to one of our elementary schools. At this time, two of the high school pupils have dropped out, leaving us with 20 Negroes in seven white schools.

Near the close of the second year of desegregation, what is the actual situation in the schools? From the outside everything appears quite normal - there have been no major incidents. Due to our highly selective procedures, they must be

up to grade level academically, the progress in school work is about the same as the average white pupil. All children are deprived of many desirable activities, both white and Negro. All social activities, many clubs, parties, and folk dancing have been discontinued. Dances and proms are held by parents privately. The Negro children do not seem to be happy; they are generally ignored by the white children. Some white children make ugly remarks to them. Some Negroes have said if they had their choice they would not stay. One boy told a teacher his parents could not afford to let him stop. These statements, of course, have implications.

The two that dropped out - one was married during the summer, the other on her doctor's order because of a nervous condition. The feeling is that most of the Negro children are quite unhappy.

To me personally, these experiences have brought many trials and tribulations. Through them I have learned much. Beginning with February 12, 1957, when I spent most of the morning on the witness stand making my initial affidavit, I have spent many hours since in the Federal Court as a witness and observer. The children of Norfolk and their parents have made many sacrifices - they are still making sacrifices and being deprived of many of the good things in school life because we must have desegregated schools. Just as the 100 business men preferred segregated schools, but came to the conclusion, as every thoughtful person is forced to do as the events unfold, that our public schools must either be integrated to the extent legally required or must be abandoned, which they

stated is unthinkable, so for the same reason we suffer these sacrifices - it is unthinkable to abandon the most important function of our government, the institution that makes our Nation great, the American Public Schools.

I am convinced that this is a problem in the South that can best be solved by Southerners. It is more acceptable to the people for those of us who were bred, born, educated, and all of our lives have been living and working in the South to take the lead in trying to solve the problem. We cannot hide our heads in the sand like the ostrich and wait for the problem to disappear - it is with us to stay.

I am convinced also at the present time, the change should be of an evolutionary nature, slow and gradual with "deliberate speed," not breakneck speed as some of those with extreme views seem to want. The process of admission of children of one race to the schools of children of the other race or predominately of the other race should be on a highly selective basis. Adjustments can be made more easily when this is done. Our standards and criteria have been set up for this purpose.

Gentlemen, I am intensely interested in doing all I can in working on these problems, and I accepted, sometime ago, an invitation by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, to serve as Consultant in the Southern Leadership Project which is financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This undertaking is an intensive and systematic program aimed at "moderate leadership," and

a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership to achieve an orderly adjustment in working on problems arising from the 1954 Supreme Court Decision. I am scheduled to start the new work on July 1, 1960 - the next day after I retire. I shall work in the entire South - including Virginia. My services are available beginning July 1, and it will be a privilege to counsel with Superintendents, School Board members, and all other interested citizens in an effort to save our public schools.

The Virginian-Pilot

Saturday, May 21, 1960

College Group Confers Award On Brewbaker

CHARLOTTESVILLE — School Supt. J. J. Brewbaker of Norfolk, awarded the Distinguished Service Award Friday night by the University of Virginia's education fraternity, announced he will work to promote "moderate leadership" for overcoming desegregation problems.

Brewbaker was honored by Phi Delta Kappa, professional fraternity for educators, in his 38th year as a school administrator and on the eve of his retirement as superintendent of Norfolk schools.

He said he has accepted an invitation by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta to serve as a part-time consultant in the "Southern Leadership Project" financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Henry Goff (right), president of Charlottesville chapter of Phi Delta Kappa, presents distinguished service award to Norfolk School Supt. J. J. Brewbaker. (AP)

INTENSIVE PROGRAM

"This undertaking is an intensive and systematic program aimed at 'moderate leadership' and a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership to achieve an orderly adjustment in working on problems arising from the 1954 Supreme Court decision," Brewbaker said in a speech prepared for delivery to Phi Delta Kappa.

"I am to start the new work on July 1, 1960, the day after I retire," he said. "I shall work in the entire South, including Virginia.

"My services are available beginning July 1, and it will be a privilege to counsel with superintendents, school board members, and all other interested citizens in an effort to save our public schools." He will continue to live in Norfolk.

He said the public schools are the most important institutions of democratic life in America. "Shall we destroy them and establish a system of private schools? In my opinion, this is impossible and any attempt along this line would result in irreparable damage to the education of our youth," he said.

MUST TAKE LEAD

Brewbaker said he was convinced public schools must be in-

Henry Goff (right), president of Charlottesville chapter of Phi Delta Kappa, presents distinguished service award to Norfolk School Supt. J. J. Brewbaker. (AP)

State's Largest City

Norfolk's Top Pop. Drops Richmond

NORFOLK — Richmond conceded Friday that Norfolk is, in fact, the most populous city in the state.

The state capital's bow to its bustling sister city came after the release of preliminary census figures which show Richmond has lost 12,282 persons since the last census in 1950.

NORFOLK UP 64,243

Norfolk in the meantime has shown an increase of 64,243 residents.

Preliminary census figures show Richmond with 218,028 persons.

Norfolk's preliminary count showed a population of 275,756. And the addition of the "floating population" here—Navy men and merchant seamen—is expected to put the final figure over 300,000.

Richmond observers look to the suburbs for the reason for Norfolk's population growth and Richmond's decline.

The city boundaries of Norfolk have followed the march of population into the suburbs.

GAIN BY MERGERS

Norfolk has annexed populous areas of Princess Anne and Norfolk counties in the last five years.

The Tanners Creek annexation in 1955 made it the most populous city in Virginia.

Suburban development in Chesterfield County, which adjoins Richmond, more than doubled its population in the last 10 years to 117,016.

The steady migration of young couples into Chesterfield and Henrico counties has been blamed for Richmond's decline.

But Norfolk has had the same experience.

In the 10 years since the 1950 census, Princess Anne County has grown, in spite of annexation, from 36,887 persons to 76,436.

Preliminary data from the 1960 census showed Thursday that Virginia's population has increased at least 437,000 in the last 10 years, and indications were that the increase will reach nearly 750,000 when figures from all 10 districts are complete.

The head count in the state in the 1950 census was 3,318,680.

to live in Norfolk.

He said the public schools are the most important institutions of democratic life in America. "Shall we destroy them and establish a system of private schools? In my opinion, this is impossible and any attempt along this line would result in irreparable damage to the education of our youth," he said.

MUST TAKE LEAD

Brewbaker said he was convinced public schools must be integrated to the extent legally required or be abandoned.

"I am convinced that this is a problem in the South that can best be solved by Southerners. It is more acceptable to the people for those of us who were bred, born, educated, and all of our lives have been living and working in the South to take the lead in trying to solve the problem," he said.

"We cannot hide our heads in the sand like the ostrich and wait for the problem to disappear—it is with us to stay." He said the change to desegregation should be gradual, not at the "breakneck speed some of those with extreme views seem to want."

Brewbaker, 65, leaves office after having served during a tumultous period of the school system's history.

SCHOOLS CLOSED

He was elected to his last four-year term in 1958, a few months before 10,000 secondary school students were barred from classes as their schools were closed for a semester under now-defunct state anti-desegregation laws.

Brewbaker, as a 5-year-old farm boy, entered an insignificant one-room school in Botetourt County as Virginia was preparing to write segregation into its fundamental law in the Constitutional Convention of 1901-02.

Last year, as the end of his career was approaching, Brewbaker saw desergregation begin in Virginia, with a handful of carefully screened Negro students entering white schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and a few other localities.

SERVES OUT CONTRACT

A target of segregationists during Norfolk's school crisis, Brewbaker announced last June that he would resign this year, rather than serve out the last year of his contract. Although he gave no reason for his resignation except a desire to retire at 65, it was common knowledge in school circles that coolness toward him by Mayor W. Fred Duckworth's administration was a factor in his decision.

★ ★ ★

2 Negroes Drop Out

NORFOLK—Two of the 22 Negro children who have been admitted to white schools have dropped out, School Supt. J. J. Brewbaker disclosed Friday.

Brewbaker, in Charlottesville Friday night to receive an award from Phi Delta Kappa, education fraternity at the University of Virginia, retraced the history of desegregation in Norfolk.

He mentioned that one Negro student got married last summer and dropped out, while the other left school on advice of her doctor.

Asst. Principal Andrew T. Leidy of Norview High School said both were girls enrolled at Norview. He said the last to drop out fell ill with flu early this semester and after a two weeks' absence decided not to return.

NORFOLK LEDGER-DISPATCH
AND
The Portsmouth Star

TUESDAY, MAY 24, 1960

State Democrats Take A First Step

The State Democratic Convention at Virginia Beach was not unlike a beginning class in ballroom dancing. There was a certain amount of dread and apprehension about the whole affair, an expectation of painful struggle and not much progress. This attitude was accentuated by the convention's speakers.

The keynoter, Rep. Howard W. Smith, blasted both national parties and suggested in his keynote address the delegates might be engaging in "exercise in futility." But the first step—deciding to back the candidacy of Lyndon Johnson at Los Angeles—was accomplished with relative ease. Johnson's candidacy, after all, is the only one with Southern flavor.

And those delegates disappointed that the flavor is not a great deal stronger were faced with the fact that the greater Johnson's identification as a sectional candidate, the fewer are his chances of being nominated. A candidate who could have fired the state convention with enthusiasm would have been a candidate without a chance of nomination or election. This is the continuing dilemma of what Rep. Smith termed "beleaguered Southern Democrats."

As it is, Johnson's chances are not exactly rosy. He has not only the drag of his partial Southern identification to contend with, but also the blockade of growing Kennedy strength. Virginia will be backing a serious contender, and one with many virtues, but one on whom no bets are being placed. What if the Johnson candidacy does fold?

The convention did not look that far. The delegation to the national convention is instructed only in the matter of supporting Senator Johnson. Presumably the delegation will call its own signals, or come home. The state convention's decision to recess rather than adjourn leaves open the possibility of its re-convening in the event it finds the national party nominee repugnant. The door to a party bolt is cracked, if not opened.

But that door too opens on futility. A bolt offers no real alternative course of action. The sensible course is for the delegation to go to Los Angeles with the expectation of staying and influencing the deliberations as much as it can. A vigorous pursuit of this course might even ease that feeling of futility.

Mr. Brewbaker's Fire-Tested Skill

In the Norfolk school turmoil of 1958-1959, Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker was the man who had to wrestle with the day-to-day realities, while still trying to look to the future and the price the community might pay for any wrong turns.

This experience is one of the more important qualifications which he will take to the part-time post he is assuming following his retirement from the superintendency June 30. His new work, he disclosed on the occasion of an award by the University of Virginia's education fraternity, will be with the Southern Regional Council. He will be a consultant in the Southern Leadership Project, which is concerned with the development of community leadership in an orderly adjustment to the problems arising from the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

Certainly he will bring to this assumption of his commitment to the cause of public education, even if it meant some accommodation to the court decrees, put him on the outs with City Hall and presumably prompted him to leave a year before his contract would be up.

Aside from the strain of all the legal and emotional forces, Mr. Brewbaker had to deal with an enormous amount of detail and had to break entirely new ground in many of the complex adjustments to the rapidly changing situation. Merely keeping things on an even keel, administratively, and answering or anticipating the thousand and one questions of anxious parents was one of the major accomplishments of the latter months of his regime. This familiarity with the sheer mechanics of a school system caught in the desegregation storm is bound to prove valuable in Mr. Brewbaker's new role.

It is a matter of some regret that

GOP Faces A Farm Belt Showdown In North Dakota

By William S. White

The presidential primaries, like the one just run off in Oregon, continue to win the audience ratings with the public. But these are mere trial heats, the shadow before the substance. The real race, the hot focus of the struggle for the presidency, lies in no primary.

It now lies in the heart of the Middle West, specifically in North Dakota. There, the voters are going to speak not simply in an advisory way, but for keeps, in a special election on June 28. And it is on this ill-populated state, of which the voters of the country at large have heard so little, that the national professionals in both parties are directing their true energies.

Officially, the issue is whether the Democrats or the Republicans will win the Senate seat left vacant by the death early this year of Sen. William Langer. He was a maverick Republican; but, for the record, a Republican all the same. Actually, North Dakota provides for the most critical battleground to develop thus far in this election year.

Rural Referendum

It will give some pointers as to Republican prospects for holding Senate seats that are up this year not only in North Dakota, but also in five other Midwestern and Western states. Much more importantly, it will help test how deeply the Republicans in general are in trouble in the Farm Belt in general.

It will be a Farm Belt showdown on the agricultural policies of the Eisenhower Administration; a rural referendum on the immovable Eisenhower Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson.

And, finally and most important, it is putting Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the prospective G.O.P. presidential nominee, in a sweat box of the most clammy kind. The intense heat is ruefully admitted by him and his people. He is being pressed to go into North Dakota to speak for the Republican Senate candidate, Gov. John E. Davis.

Either Way

And whatever he does about

SEN. WILLIAM LANGER
Official Issue: His Successor

this rather ill-omened invitation, he is in for difficulty. If he decides to go in, it is bad, for he cannot do that and stand up for the Eisenhower-Benson policies, which he disapproves and which he knows to be bad news politically. Moreover, a Republican licking in North Dakota with Nixon on the scene would do him some national harm.

And if he decides to stay out, it is bad. For he cannot shun North Dakota without having it said that he ran from a fight while fellow - Republicans were sorely engaged by the Democrats.

In the end, Nixon probably will take the plunge into North Dakota, simply because he recognizes his responsibilities as the more or less inevitable head of the whole G.O.P. ticket this fall. But, understandably, he will not gladly go upon this errand. For this, as the Republicans here glumly concede, looks to be "a tough proposition." The present outlook, as seen by the Republicans themselves, is pretty dim for Davis and correspondingly fairly bright for his Democratic opponent, Rep. Quentin Burdick.

No Rest

Khrushchev or no Khrushchev, cold war or no cold war, always and forever there is "the farm problem," and in this problem there is no rest for the weary Nixon.

He has just spent some time in upstate New York trying to scotch those Republicans who are again attempting to promote Gov. Nelson Rockefeller into a Nixon rival for the presidency at the G.O.P. National Convention. There has been some success for this Nixon sortie into Rockefellerland; the troops there are growing a bit nervous about being held back from the Nixon bandwagon. Plainly, many wish Rockefeller would let them go over to Nixon while the going looks good.

But corn-hog-wheat land is something else again. And Nixon's dilemma is not exactly eased by the fact that Rockefeller has already agreed to lend his beaming presence to the harried North Dakota Republicans in their campaign.

Open Spies Policy: The Fellow Just Didn't Understand

By Art Buchwald

HONGKONG—We were sitting in the Sun Ya restaurant in Hong Kong last week nibbling on a bear claw, when a man in a tweed suit, smoking a pipe, sat down at the next table. He ordered a bowl of bird's nest soup and when it arrived he started to develop a roll of microfilm in it.

When he saw us staring at him he said very quietly, "Beeswhipple, British intelligence."

We stuck out our hand. "Buchwald, Lockheed Aircraft."

"I knew you were one of us the minute I sat down," he said confidentially.

"How could you have possibly known?"

He smiled. "Your oxygen mask is sticking out of your undershirt."

We looked down and hastily shoved the mask back in.

Got Caught

"I see where one of your chaps got his hand caught in the cookie jar the other day," he said.

"Yup," we said. "But it could have happened to anybody."

He ordered a bowl of braised fish lips.

"I dare say not. It could have never happened to us."

"Why not?" we asked, sticking a chopstick into a shark's fin.

"We have a different attitude towards such things. You Americans don't seem to understand too much about this business. If one of our chaps had been caught, we would have played it entirely different."

"How's that?"

Stolen Plane

"Well, the first thing we would have done is announce that somebody stole one of our weather planes from a Turkish airport and Her Majesty's Government was offering 100 guineas reward for whipple, British intelligence."

is part of Eisenhower's open spies policy."

Beeswhipple picked up a fortune cookie and when he broke it open he took out the order of battle for the North Korean Army.

We couldn't help feeling a pang of jealousy.

"My dear fellow," Beeswhipple said, "no one admires candor more than the British, but we treat the stealing of unmarked airplanes as a very serious offense. And we certainly take a dim view of someone making his escape over the Soviet Union."

"You just don't seem to understand," we protested. "Lying in spying is the coward's way out. If we tell lies then the Russians will tell lies. You've got to call a spy a spy.

Spy Exchange

"This is only the beginning. It's our hope that in the not too distant future we'll have spy exchange fellowships, and the Russians will send us their spies

Hidden In A Lobster

and we'll send them ours on a Fulbright fellowship. Until this exchange can be worked out we'll

A NEW LAUNCHING?

Mr. Brewbaker's Fire-Tested Skill

In the Norfolk school turmoil of 1958-1959, Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker was the man who had to wrestle with the day-to-day realities, while still trying to look to the future and the price the community might pay for any wrong turns.

This experience is one of the more important qualifications which he will take to the part-time post he is assuming following his retirement from the superintendency June 30. His new work, he disclosed on the occasion of an award by the University of Virginia's education fraternity, will be with the Southern Regional Council. He will be a consultant in the Southern Leadership Project, which is concerned with the development of community leadership in an orderly adjustment to the problems arising from the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

Certainly he will bring to this assignment some understanding and know-how which, if not unique, are at least rare among Southern educators. He has seen schools in his jurisdiction actually closed in the collision between the court decision and state counter-measures. He has been close to and sometimes directly involved in the intricate, abrasive school proceedings in court.

He has directly endured pressures or fire from all quarters — from the courts, state and local political forces and large segments of public opinion. It was in this crossfire that his commitment to the cause of public education, even if it meant some accommodation to the court decrees, put him on the outs with City Hall and presumably prompted him to leave a year before his contract would be up.

Aside from the strain of all the legal and emotional forces, Mr. Brewbaker had to deal with an enormous amount of detail and had to break entirely new ground in many of the complex adjustments to the rapidly changing situation. Merely keeping things on an even keel, administratively, and answering or anticipating the thousand and one questions of anxious parents was one of the major accomplishments of the latter months of his regime. This familiarity with the sheer mechanics of a school system caught in the desegregation storm is bound to prove valuable in Mr. Brewbaker's new role.

It is a matter of some regret that the retiring superintendent takes up this role as at least a partial outgrowth of a controversy best relegated to the past. For Mr. Brewbaker is held in considerable esteem by a large segment of Norfolk's citizenry, including, significantly, the teachers who worked under him, and the loss of such talent and dedication is no small matter in any event. The city owes the retiring superintendent a great deal for his long (32 years), able and conscientious service. Many good wishes will go with him into the useful retirement he has charted for himself.

Naval Assault On A Deadly Beachhead

Admiral Hughes, in drawing the line on how far Navy personnel can travel on short liberty periods, is using an already tested measure to protect the lives of the men under his command.

Back in 1953, Admiral Kiland, the then commandant of the Fifth Naval District, imposed a similar limit when the slaughter and maiming of service personnel traveling on liberty began to assume alarming proportions. The number of military personnel in this area killed in traffic accidents dropped from 42 in 1952 to 20 in 1953.

While this slicing in half of traffic fatalities probably could not be credited entirely to the limitation on traveling distance, it is fair to assume the restriction was an important factor.

The all-too-human urge to "go too far too fast" can likewise be assumed to contribute substantially to the current heavy toll which prompted Admiral Hughes' action. A recent survey showed that 27 area Navy personnel have been killed and 115 injured in traffic accidents during the eight-month period ending Feb. 1.

Admiral Hughes has now fixed the traveling limit for personnel on a 48-hour pass to a maximum 200-mile radius under normal circumstances, compared to the previously permissible 400-mile radius.

One traffic safety authority estimates the average person has a 50-50 chance to escape a fatal or serious traffic accident in his lifetime, compared to a combat military man's 10-1 chance to emerge unwounded from front-line duty. The Navy's action is a sound move that should benefit serviceman and civilian alike on a deadly battle front where it's always a "hot war."

An Unfair Tax With A Solid Grip

Bring up the matter of personal property taxes, and the denunciation is almost automatic. They're difficult to compute, they're unfair and they're all too easy to evade.

This accounts for Virginia's willingness of a few years back, both in the General Assembly and among the voters, to amend the State Constitution and permit localities to drop these taxes if they wished.

The value of real estate is difficult enough to determine to the satisfaction of all concerned, but when local officials must work from an estimated valuation on a wide variety of property items, differing in age and condition and subject to diverse, fluctuating market situations, the problem is a constant vexation.

However, to condemn the tangible property tax, as most everybody does, is not to answer the problem—not at this late date anyhow. This is sharply underscored by the fact that only now, four years after the electorate's approval of the amendment, has the first Virginia locality—Falls Church—taken advantage of the new constitutional permission. Falls Church is removing its tax on household goods, but is raising the tax on automobiles, business furnishings and boats.

The point is that even in this small community, the elimination of part of the personal property tax has necessitated some considerable juggling. In the larger cities, the problem is tremendously magnified. In Portsmouth, for example, personal property taxes are expected to bring in over half a million dollars next year, and in Norfolk the annual revenue from this source approaches $2,000,000!

The personal property tax is bad by almost any standard, but it can't be shucked off until the locality involved finds a comparable revenue producer and until the people are prepared to accept the alternate method of taxation.

Strictly Personal

The Death Of A Fantasy

By Sidney J. Harris

My friend told me an amusing and instructive true story at dinner last night. His five-year-old daughter had a make-believe friend we shall call "Tuppin." Tuppin ate with her, slept with her, played with her, for more than a year.

One day the father telephoned home, and the little girl answered, "Who is it?" For some unknown perverse reason, he replied, "It's Tuppin." The daughter promptly hung up the phone.

That evening there was no Tuppin at the table. "Where is Tuppin?" asked the father. "He's dead," the little girl answered. And from that day on, Tuppin was dead; she never referred to him again.

Two Worlds

This illuminating tale bears out the theme of several columns I have written in the last year or so—that children are perfectly able to distinguish between fantasy and reality (better than some adults can), and that they are able to keep these two worlds quite separate.

The moment Tuppin impinged upon the real world, the little girl dropped him. She didn't want him to be real; he was useful only as long as he was imaginary. As soon as he barged into reality, she killed him without a twinge of compunction.

For this reason, I have suggested, the old-fashioned fairy tale did no harm to the child's psyche; in fact, it was therapeutic, allowing him to work off his aggressions toward adults in the form of giants and witches and similar "make - believe" creatures. He could manipulate these fantasies quite easily, and felt himself the master of them—for at any moment he could banish them as simply as the little girl got rid of Tuppin.

TV Monsters

But when a child of tender years is exposed to the monsters of television—who are gangsters or cowboy villains in recognizable human form—then he has lost his bearings and can no longer distinguish between fantasy and reality. Here the terror and the brutality do not come from some unearthly realm but from quite ordinary-looking people who do all the things that children are forbidden to do.

Eventually, of course, children must be taught that human beings are capable of cruelty or treachery that would put any self-respecting giant or witch to shame—but not until the ego has been developed and the personality is strong enough to withstand this knowledge.

Prematurely subjecting small children to the horror and sadism of the modern TV melodrama is to do severe violence to their budding sense of reality. They cannot cope with the idea of evil—it either terrorizes them and makes them shrink into themselves, or else it hardens them before a proper conscience is instilled in their nature.

Tuppin as a voice on the phone can be wiped out; but Tuppin, with an evil man's face, on the TV set, is a force beyond the child's control—and, ultimately, beyond the parents'.

Looking Backward

By Arthur P. Henderson

40 Years Ago—1920

W. G. Maupin Jr., vice president of the Merchants & Farmers Bank, Portsmouth, was elected president to succeed the late John T. Griffin. Three vice presidents, L. McK. Jack, Judge C. W. Coleman and William G. Parker, were named. Judge Coleman was also elected chairman of the board of directors.

The Norfolk Ad Club, an affiliate of the Associated Advertising Clubs of America, named C. H. Tunison president; R. E. Turner, first vice president; F. S. Cook, second vice president; M. G. Nusbaum, treasurer, and Allen Ayres, secretary. Mr. Ayres and Louis Fisher were designated delegates to the convention of the national organization at Indianapolis, Ind.

25 Years Ago—1935

Lawrence W. I'Anson, attorney, was to become chairman of Portsmouth Chapter, American Red Cross, succeeding Mrs. T. W. Richards who was to move to Palo Alto, Calif.

Coleman Weiss, secretary and treasurer of Norfolk Local, No. 132, was to preside at the opening session of the annual meeting of the Virginia branch of the National Assn. of Postal Supervisors at the Nansemond Hotel, Ocean View.

Mrs. Clyde West, Mrs. J. R. Stewart, Mrs. D. V. Higginbotham and Mrs. Jesse Duffee, of Portsmouth, attended at Petersburg a reception for Mrs. Charlotte Bass, of Lynchburg, grand chief of the Pythian Sisters.

We looked down and hastily shoved the mask back in.

Got Caught

"I see where one of your chaps got his hand caught in the cookie jar the other day," he said.

"Yup," we said. "But it could have happened to anybody."

He ordered a bowl of braised fish lips.

"I dare say not. It could have never happened to us."

"Why not?" we asked, sticking a chopstick into a shark's fin.

"We have a different attitude towards such things. You Americans don't seem to understand too much about this business. If one of our chaps had been caught, we would have played it entirely different."

"How's that?"

Stolen Plane

"Well, the first thing we would have done is announce that somebody stole one of our weather planes from a Turkish airport and Her Majesty's Government was offering 100 guineas reward for the return of the plane and the pilot."

"But that would be lying," we said, trying to keep the shock out of our voice.

"Precisely, my dear fellow."

"But we're not allowed to lie in the American intelligence system. It encourages bad character. The State Department would never stand for it."

Beeswhipple poured some jasmine tea on the tablecloth and the linen suddenly turned into a map showing every military airfield in southwest China. He pocketed the table cloth, popped a tuna fish eyeball into his mouth and said, "We're not saying you should lie. We're not saying you should say anything. But after all, you could show a little indignation when someone steals one of your aircraft."

Air Is Cleared

"But he didn't steal it," we said. "He was told to fly over Russia and take pictures. We've been doing it for four years. Frankly we were afraid no one would ever hear about it. Now the air is cleared. All of this more than the British, but we treat the stealing of unmarked airplanes as a very serious offense. And we certainly take a dim view of someone making his escape over the Soviet Union."

"You just don't seem to understand," we protested. "Lying in spying is the coward's way out. If we tell lies then the Russians will tell lies. You've got to call a spy a spy.

Spy Exchange

"This is only the beginning. It's our hope that in the not too distant future we'll have spy exchange fellowships, and the Russians will send us their spies

Hidden In A Lobster

and we'll send them ours on a Fulbright fellowship. Until this exchange can be worked out we'll just have to keep flying over their territory."

Beeswhipple unscrewed the top of the soy sauce bottle and pried out a blueprint of the latest Russian spaceship.

"I can hardly agree with you," he said. "If the chap was really working for the C.I.A., as the Russians ridiculously claim, how do they explain the candy bars they found on him. It's obvious he was mixed up in a lollipop racket and this was not a case for the State Department but for Interpol."

We were becoming angry. "There is no sense talking to you. You just weren't brought up in the American tradition of fair play. When we get caught doing something we believe in making a clean breast of it. Charles Van Doren has showed us the way."

We gave the waiter our C.I.A. Diner's Club credit card, paid the check, and left Beeswhipple trying to get a model of an atomic submarine out of a sweet and sour lobster. What he didn't know about espionage could fill a book.

Letters To The Forum

The President Had Some Bad Advice

To the Editor:

As I read the papers lately I am very ashamed of the way our country is being shoved around. I guess I have been wrong about President Eisenhower; he has the humility, patience, understanding and foresight of a great man. I know how embarrased he must have felt to withstand the tirades and rantings of that Russian outlaw Khrushchev.

I can remember when in 1945 I was a soldier in Germany under the command of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, and anywhere an American went he commanded respect. Now I ask you what has happened?

In my opinion we are now looked down upon. The "Ugly American" can take most of the credit for that. I can't forget how our dependents and tourists lorded it over the Germans. Being a stout-hearted type of folk they took it in their stride and look at them today. They are one of our most dependable allies, one we can count on.

I believe that our President has had some bad advice. I can't remember ever reading about one of our Presidents being shoved around as President Eisenhower was in Paris last week.

And another thing, I wouldn't take any more of Castro's mess. Who do you suppose he thinks he is? I'll tell you. He's a man afraid. Remember the Scriptures say, "He who lives by the sword will surely die by the sword." He needs comeuppance, and I for one am in favor of obligingly giving it to him, the works that is.

I. M. FEDUP

Portsmouth

Boat Ramp Needed At Chatauqua Ave.

To the Editor:

I am addressing this letter to the city fathers. A few months ago they stated in the Portsmouth Star that a boat ramp would be built at the foot of Chatauqua Avenue.

I bought a boat thinking I would have a good place to put in and out. If you gentlemen could have seen the cars getting stuck there today, May 22, you would say something had to be done to improve conditions.

If the City of Portsmouth is in such bad financial shape it cannot afford a concrete ramp, I think the boat owners would donate enough money to put in a concrete ramp so cars won't be getting stuck.

Let's not wait until the boating season is over to do something about it. Don't you think the boat owners should have something for their money?

T. D. BOWDEN

Portsmouth.

The Virginian-Pilot

M Saturday, May 21, 1960 Page 15

Jury's Verdict

Hot-Rod Victim Wins $40,000

ELIZABETH CITY, N.C.—A Pasquotank County jury awarded Richard Stanley Lane of Route 1, Norfolk, $40,000 damages Friday for injuries received at the Maple Airstrip race track more than a year ago.

The verdict was returned after 4½ days of testimony and argument in Pasquotank Superior Court. Lane had sued for $50,000.

The Eastern Carolina Drivers Assn., operator of the race track and defendant in the case, immediately filed notice of appeal. Appeal bond was set at $200.

HIT BY HOT ROD

Lane was allegedly permanently injured Feb. 22, 1959, when a hot-rod car went out of control and sped into the spectator area, killing two persons and injuring four.

Earl Layden of Elizabeth City, driver of the racer, and a spectator, Robert L. Meads of Norfolk, were killed.

Meads' heirs and his wife, Mrs. Joyce Meads, 23, who was among the injured, reportedly made a $28,900 out-of-court settlement with the association.

This is the first civil case involving the accident to be heard in court. Others injured were Mrs. Lane and E. L. Armbrester of Richmond.

The defense attempted to prove that the association had not been negligent in operating the track and that Lane was not permanently injured.

A Portsmouth doctor testified that in his opinion the plaintiff would retain a 20 to 40 per cent permanent partial disability in the right lower leg.

An Elizabeth City surgeon testified that Lane's right leg and foot would require several more months to reach maximum recovery, but in his opinion he would be left with a disability of about 25 per cent in that leg.

USES CRUTCH

The plaintiff admitted that he could walk some without the one crutch he uses regularly, but declared he could never be sure his leg would not give way under him.

Attorneys for the plaintiff were John Hall and Killian Barwick of Elizabeth City and Willard J. Moody of Portsmouth. Attorneys for the defendant were J.C. Goodwin, J. H. Leroy, Dewey Wells and Gerald White, all of Elizabeth City.

Miss Anne Sugent

Home Ec Course Beckons Beauty

NORFOLK—The new Miss Norfolk had to make a quick check of her bedroom closet Friday morning to make sure the title she won Thursday night really was her's.

A quick glance at the blue and gold sash placed on her by State Sen. Thomas H. Blanton of Bowling Green at the climax of the contest eased her mind.

Then she had to rush off for her first public appearance as Miss Norfolk and an interview on a morning radio show.

NEW EXPERIENCE

Two weeks ago, 18-year-old Norview High School senior Anne Sugent had never thought of entering a beauty contest, let alone winning one.

The nearest she had ever come to a public display of poise, personality and pulchritude was the day she spent as attendant to one of the Azalea Court princesses.

Then a representative of radio station WBOF, sponsor of the prised even when I was picked as one of the five finalists."

Anne was one of the "Lost Class of 1959"—the high school students whose education was interrupted by the closing of Norfolk schools under the state's now-defunct massive resistance policy to integration.

Now she's back at Norview and ready to graduate next month. After that she will study home economics at the College of William and Mary, "not because I want to make a career, but because I think everyone who has a chance to go to college should take it."

She prides herself in never backing away when she thinks she has been challenged.

She enjoys tennis and badminton and loves to win. Her favorite non-competitive sport is swimming, and for that she enjoys the rough and tumble of Atlantic surf much more than the placid beaches of Chesapeake Bay.

When she looked over the many prizes she won with the Miss Nor-

Library Award Stands

Other Firm Won't Sue

NORFOLK — City Council let stand its previous awarding of the new central library contract Friday after a contractor who complained that his bid was unfairly rejected promised not to take legal action.

Mayor W. Fred Duckworth had indicated Council was ready to re-award the contract to Paul Tishman Co., Inc., of New York City, on a different set of specifications where there could be no question that Tishman was the low bidder. A special meeting was called for this purpose.

Council had been afraid that J. L. Coe Construction Co. of Charlotte, N.C., would seek to block Tuesday's contract award to Tishman. Such action might have made it impossible to start construction of the library by June 1, the deadline agreed on with Miss Bessie Kirn, who has given $500,000 toward the library.

'WRONGED'

But James E. Cox, vice president and general manager of Coe, said his firm only wanted Council to know it felt wronged but had no intention of hampering efforts to start the library by bringing suit. He said Coe was withdrawing from the matter.

"You can award it (the contract) anyway you want to—upside down, sideways, or anyway you want it," he said.

Cox's contention had been that specifications for the library job made it plain that an item calling for the demolition of an old hotel on the library site was part of a package which was not to be broken up.

He said Council was wrong in awarding the job to Tishman by leaving bids on the hotel demolition out of account. The successful Tishman bid was $1,862,657, but had his $11,800 demolition job bid been added, Coe's combined bid of $1,868,546 would have been low.

COMBINED BID

City Manager Thomas F. Maxwell has recommended, with the advice of City Atty. Leonard H. Davis, that the contract be re-awarded on alternate specifications where Tishman's combined bid of $1,770,949 was lowest.

This recommendation was re-

Save-Schools Job Accepted By Brewbaker

CHARLOTTESVILLE — School Supt. J. J. Brewbaker of Norfolk, awarded the Distinguished Service Award Friday night by the University of Virginia's education fraternity, announced he will work to promote "moderate leadership" for overcoming desegregation problems.

Brewbaker was honored by Phi Delta Kappa, professional fraternity for educators, in his 38th year as a school administrator and on the eve of his retirement as superintendent of Norfolk schools.

He said he has accepted an invitation by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta to serve as a part-time consultant in the "Southern Leadership Project" financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Henry Goff (right), president of Charlottesville chapter of Phi Delta Kappa, presents distinguished service award to Norfolk School Supt. J. J. Brewbaker. (AP)

INTENSIVE PROGRAM

"This undertaking is an intensive and systematic program aimed at 'moderate leadership' and a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership to achieve an orderly adjustment in working on problems arising from the 1954 Supreme Court decision," Brewbaker said in a speech prepared for delivery to Phi Delta Kappa.

"I am to start the new work on July 1, 1960, the day after I retire," he said. "I shall work in the entire South, including Virginia.

"My services are available beginning July 1, and it will be a privilege to counsel with superintendents, school board members, and all other interested citizens in an effort to save our public schools." He will continue to live in Norfolk.

He said the public schools are the most important institutions of democratic life in America. "Shall we destroy them and establish a system of private schools? In my opinion, this is impossible and any attempt along this line would result in irreparable damage to the education of our youth," he said.

MUST TAKE LEAD

Brewbaker said he was convinced public schools must be integrated to the extent legally required or be abandoned.

"I am convinced that this is a problem in the South that can best be solved by Southerners. It is more acceptable to the people for those of us who were bred, born, educated, and all of our lives have been living and working in the South to take the lead in trying to solve the problem," he said.

"We cannot hide our heads in the sand like the ostrich and wait for the problem to disappear—it is with us to stay." He said the change to desegregation should be gradual, not at the "break-

Dodged Gaming Tax

Donovan Penalty Put at 4 Years

RICHMOND (AP)—Harry L. Donovan, whose trial on charges of attempted evasion of federal wagering taxes ended abruptly with a change in plea from innocent to guilty, Friday drew a four-year prison term.

Federal Judge Albert V. Bryan sentenced the Richmond jukebox dealer to one year each on five counts of attempting to evade $6,826 in wagering excise taxes, five counts of failing to file monthly told Bryan his client was a "good and respectable member of the community."

U.S. Atty. Joseph S. Bambacus said Donovan was "a kingpin of the underworld" and had created a "terrible situation" in Richmond.

Bambacus said the "entire vice squad of the police bureau of Richmond was on Harry Donovan's payroll."

State's Largest City

Norfolk's Top Pop. Drops Richmond

NORFOLK — Richmond conceded Friday that Norfolk is, in fact, the most populous city in the state.

The state capital's bow to its bustling sister city came after the release of preliminary census shown an increase of 64,243 residents.

Preliminary census figures show Richmond with 218,028 persons.

Norfolk's preliminary count showed a population of 275,756

Meads' heirs and his wife, Mrs. Joyce Meads, 23, who was among the injured, reportedly made a $28,900 out-of-court settlement with the association.

This is the first civil case involving the accident to be heard

Attorneys for the plaintiff were John Hall and Killian Barwick of Elizabeth City and Willard J. Moody of Portsmouth. Attorneys for the defendant were J.C. Goodwin, J. H. Leroy, Dewey Wells and Gerald White, all of Elizabeth City.

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Federal Judge Albert V. Bryan sentenced the Richmond jukebox dealer to one year each on five counts of attempting to evade $6,826 in wagering excise taxes, five counts of failing to file monthly excise reports and one count of failing to obtain a wagering stamp last year.

Bryan ordered that the sentences run consecutively on the first four counts and the others concurrently with them.

Donovan, 52, at liberty under $25,000 bond, will begin serving his term June 20 and must serve three years before being eligible for parole.

'GOOD AND RESPECTABLE'

The possible maximum sentence would have been 31 years in prison and fines totaling $110,000.

Defense Atty. Leith Bremner, pleading for mercy for Donovan, told Bryan his client was a "good and respectable member of the community."

U.S. Atty. Joseph S. Bambacus said Donovan was "a kingpin of the underworld" and had created a "terrible situation" in Richmond.

Bambacus said the "entire vice squad of the police bureau of Richmond was on Harry Donovan's payroll."

Harry L. Donovan

Beckons Beauty

NORFOLK—The new Miss Norfolk had to make a quick check of her bedroom closet Friday morning to make sure the title she won Thursday night really was her's.

A quick glance at the blue and gold sash placed on her by State Sen. Thomas H. Blanton of Bowling Green at the climax of the contest eased her mind.

Then she had to rush off for her first public appearance as Miss Norfolk and an interview on a morning radio show.

NEW EXPERIENCE

Two weeks ago, 18-year-old Norview High School senior Anne Sugent had never thought of entering a beauty contest, let alone winning one.

The nearest she had ever come to a public display of poise, personality and pulchritude was the day she spent as attendant to one of the Azalea Court princesses.

Then a representative of radio station WBOF, sponsor of the Miss Norfolk contest, called at her home to tell her she had been suggested as a candidate by one of her high school teachers.

PLENTY TO DO

"I found out there was a lot more to it than I thought when I said 'Yes,'" she said Friday.

The pantomime act she used to help her win the Miss Norfolk title was conceived and rehearsed in the few days she had before the big night came.

More given to outdoor activities than to entertaining, she had never performed in public before.

But grace and a mobile face made pantomime a natural choice.

Like most beauty queens, she wept when the announcement of her victory was made.

"I don't know why. I just didn't expect it," she said. "I was surprised even when I was picked as one of the five finalists."

Anne was one of the "Lost Class of 1959"—the high school students whose education was interrupted by the closing of Norfolk schools under the state's now-defunct massive resistance policy to integration.

Now she's back at Norview and ready to graduate next month. After that she will study home economics at the College of William and Mary, "not because I want to make a career, but because I think everyone who has a chance to go to college should take it."

She prides herself in never backing away when she thinks she has been challenged.

She enjoys tennis and badminton and loves to win. Her favorite non-competitive sport is swimming, and for that she enjoys the rough and tumble of Atlantic surf much more than the placid beaches of Chesapeake Bay.

When she looked over the many prizes she won with the Miss Norfolk title, she said: "I'm going to enjoy them all. But I'll have to start thinking, too, about having enough money to pay the taxes on them when the time comes next year."

was withdrawing from the matter.

"You can award it (the contract) anyway you want to—upside down, sideways, or anyway you want it," he said.

Cox's contention had been that specifications for the library job made it plain that an item calling for the demolition of an old hotel on the library site was part of a package which was not to be broken up.

He said Council was wrong in awarding the job to Tishman by leaving bids on the hotel demolition out of account. The successful Tishman bid was $1,862,657, but had his $11,800 demolition job bid been added, Coe's combined bid of $1,868,546 would have been low.

COMBINED BID

City Manager Thomas F. Maxwell has recommended, with the advice of City Atty. Leonard H. Davis, that the contract be reawarded on alternate specifications where Tishman's combined bid of $1,770,949 was lowest.

This recommendation was rejected after Cox promised there would be no suit. Only Councilman L. C. Page, who said he still feared legal complications unless the contract were reawarded, voted to uphold the recommendation.

Henry Goff (right), president of Charlottesville chapter of Phi Delta Kappa, presents distinguished service award to Norfolk School Supt. J. J. Brewbaker. (AP)

State's Largest City

Norfolk's Top Pop. Drops Richmond

NORFOLK — Richmond conceded Friday that Norfolk is, in fact, the most populous city in the state.

The state capital's bow to its bustling sister city came after the release of preliminary census figures which show Richmond has lost 12,282 persons since the last census in 1950.

NORFOLK UP 64,243

Norfolk in the meantime has shown an increase of 64,243 residents.

Preliminary census figures show Richmond with 218,028 persons.

Norfolk's preliminary count showed a population of 275,756. And the addition of the "floating population" here—Navy men and merchant seamen—is expected to put the final figure over 300,000.

Richmond observers look to the suburbs for the reason for Norfolk's population growth and Richmond's decline.

The city boundaries of Norfolk have followed the march of population into the suburbs.

GAINS BY MERGERS

Norfolk has annexed populous areas of Princess Anne and Norfolk counties in the last five years.

The Tanners Creek annexation in 1955 made it the most populous city in Virginia.

Suburban development in Chesterfield County, which adjoins Richmond, more than doubled its population in the last 10 years to 117,016.

The steady migration of young couples into Chesterfield and Henrico counties has been blamed for Richmond's decline.

But Norfolk has had the same experience.

In the 10 years since the 1950 census, Princess Anne County has grown, in spite of annexation, from 36,887 persons to 76,436.

Preliminary data from the 1960 census showed Thursday that Virginia's population has increased at least 437,000 in the last 10 years, and indications were that the increase will reach nearly 750,000 when figures from all 10 districts are complete.

The head count in the state in the 1950 census was 3,318,680.

the most important institutions of democratic life in America. "Shall we destroy them and establish a system of private schools? In my opinion, this is impossible and any attempt along this line would result in irreparable damage to the education of our youth," he said.

MUST TAKE LEAD

Brewbaker said he was convinced public schools must be integrated to the extent legally required or be abandoned.

"I am convinced that this is a problem in the South that can best be solved by Southerners. It is more acceptable to the people for those of us who were bred, born, educated, and all of our lives have been living and working in the South to take the lead in trying to solve the problem," he said.

"We cannot hide our heads in the sand like the ostrich and wait for the problem to disappear—it is with us to stay." He said the change to desegregation should be gradual, not at the "breakneck speed some of those with extreme views seem to want."

Brewbaker, 65, leaves office after having served during a tumultous period of the school system's history.

SCHOOLS CLOSED

He was elected to his last four-year term in 1958, a few months before 10,000 secondary school students were barred from classes as their schools were closed for a semester under now-defunct state anti-desegregation laws.

Brewbaker, as a 5-year-old farm boy, entered an insignificant one-room school in Botetourt County as Virginia was preparing to write segregation into its fundamental law in the Constitutional Convention of 1901-02.

Last year, as the end of his career was approaching, Brewbaker saw desergregation begin in Virginia, with a handful of carefully screened Negro students entering white schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and a few other localities.

SERVES OUT CONTRACT

A target of segregationists during Norfolk's school crisis, Brewbaker announced last June that he would resign this year, rather than serve out the last year of his contract. Although he gave no reason for his resignation except a desire to retire at 65, it was common knowledge in school circles that coolness toward him by Mayor W. Fred Duckworth's administration was a factor in his decision.

★ ★ ★

2 Negroes Drop Out

NORFOLK—Two of the 22 Negro children who have been admitted to white schools have dropped out, School Supt. J. J. Brewbaker disclosed Friday.

Brewbaker, in Charlottesville Friday night to receive an award from Phi Delta Kappa, education fraternity at the University of Virginia, retraced the history of desegregation in Norfolk.

He mentioned that one Negro student got married last summer and dropped out, while the other left school on advice of her doctor.

Asst. Principal Andrew T. Leidy of Norview High School said both were girls enrolled at Norview. He said the last to drop out fell ill with flu early this semester and after a two weeks' absence decided not to return.

Court Report Shows

Juvenile Crime 'Contained'

NORFOLK — Juvenile delinquency is contained "to a reasonable proportion" in Norfolk, according to the annual report of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court for 1959.

The report expressed concern in the increase of charges of disorderly conduct, petty larceny, breaking and entering, runaway children, and morals offenses against juveniles.

In his annual report released last month, Police Chief Harold Anderson asserted that "major crime offenses committed by juveniles" increased 20.6 per cent, from 1,056 in 1958 to 1,274.

The court's report, signed by Judge Edwin A. Henry, Associate Judge Alfred W. Whitehurst, and William S. Lee Jr., chief adminstrative officer, said only about a fifth — 600 — of the cases that came before it involved "severe and deliberate offenses of state or city laws."

The report indicated the court's work may continue to increase in the coming years. But it said that with only "600 serious criminal convictions" out of approximately 65,000 persons under 18 years, "the overwhelming majority of our young people are good, law-abiding citizens."

The court praised cooperation of the Police Division and the Department of Public Welfare, the school administrative staffs, and "the many public and private agencies of the city."

With their help, it said, the court had been able to "contain the problem of delinquency to a reasonable proportion, provide an immediate protection to our city against the serious offender, and provide, within the various rehabilitative programs, all assistance as could be given to the individual young juvenile offender."

The report noted concern with an increased number of cases involving alcoholic beverages consumed by "a small number of our young people," and said that youthful drunken drivers were given jail sentences because they were as dangerous as adults.

A decrease in traffic violations from 732 in 1958 to 601 in 1959 was hailed by the court, which said that the Traffic School had played a part in this decline.

ASSULTS INCREASE

The report also noted a "large increase" in assault charges in Domestic Relations Court, with 1,490 cases as compared to 1,134 the previous year.

There also were substantial increases in charges against adults of contempt for failing to obey support orders, and in contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

The court also noted a decline in desertion and nonsupport cases, and a decrease in felony cases before it.

'Queen's' Men Get $22,000

NORFOLK — The salvors of the African Queen will get at least $22,000 for their troubles.

U.S. Dist. Judge Walter E. Hoffman entered a final order Friday in the Queen's cause, which has been in court since October.

He authorized the salvors to split the sum of $22,166.82 — all that's left of the $134,000 the ship brought at public auction Jan. 11. Claims and costs consumed the rest of the sale proceeds.

RIFT REFLECTED

Belden N. Little of Suffolk will receive $4,465.37 under the order. The other salvors — Paul Brady and Lloyd E. Deir of Holland and A. E. Sadler of Suffolk — are to get $17,701.45.

Little's separate share reflected a rift among the salvors. He left the Queen a month before she was brought into Norfolk Sept. 27 after a difficult voyage through a hurricane threat.

The salvors closed ranks against rivals once the ship was safely home, but Little had his own lawyer in the litigation that followed the six-month salvage effort.

At times the salvors seemed in pawn to the Queen, especially after no bidders would meet the $250,000 price they put on the ship at a public sale in December.

They once hoped to realize three million dollars from the wildcat venture. It now seems they'll have to settle for a few thousand dollars, plus any profit from assorted rights and royalties.

Spillane Puts Hammer Aside While Police Nail Suspect

By ADAM CLYMER

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

NORFOLK — Author Mickey Spillane, creator of tough-guy private-eye Mike Hammer, went along to watch the back door at a police raid early Friday.

He stood by while police arrested a 24-year-old dairy worker on a charge of murder stemming from a shooting brawl here six weeks ago. The raid was at a Suffolk home.

Spillane, whose hero led a strenuous life crashing in thugs' skulls and keeping their beautiful molls entertained, had a more mundane assignment early Friday morning.

DEAD OF NIGHT

He stopped in Norfolk Thursday on the way to South Carolina and met Norfolk Detective Fred Henley shortly after midnight.

He went with Henley and Nansemond County Deputy Sheriff Oscar O. Woolford when they raided the Suffolk home about 2:30 a.m. Friday.

Henley and Woolford went to the front door seeking Floyd McCoy Stephenson. Spillane went to the back to prevent an escape. However, Stephenson made no effort to flee.

Stephenson, of Seaboard, N.C., and the 1000 block of Bottimore street, Norfolk, was charged Friday afternoon with murder and with two counts of felonious shooting.

Spillane, a resident of Newburgh, N.Y., left town Friday morning.

Police, who said Stephenson wept as he made a statement, charged him with shooting three men in a brawl at the Elks' Lodge at 727-729 E. Princess Anne Rd. early on the morning of April 9.

A crowd of about 200 scattered after the fight began, leaving several wounded by various weapons. One, William Henry Harrell, 27, of 1131 Percy St., died May 3 in Norfolk Community Hospital of a gunshot wound and infection.

Two others, allegedly wounded by Stephenson, have recovered. They are James William Junior, 25, of 717 Chapel St. and Clarence Turner, 33, of 835 Vick St.

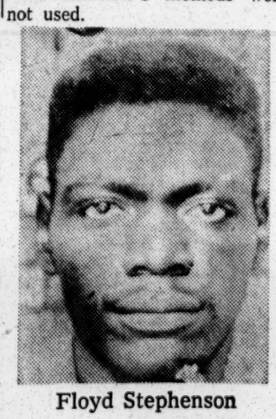
Stephenson's was the third arrest in connection with the brawl. A week ago Stephenson's brother, Theodore Roosevelt Stephenson, 22, of the same addresses, was charged with felonious assault. Henley said he stabbed Clayton N. Taylor of 833 Windsor Ave., and that this stabbing began the brawl.

Joe Louis Ricks, 28, a nephew of the Stephensons, was picked up in Seaboard and is being held as a material witness to the fracas.

Detectives had made two trips to Seaboard and had searched Norfolk repeatedly for the Stephensons. Thursday night they received information that Floyd was in Suffolk and made the apprehension.

Spillane was only along for the ride. He was not needed for technical advise, police said, and Mike Hammer's methods were not used.

Mickey Spillane



Floyd Stephenson

Poison Alert

NORFOLK — The Chamber of Commerce health and sanitation committee Friday forwarded to the executive board a suggestion that the city warn residents of hazards in common household product.

The committee expressed concern at the deaths of infants and children from consumption of furniture polishes, waxes and detergents.

It recommended that the board ask the City Health Department to prepare a brochure detailing the poisons contained in many such products and suggesting storage habits which will keep them from the hands—and mouths—of children.

Shooting Leaves 1 Dead, 1 Wounded

NORFOLK—One man was killed and another injured early this morning in a shooting brawl outside Ben's Grill at Church and Henry streets.

According to Michael Brown, manager of the grill, the fatally wounded man was a dishwasher working for him. He did not know his name.

Brown said a sailor he knew walked in about 1 a.m. and ordered a soft drink. After taking two or three swallows, he walked out and began talking to a girl, Brown said.

"My dishwasher followed him out. The next thing I knew, there were sounds like firecrackers going off and he ran back in saying 'I've been shot'

"I thought he was joking.

"At first I couldn't see where the bullet went," Brown said. "And then he fell over on the floor."

Early this morning police identified the dead man as Leslie Wellington Brooks, 25, a Negro dishwasher. His address was not known.

Brooks was dead on arrival at Norfolk Community Hospital at 1:20 a.m.

A companion, also injured in the shooting, was in serious condition. He was identified as Wayne Hudson, also Negro.

Detectives said they believe the bullets were intended for Hudson but hit Brooks instead.

May 26, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Board of the City of Norfolk
School Administration Building
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Many thanks for your letter of May 24, and for the copy of your address to Phi Delta Kappa. I congratulate you warmly on receiving the Distinguished Service Award, which was indeed well deserved.

I have read your address with great interest. I am glad to have this too modest review of your wonderful Norfolk performance. Your address also contains some good philosophy. The announcement of your coming with the Southern Regional Council was fine.

The paragraph at the bottom of Page 2 and the top of Page 3 seems to be an argument against compliance with the Supreme Court decision -- which is not very effectively offset by what follows. With reference to "enforced change," one recalls the equalization of school facilities in Virginia, which was brought about, as you remember, not by evolutionary processes, but by stern orders of Federal courts.

There are 13 pages which admirably support the thesis that the problem must and can be solved within the law and without closing public schools.

On Page 17, however, there is a dismal picture of the results of compliance with the Federal court ruling in Norfolk. Apparently "the Negro children are quite unhappy" and the white children are "making sacrifices and being deprived of many of the good things in school life."

Frankly, this reads like an excerpt from a Mississippi White Citizens Council paper. I did not imagine things were that bad in Norfolk. Surely something could be said to relieve the dark picture.

Truth is always in order -- balanced truth -- and I have not the slightest doubt that your effort will be to save public schools. But I don't think we want to marshal arguments on the side of school-closing, or to give unnecessary weight to considerations which might be used as ammunition by school-closers.

The quotes from your address in the Virginian-Pilot were just fine.

I am looking forward to seeing you soon. I am due for a visit to Norfolk before long. I want to see Lenoir Chambers among others. -- Awards have a way of going to that city!

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Roanoke City Public Schools
Roanoke Virginia

Office of the Superintendent

May 30, 1960

Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker
School Administration Building
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

It was a genuine pleasure being with you last Friday. I appreciate the help you gave me concerning my conference with school board members and the problems relating to desegregation.

I have read with interest your Phi Delta Kappa address. It is an excellent treatise of the subject. I should like to have twenty copies for our school board members and central staff officers.

Your materials dealing with criteria used in desegregation matters would be of great assistance to us. Could you send me twenty sets of these materials? If you will advise me of the cost, I shall be glad to send you our check.

Your first invitation to visit a school system is hereby extended. I wish you could come here to confer with us prior to July. Could you meet with a group of us in Roanoke immediately? Perhaps the Southern Regional Council would approve this request. Let me know if such a conference could be scheduled at this time. We need your counsel.

You have certainly made an outstanding contribution to education. The entire citizenry of Norfolk is indebted to you for your superb leadership.

Sincerely yours,

E. W. Rushton
Superintendent

EWR:dt

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
RICHMOND 16

May 31, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, Superintendent
Norfolk City Schools
School Administration Building
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Dear "Brew":

I appreciate so much your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the very excellent address which you gave at the meeting of Phi Delta Kappa on May 20, 1960. This is one of the finest statements, factually and historically, that I have seen in regard to the crucial developments since the fateful decision of May 17, 1954. It will be an excellent resource for me on many occasions, and I am deeply grateful for your permitting me to have a copy.

I also take this occasion to extend my sincere congratulations upon receiving the Distinguished Service Award for the school year, 1959-60. This is, indeed, a cherished honor, and you deserve it in every respect.

I do trust that circumstances will afford me an opportunity for seeing you before June 30, 1960. In the event that such an opportunity does not afford itself, I will definitely be seeing you in your new capacity after July 1. You have so much to offer in a consultant role, and I predict that your contribution in this regard will be proportionately as great as has been your fine record as a school administrator.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Pat (Davis Y. Paschall)

Davis Y. Paschall
Superintendent of Public Instruction

DYP/p

The Virginian-Pilot, June 2, 1960

MF File

Integration Trouble-Shooter

Brewbaker Called On to Help

NORFOLK — Even before he vacates his post as superintendent of Norfolk public schools, John J. Brewbaker is getting calls for help as a trouble-shooter for Southern school systems facing integration of races in their schools.

Brewbaker disclosed this Tuesday night at a banquet given by the Norfolk Principals' Assn. to honor him and Milton C. Hollingsworth, Principal of Norview Junior High School, who also will retire June 30.

Brewbaker said the most urgent call came from Roanoke, near his native Botetourt County.

He told the principals who have worked under him that he is retiring with "no symptoms of ulcers" and with an outlook of eagerness toward his new position, which he estimated will occupy about a third of his time. He also hopes to golf and fish.

"Maybe life begins at 65," he said.

DRAMA RECALLED

Throughout a three-hour evening honoring "Mr. Brew" and "Mr. Holly," the dramatic year 1958-59, when six Norfolk schools were closed to avoid race mixing, kept bobbing up.

The events that followed brought Brewbaker into national fame and caused his selection for Southwide duty.

Brewbaker restated his position.

"I am not an integrationist but a realist," he said. "We must be big enough and masterful enough to face and solve our problems, and not stick our heads in the sand and hope these problems will disappear."

In practice, this means "we must do what is legally required but on a highly selective basis."

June 4, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Board of the City of Norfolk
School Administration Building
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Here are some suggestions for the revision of your address:

Top of Page 2 --

Physical changes are natural and there is, of course, no protest when they come; economic and technological changes come through the efforts and ingenuity of man and are accepted with pride and satisfaction, but social changes often come through the aspirations of minority or less favored groups striving to reach the economic and social level of the higher or more favored groups. It is often the case that men who have the "odds" against them do not proceed in the pleasantest manner and the more favored groups are antagonized. Extremists among the favored groups become even more reckless and unreasonable. An emotional climate is thus created in which it is difficult to think clearly and take rational and constructive action.

From bottom of Page 2 through two-thirds of Page 3 --

The change required by the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court is a very different kind of change. It is a social change. It is one which involves a departure from long-established customs and traditions in the highly sensitive field of human relations. Let no one imagine that this is an easy matter, or a simple matter. No domestic problem of greater magnitude is likely to confront us in our time. It presents a challenge which calls for the utmost in wisdom and human understanding and patriotism from the Southern educator.

Very soon after this decision was handed down, I had the privilege of serving on a panel in New York City with Dr. Frank P. Graham and others. Dr. Graham expressed the belief that we had been making progress toward racial change in a gradual, normal way and that, if this decision could have been delayed for some time yet, the transition would have been easier. Many in the South feel that the decision would have been wrong at any time.

But, regardless of how we may feel, we are faced with the problem. Shall we defy the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, or shall we, as we have done in the past, accept its decision as the proper interpretation of the law, and comply with it in the best manner possible? For the thoughtful American there can be but one answer.

From bottom of Page 16 through first three lines of Page 18 --

Near the end of the second year of desegregation what is the actual situation in the Norfolk schools? I can honestly say from an overall point of view that we have had a happy and successful year. As for the Negro children who have been placed in classes with white children, from my observation, they do not seem to be happy. They are generally ignored by white children, and some white children have made ugly remarks to them. Removal of legal barriers does not in itself remove the barriers of custom or prejudice. But there have been no serious incidents and no interruption in the normal processes of education.

All children, both white and colored, have been deprived of a certain type of social activity. All school-sponsored social functions, social clubs and even folk dancing have been discontinued. But public school premises are available for privately-sponsored social functions; dances and proms have been organized by the parents.

To me personally, these experiences have brought many trials and tribulations. Through them I have learned much. Beginning with February 12, 1957, when I spent most of the morning on the witness stand making my initial affidavit, I have spent many hours in the federal court as a witness and observer. Just as 100 business men preferred segregated schools, but came to the conclusion, as every thoughtful person is forced to do as the events unfold, that our public schools must either be integrated to the extent legally required or must be abandoned, which they said is unthinkable, so for the same reason we accept certain inconveniences and sacrifices. It is unthinkable to abandon the most important function of our government, the institution that makes our nation great, the American Public Schools.

Sentence in the middle of Page 18 --

I am convinced also at the present time, the change should be gradual, with "deliberate speed."

(Actually, I don't think there is any danger of "break-neck speed," and the reference might be out of place here. The fear of an onrush of integration, I think, is one of the bugaboos, and many need to be reassured on this point. But at the present rate of about 6 percent in six years, integration is not moving very fast!)

You might wish to enlarge upon some of the items -- or upon the confusion and distress when schools were closed.

Sincerely,

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I enclose copies of three interesting comments on Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker's prospective work with us as a part-time consultant on public school desegregation. They are contained in letters to Brewbaker from Davis Y. Paschall, Virginia State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and E. W. Rushton, Roanoke superintendent of schools, and an editorial in the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch of May 24.

The editorial admirably expresses my own appraisal and confident hope with respect to Brewbaker. The letters reflect his cordial personal relationship with other school administrators in Virginia, and to a considerable extent elsewhere in the South. He knows nearly all the school superintendents in the larger Southern cities and some of the state superintendents of public instruction. I can think of no one with whom these school administrators would be more willing to discuss their problems.

Brewbaker is neither a sociologist nor a deep student of the race problem, but he is completely dedicated to the proposition that public schools must be kept open, and within the law. I think when he moves out from under the pressure of bigoted politicians, against whom he fought so long with his back to the wall, his collaboration with our group will tend to give him a more liberal approach to the whole matter of race. He is most anxious to meet our requirements and serve our objectives.

It will be noted in the letter from Roanoke that Rushton requested 20 additional copies of Brewbaker's Phi Delta Kappa address. Brewbaker states that some portions of that address were prepared hurriedly and did not actually express the thoughts which he intended to convey. The address in its original form will not be further circulated.

Instead he is preparing a statement on his Norfolk experience, revised and extended, from his Phi Delta Kappa address. Copies of this will be sent to Rushton, and others who may apply. Copies will also be sent, of course, to us, and Brewbaker would like for them to be regarded as supplanting the earlier document.

I am hoping that Brewbaker may be free to begin with us within the next two weeks. I intend to work closely with him until my departure for Europe July 22. I expect that there will be much to keep him busy until the September school-opening.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Auburn 3-4764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 6, 1960

To: Harold Fleming From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: Brewbaker's Phi Delta Kappa address

Though I think Brew is properly embarrassed and contrite about the address, I would be glad if you would also express your surprise and disapproval to him -- by way of 1) drivingthe point home beyond any question and 2) backing me up.

You might add that you understand from me that the unfortunate passages were not an accurate reflection of his attitude toward the problem and that they are being corrected in his revised paper -- together with whatever nice things you feel like saying about his performance in Norfolk and our pleasure in the prospect of his collaboration.

June 7, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Administration Building
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

Thank you for your letter of May 24 enclosing a copy of your speech at the University of Virginia and the fine newspaper stories that resulted. Please accept my hearty congratulations on the richly deserved honor conferred upon you on that occasion.

I am looking forward to our association in this work and will expect to see you as soon as your circumstances permit.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

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J. J. BREWBAKER
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS

E. L. LAMBERTH
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

WILLIAM L. ROBISON
INSTRUCTION AND CURRICULUM

W. E. CAMPBELL
BUSINESS AND FINANCE

May 24, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing a clipping and a copy of the address which I made at the University of Virginia last Friday night when I received the Distinguished Service Award of Phi Delta Kappa. I felt this was a good time to announce my new work.

I am looking forward to seeing you soon after July 1.

Very sincerely yours,

J. J. Brewbaker

J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 11, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Brewbaker put the leave proposition up to his board last night. They unanimously urged him to stay to the end of June (with an extra $750 of salary), so he goes back to the original plan of beginning with us on July 1.

He is taking some time over the paper on his Norfolk experience, based on the Phi Delta Kappa address, which he may mimeograph in 200 copies for future use. He will submit the paper to me for editing.

I enclose a copy of my letter to him of June 4, suggesting changes in the original text. He received these suggestions with apparently enthusiastic appreciation and complete concurrence. Have you anything to add to them?

done

I have not received any copy of Margaret Price's study. Has it been mailed out? I would like to be sure that I am receiving all the SRC output.

I am driving down to Laurinburg, N. C., Sunday, returning to Manassas Wednesday evening. Will see you at Holly Knoll Friday.

Sincerely

Ben

BETTER SCHOOLS

Better Schools Make A Better Norfolk

VOLUME XI, NUMBER 2 NORFOLK, VIRGINIA JUNE, 1960

EVALUATION OF EDUCATION

The Superintendent's Message

Many changes have taken place in the Norfolk Public School System during the past ten or fifteen years. In my opinion, the majority of these changes have effected desirable improvements in the school. I shall enumerate briefly some of these events.

Our needs of a material nature have been great. Since 1949, and including the school building construction now under way, our school construction costs will exceed twenty million dollars.

We have had two annexations during the past ten years—a part of Norfolk County, January 1, 1955, which gave us an addition of 12,000 pupils; and a part of Princess Anne County, January 1, 1959, which gave us another increase of 7,000 pupils. Our present enrollment is approximately 50,000 pupils.

Since the Supreme Court Decision on May 17, 1954, we have been in the throes of litigation in the desegregation of our schools. In 1958-59, six of our high schools were closed the first half of the session, putting 10.000 high school pupils out of school. On February 2, 1959, these six high schools were opened after both the State Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Three Judge Federal Court had declared unconstitutional the Massive Resistance Laws which had closed them.

We have pioneered in educational television, with the aid of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, for the past three years. Our School Board has voted to continue this program during the 1960-61 session without the aid of the Fund. Hampton City and Norfolk County are entering the program with us this coming year.

We have accomplished noticeable improvements in our instructional program. At the present time, we are emphasizing special programs for the gifted, more emphasis on reading, more attention to our guidance program, and more depth in our basic subjects; such as, science, mathematics, English, and foreign languages. We need more teachers, and we need more selectivity in recruiting teachers. To accomplish these things we need right now a teacher salary scale of about $5000—$7000 which would be one of the best in the State. Our present salary scale, including the recent increases, puts us only in a temporary competitive position with the surrounding school divisions. We must at least equal the best in the State.

We have many critics of the school system. Some of them are honest and sincere; others are not. I hope the people of Norfolk shall stand firm and not let their schools be damaged during this period of confusion and troubled times. Changes should not be made because of individual whims, but on the basis of scientific study and evaluation. Be slow to change any program without careful consideration in the light of the best practices.

During the past few years Norfolk has received national recognition as a good school system. We have been invited and participated in national pilot studies;

(Continued on Page 12)

Superintendent John J. Brewbaker

After thirty-three years of service in the Norfolk Public schools, Mr. J. J. Brewbaker will retire on June 30, 1960. Mr. Brewbaker began his public school career in 1922 as Principal of the Buchanan, Virginia, High School. In 1926, he was appointed Principal of St. Paul High School in Wise County, Virginia.

Mr. Brewbaker joined the Norfolk Public School system in 1927 as Principal of R. E. Lee Elementary School. In 1939 he became Principal of James Madison Elementary School; in 1942, Business Manager of the sytem; in 1943 Assistant Superintendent and, in 1949, Superintendent of Schools.

Mr. Brewbaker received his A. B. Degree from Roanoke College in 1918 and his M. A. Degree in Education from the University of Virginia in 1939, his Thesis subject being "Salaries of Norfolk Teachers."

During his tenure as Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Brewbaker has taken a very active part in community affairs. He is affiliated with the Advisory Committee of the School of Nursing of the Norfolk General Hospital; Advisory Committee of the College of William and Mary in Norfolk; American Association for United Nations; Norfolk Kiwanis Club, of which he is past president; Norfolk Education Association; and he is a member of the First Christian Church, Disciples.

Mr. Brewbaker has been one of the outstanding educators on the national scene. He has served as chairman and discussion

(Continued on Page 2)

BETTER SCHOOLS

Published
By the Public Schools of Norfolk, Virginia

J. J. BREWBAKER — Superintendent
W. L. ROBISON, Assistant Superintendent, Curriculum and Instruction
MRS. ALICE D. EDWARDS, Consultant

Evaluation Procedures Studied

A forthcoming publication on evaluation procedures in thirty systems across the nation includes a study of practices in Norfolk City. Dr. Arnold Perry, Dean of the School of Education, University of North Carolina, and Dr. Clyde B. Moore, Professor Emeritus of Cornell University, made the study. They spent two days interviewing teachers, principals supervisors, and superintendents in Norfolk. From their interviews and many materials dealing with evaluation and surveys in Norfolk they have described in forty-two pages "Self-Evaluation Procedures in the Public Schools of Norfolk, Virginia."

They observe in the introduction that "Norfolk has had more than its share of critical situations to face during the past century . . . . In their quest for quality in education the Norfolk School Board and professional staff have sought to establish criteria of excellence, to construct evaluation instruments and to develop appraisal procedures which would help them to assay validly the real worth of the Norfolk program of public education."

Twelve aspects of evaluation are examined in the description of procedures:

1. Determination of broad purposes and specific objectives gives point and direction to the program. This is evidenced in an annual review of philosophy and objectives in annual reports, continuous curriculum revision, and in freedom schools may use to meet the needs of their immediate areas.
3. Intimate, comprehensive knowledge of the community points the way to school needs and program improvements. The survey of 1955 and the continuing study of school needs by the University of Virginia are evidence of this.
3. Continuous evaluation promotes steady school improvement.
4. Comprehensive appraisal leads to a well-balanced program. In this time of pressures a balance in various areas of learning is maintained.
5. Evaluation as a cooperative process assures help from many sources for program appraisal and improvement. "The basic philosophy of evaluation which governs appraisal practices in Norfolk may be summed up in a phrase heard often in talking to instructional personnel—**working together to improve our schools."** The survey of 1955 was a good example of working together. The committee for that survey included parents, teachers, administrators and college professors. The development of curriculum materials is also evidence that we work together to improve the schools.
6. Identification of strengths and weaknesses helps to establish priorities in the school system.
7. Scientific measurement provides a basis for objective appraisal. A continuous testing program provides one way to evaluate the potential ability and achievement of individuals and the general effectiveness of any area of the school program.
8. Knowledge of children and youth helps to make the appraisals more valid. A study of the characteristics of the children of the Norfolk schools, a knowledge of their growth and development make it easier to understand pupil achievement. Specially trained personnel are provided to study and evaluate children—psychologists, speech therapists, teachers for mentally retarded, cerebral palsy, and others.
9. Evaluation of its own effectiveness helps the school board clarify its leadership role. "Unless the board gives dynamic leadership in the educational endeavor, the professional staff will be thwarted in its effort to achieve school quality." Evidence that the board has looked at itself is found in the **Handbook for Norfolk Public Schools Principals** and in the **Rules and Regulations.** Its leadership was in full view and tested during the past three years.
10. Appraisal of practices affecting the staff increases efficiency and promotes morale. Evaluation practice has lead to high teacher morale because of its cooperative nature. Salary differentials have encouraged more teachers to get more and higher degrees.
11. Interpretation of the school program to the public assists the layman in making a sound appraisal of his schools. The survey of 1955 showed that the general public was not well informed on the matter of public schools. Efforts have been made since to strengthen the public information program. Much more needs to be done in this area.
12. Evaluation sets the stage for self-improvement. Staff reorganization, in-service education programs, curriculum revision and curriculum development programs, the testing programs, the development of the professional and curriculum libraries, and the on-going building program are all evidences of self-improvement.

Dr. Perry concludes with this statement. "Perhaps more important than any of these activities or achievements is the staff's recognition of the need for professional alertness and their acceptance of the responsibility for wisely judging the program and moving steadily toward program excellence."

W. L. Robison
Assistant Superintendent
of Curriculum and Instruction

Mr. Brewbaker

(Continued from Page 1)

leader on various committees and groups in the local, state, and national education associations; as Director of the Southeast Region of the Associated Public School Systems; Advisory member of the Educational Policies Commission; and as a member of the American Association of School Administration. He is affiliated with the Virginia Education Association, National Educaton Association, American Association of School Administrators, Phi Delta Kappa Honorary Education Fraternity (the University of Virginia Chapter named him recipient of its Distinguished Service Award), National Organization on Legal Problems of Education, and the National Conference on Citizenship.

We have been fortunate to have such a man as Mr. Brewbaker for our leader in a period which has seen this become one of the best school systems in the Country. We very reluctantly give him up to play golf, spray and prune his fruit trees, and to carry on his work as an Educational Consultant for the Southern Regional Council.

Self-Evaluation

Teachers in Norfolk City Schools are asked to evaluate their professional growth annually. As a guide to this self-evaluation the teachers use the instrument "A Guide to Teacher Growth Through Self-Evaluation."

Some principals this year developed questionnaires which would give teachers guidance in the use of this evaluative medium.

The following questions and answers were taken at random from several teachers' questionnaries:

Q. What have you done this year that has helped you grow in the understanding of children?

A. I have done a great deal of work on the study of the developmental pattern of children of my age group, and have read about the atypical as well as the typical child. It has been my endeavor to use this information in understanding the individual children in my class. As children of this age group (10-12) have many similar characteristics and needs, it is helpful to have a "rule of thumb" by which to plan.

In general, plans and standards of achievement are based upon the individual rather than the group. I keenly feel the responsibility for the growth of each child in social situations as well as academic areas. I try to stimulate the desired behavior rather than have the child think he is merely trying to please me.

Q. What activities have you provided for your children to raise the level of instruction above strictly textbook teaching?

A. (1) Group use of library.
(2) Creative work in art and music.
(3) Oral reports on outside reading in science and other content areas.
(5) Use of current events about Norfolk.
(6) Use of dictionary.
(7) Dramatization of plays and stories.
(8) Real work in measurements with use of concrete materials such as ruler, pint, quart, and calendar.

Q. In what way have you organized your classroom so that maximum learning can take place?

A. **Instructional Purposes**

1. Grouping
   a. For reading, according to levels
   b. For social studies (as needed), according to interests
2. Trying to alternate **listening** periods with **doing** periods. (Instead of **more** listening, let's have **better** listening.)
3. Exhibiting good work to set standards and stimulate effort. We have a good time in our classroom doing all of our jobs. I wish that I had more of a knack for more teacher-pupil planning than I have. My group is eager. They like all of the things we do. We are grouped for reading and arithmetic when it is necessary. We all receive individual instruction as we need it. We work pretty well as a whole. I don't feel that fourth graders are quite ready to answer questions on paper from memory. We do quite a bit at the blackboard using our books to find the answers. We try self-discipline, but it isn't always satisfactory. Our day is not long enough to do all that fourth graders are expected to do. I feel, as Dr. Sheldon, that we often expect too much of fourth graders.

Q. How do you care for individual differences in your class?

A. In my classroom I work daily with pupils on an individual basis. I try to visualize just why certain pupils need more individual attention than others, and care for them accordingly. I instruct every child in my classroom in individual reading daily. I have several groups, and several children reading to me individually—not in a group. The slower learners are given special lessons and a special time is set aside just for them. Grouping in my classroom is constantly changing according to personalities, abilities, and achievements.

Q. Since our in-service program has centered around reading, what have you done to improve your reading program.

A. (1) Made reading aids and read professional literature.
(2) Had more dramatizations of materials read.
(3) Taught use of library file cards.
(4) Let pupils write their own stories and read them to the class.
(5) With help of the librarian placed easy reading library books on reading table.
(6) Kept reading book list of each child on cards for next year's teacher.

Q. Please list things that would help make our school a better place for teachers and children.

A. We have such a nice, clean, attractive school which provides a nice environment for our children. I would like for more books to be available for First Graders, particularly at the middle part of the year when children are moving rapidly. I also feel the lengthened day has been hard on the children (as well as the teachers) no matter how well-planned the day has been. In addition, I feel our former staggered dismissal times were a **safety** measure which has been lost. I would also like to see numbers held to 30 and under.

Q. How may your principal be of more service to one and all?

A. Even with the enlarged enrollment, and the personal problems the principal has had, I have found her **always** ready to listen to me and my problems.

Teachers Evaluate Their Personal Growth

Realizing that evaluation is a continuous process and that it is valuable because it serves as a foundation on which to grow, the faculty used parts of the bulletin "A Guide to Teacher Growth Through Self Evaluation" as a measuring stick for other personal growth. The concern naturally was where they felt they had fallen short of their goals. Of prime importance will be the direction in which they are headed. These are some areas upon which teachers felt the need to focus more attention:

1. Planning cooperatively a more flexible classroom organization which permits greater opportunities for pupil participation in discussing, planning, working, and evaluating all areas of learning.

2. Grouping of children so that each individual is challenged to achieve at his maximum level of performance whether slow, average or gifted.

3. Providing more worthwhile, stimulating and interesting independent activities while working with the various reading groups in a classroom.

4. Using parent-teacher conferences, home visits, telephone, and correspondence as means of purposeful planning, guiding and evaluating.

5. Using knowledge and understanding of child growth and development in order to provide better foundations for planning, developing and appraising the school program.

6. Placing emphasis on helping children become more sensitive to certain intangible values in life so that an atmosphere which is challenging and stimulating may be created.

The following, taken from a teacher's self evaluation, shows her sensitivity to children's reactions:

"Observing the children's reactions has been an invaluable aid toward helping me to grow in my understanding of them. I learned at the very beginning of the term that many children have a great deal of compassion and understanding. I am speaking of the feeling they had for Pat. They never laughed at him; they were always willing to help him with many things he failed to understand. I shall always remember the volunteers to visit with Stephen in order to bring him a little cheer. They know that it is important for Stephen to have his pill before lunch time. Stephen would often forget about the pill—if it were not for the sincere reminders from his friends. The children really are fond of Mary and Henley. They are always remembered by the children at "party-time".

The children have made me realize the importance of nourishing their feelings of compassion. As Katherine Reeves explained in her article THE GROWTH OF COMPASSION, " . . . this is a stage in the education of the heart, in the development of perception of the needs and condition of others which is necessary if compassion is to become an attribute and a resource of the mature personality."

Little Creek Primary Faculty

Radio Broadcast

Mode for Professional Meeting at the Oakwood Elementary School

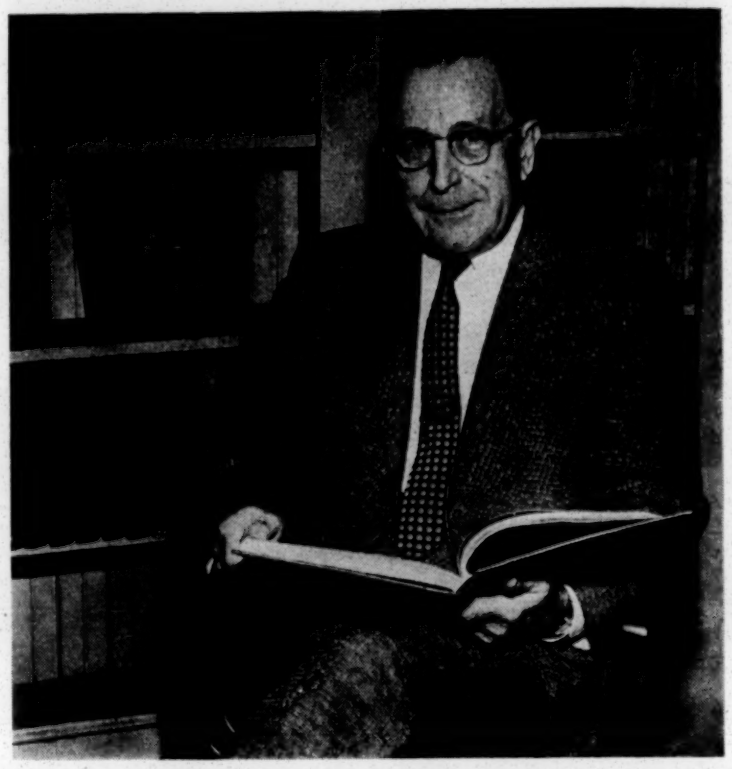
On January 11, 1960, the regular professional meeting at the Oakwood Elementary School was presented in a most unique manner. The uniqueness in the presentation was derived from a radio-cast on which five members of the faculty discussed the topic "Yardstick for Measuring Talents."

The program was, for the most part, previously recorded. This helped in the perfection of the presentation. As the participants came on the tape they could be seen in the "Control Room" speaking over the microphone.

Using an original script, each participant stressed the importance of evaluation as an indispensable tool in good teaching. The audience was constantly reminded that evaluation is an integral part of the teaching—learning process; therefore, there is the need for knowing pupils well in order to instruct them effectively.

The intent of the presentation was to rekindle and stimulate interest in our professional meetings. We believe that frequent changes in the locale and mode of professional meetings will enhance interest and results.

Barbara Gregory, Chairman
Professional Study Committee



Mr. Milton C. Hollingsworth

Milton C. Hollingsworth

Mr. Milton C. Hollingsworth will retire July 1, 1960, after 42 years of service in the Virginia Public Schools.

He began his career as an educator 47 years ago in Steven City, Virginia, Elementary and High School. He then moved to Porter Military Academy, Charleston, South Carolina.

His career was interrupted by military duty in World War I, during which he served as a Lieutenant in the United States Air Force. He had one year detached service with the Royal Air Force. After the war he returned to teaching.

Since then he has served the Virginia public schools as a teacher of science and mathematics, a coach, director of physical education, principal and superintendent.

He has served the schools of Frederick County, Rappahannock County, Shenandoah County, Fredericksburg, Bedford County, Norfolk County, and Norfolk City.

From 1940-1945 he was Superintendent of Shenandoah County Schools.

For the past seven years he has been Principal of Norview Junior High.

The faculty of Norview Junior High honored Mr. Hollingsworth with a dinner at the Shore Drive Inn on May 25th. They presented him with an engraved sterling tray and pitcher.

Mr. Hollingsworth received his B.A. Degree from Roanoke College, and his M.A. Degree from the University of Virginia.

He has been President of both the Shenandoah County Teachers Association and District G. He is a member of Phi Delta Kappa, educational fraternity, Masonic Order, Acca Shrine Temple, Rotary Club, American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars.

After retiring Mr. Hollingsworth plans to spend some time traveling, fishing and gardening.

Scheduling For the Superior Pupil

We have accepted as a fact in the Norfolk City Schools that provisions must be made for the superior pupils in a program that is essentially different from that offered to average or slower pupils. It is necessary that every person influencing pupils accept as a part of his responsibility the better provision for the needs of the superior pupil. That task is not going to be performed most effectively in our high schools until each person accepts that task as his own responsibility. It is not a problem for the instruction department alone, and it is not an easy problem to solve in the comprehensive high school with respect to scheduling.

The instruction department is developing curricula and materials for the instruction of the superior pupils. It is not enough to permit eighth grade pupils to take elementary algebra or seniors to have the course in college mathematics. Some educators feel that enough has been done if they finish high school a year earlier or enter a college as sophomores. For the superior pupil advancement in grade may be little more challenging than to follow the regular sequence of courses, if the courses planned for him are no different than those courses would be if he met them a year later. Therefore, the advanced course must do more than change the calendar for the superior pupil. He must have deeper more challenging material regardless of placement. If a pupil is able to do algebra in the eighth grade on the basis of his being a superior pupil, he should be able to do a deeper type program than he would do had he waited until the regular ninth grade course. It is recognized that there will be more maturity one year later. However, the fact that the pupil is superior in the eighth grade would indicate that he is superior at that time to the average pupil entering the ninth grade. Therefore, he is able to do a different type course as an eighth grade algebra pupil. The same principle would seem to be true for all the accelerated courses that we have in the high schools. For this reason it is essential that the superior pupil be very carefully screened for assignment to the advanced courses. Care must be exercised that average or lower level pupils are not placed in the advanced or accelerated courses. To do that would defeat the purpose for which the courses are planned. If the course is properly planned, properly taught, the average or below pupil would be completely unable to accomplish the task set. If the average or lower pupil is able to accomplish the task of such a course, then it is not designed to meet the needs of the superior pupil who will again be held back or denied the full realization of his capacities in such a course. Recognizing, therefore, these facts, each person involved is responsible for screening very carefully the pupils for the advanced courses. It is necessary to choose them on the basis of class scholarship, on the basis of courses they have had up to the point at which they enter the advanced courses. It is necessary to consider what will happen to them and with respect to grading after they enter the course. Shall we penalize the superior pupil in an advanced course by the insistence on the distribution of marks? Should a person in an accelerated class receive a mark below "B"? If he does receive a mark below "B", what penalty is being placed upon him with respect to scholastic records when he wants to enter college? Would it not be better to return such a person to the average courses than to penalize him for the lower grade in the advanced course?

Another facet in the accelerated program is the developing of independence. A superior pupil is capable of much independent study. If he is capable of such independent study he is able to receive a considerable amount of freedom. He has ideas of his own; and when those ideas do not conflict with the purposes of the course, opportunity should be given to the superior pupil to pursue his own project and his own ideas that he might develop his own individuality in study, planning, writing, if that is called for, or in discussions as time affords. In order to train pupils in freedom of study in independence in pursuing their own projects, it is necessary that we look to our libraries to build up greater stores of reference materials.

The current program of independent studies sponsored by the University of Virginia is designed to develop the independence of which I have spoken. Is there some way that we might utilize those studies—a broader purpose than making a report back to the University? Some of the reports are of such quality, no doubt, that many people would be interested in hearing the results or hearing the papers or hearing the discussions that may be developed from the study. Opportunities should be found for the students to use their work.

W. L. Robison,
Assistant Superintendent in charge of Curriculum and Instruction

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Who Are The Best?

The current stress on picking out the best students in order to give them better teaching has a cloud over it. The trouble is that we cannot place great confidence in our techniques of selection. Two little pieces of research raise the question.

The academic histories of some 90 research scientists were studied. These men, now working in key laboratory jobs, have Ph.D.'s in science and represent the best of their kind. Backtracking these scientists to their high school classrooms, an investigator discovered that at least one-third of them had not been sufficiently outstanding in high school to be recognized as having any exceptional talent. (This was reported in **The Science Teacher**.)

At Kansas University it was found that if the bottom half of the entering class of freshmen had been excluded on the basis of entrance tests the graduating class of 1955 would have lost 7 doctors, 7 lawyers, 22 engineers, 40 teachers, 5 journalists, 7 pharmacists and 96 graduates in liberal arts and business — 21 per cent of the graduating class. (This was reported in **The Tulsa School Review.)**

Who is sufficiently clairvoyant to tap the "best ones" on the shoulder? It seems safe to say that almost any criteria for picking the best students would have overlooked Einstein, Edison, and Churchill.

This need not be discouraging. Our job has always been, and still, is to teach well everybody who comes to class.

MELVIN W. BARNES
Superintendent's Bulletin
Oklahoma City Public Schools
January 22, 1960
Vol. II No. 17

SOCIAL STUDIES AND ARITHMETIC DISPLAY

Little Creek Primary Teachers Evaluate Instructional Program

Evaluation has been an important concern of the Little Creek Primary Faculty this term. We felt it worth our while at the middle of the year to take a look at the "here and now" and to get a better focus on the goals of our instructional program. In order to do this we spent some time on (1) evaluating our total instructional program and (2) giving each member of the staff an opportunity to evaluate herself based on the bulletin "Guide to Teacher Growth Through Self-Evaluation". Our immediate, as well as our ultimate aim in examining our strengths and weaknesses was to promote quality teaching.

With this purpose in mind we planned to evaluate what we were doing in the classroom in light of our Norfolk City Curriculum Guide. Prior to this each teacher had been using the guide in the way most helpful to her. Through a systematic study of the guide we felt our instructional program would be more coordinated and there would be greater unity of purpose. Since our school is new to the Norfolk City System this year, the study would also give us an understanding of the educational policies followed in the schools.

We spent about six weeks of intensive study in grade level groups studying, analyzing and evaluating the areas of instruction. Sharing ideas and exploring suggested activities in the guide brought enriching activities to the classroom as we were evaluating. The culminating activity of this study brought our three grade groups together to share the outcomes of our evaluation. Grade chairmen and other members of the staff discussed each area of the curriculum. The program also included an exhibit of audio visual materials, experience charts, creative stories, science experiments and projects, murals and other art work. The discussions which follow show some of our findings.

In as much as this was Little Creek School's first year in the Norfolk City School System, resource materials and supplies were at a minimum. This, however, served as a challenge to our teachers to see what could be done with such a scarcity of materials. The results, we feel, have been quite outstanding.

In the area of language arts, reading appeared to be one of our strongest areas. In the first grade the children had many readiness experiences including experience charts, games in matching likenesses and differences of shapes, and matching phrases and sentences. In developing our reading program through the first three grades we followed the horizontal approach, providing a number of books at one level before progressing to the next level. It was evident that outstanding work had been done in the field of enrichment. Books from our library and those brought to school by children and teachers provided materials for independent reading. Reading skills, including word attack, phonics, and comprehension, followed a sequential program and received much emphasis. Achievement tests in reading were given to the second and third grades. Graphs were made and studied. From these tests we found the need to give children more experience in dictionary skills and looking up information. We felt part of the lack here lay in limited library facilities during the first term.

In the area of listening and speaking we felt gratified with the results achieved in giving children opportunities for listening for pleasure and speaking. We discovered, however, the need to give more emphasis on helping children take turns and in providing more activities for dramatic play.

Much stress had been placed on creative writing with more than statisfying results as was ascertained in the display of books made by children. These books were developed from the various units of study, as well as the children's individual interests. Films, film strips, field trips, and community resource people who visited our classrooms provided first hand experiences about which the children wrote.

In the area of social studies we are especially pleased with our program of study. First grade children took many field trips around the school plant. Talks with our school helpers provided many experiences for speaking, writing and drawing. Second grades, in their study of

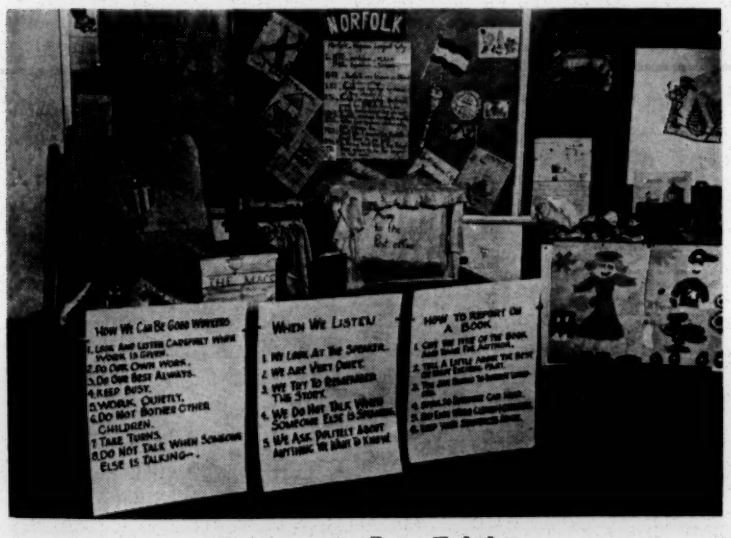
the community, enjoyed visits to the school by community helpers. Field trips to the bakery, post office, airport, and naval base resulted in many classroom activities such as building miniature communities and making maps, movies and booklets. In the third grade children studied their City of Norfolk (today and long ago) through stories, research, films, text books and finally by taking a full day's trip around Norfolk. We are trying to give the children a deeper appreciation of our city and the rest of the world through various units such as food, clothing and transportation. Current events have been an important center of study and interest as we have endeavored to help children grow in the knowledge of the world in which we live.

Many devices and manipulative materials aided in the teaching of arithmetic throughout each grade. In developing concepts children were given many opportunities to work with things they could actually handle such as crayons, popsicle sticks, pebbles, and bottle tops. At the semi-abstract level children drew pictures to illustrate the concepts they were learning. With these many concrete experiences we feel the children will have very satisfying results as they transfer to the abstract form.

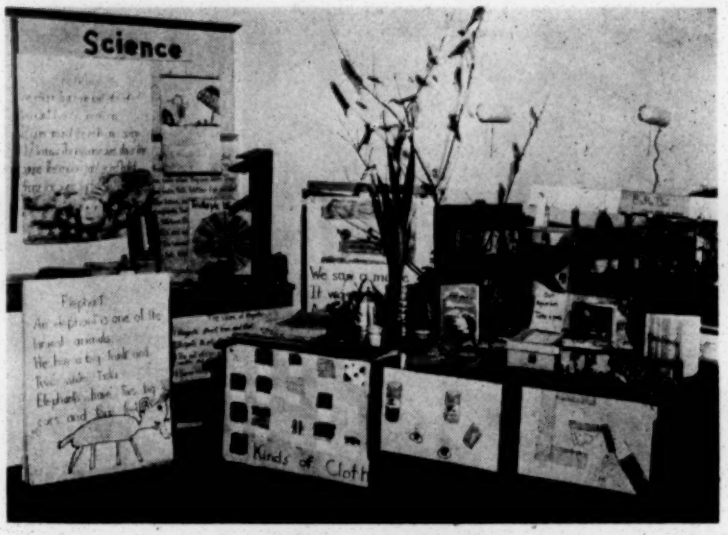
In our science program we found varying degrees of growth. Our first grade teachers taught science incidentally and in connection with children's interests. Second grade teachers realized the need for greater concentration in the teaching of science. Although many interesting science activities, such as study of underwater life, plants, animals, magnets, earth and sky were experienced, they agreed here was where we would start immediately to plan more and do more. Third grade teachers expressed a great deal of satisfaction with their science program. They discovered that they had taught, or had plans to teach, all the areas as suggested in the guide. In fact, several areas not suggested had been studied by a number of classes. We found many of the classes had some type of science experience or experiment every day. Science was one of the strong areas in our third grade, as evidenced by charts, science centers, bulletin board displays and children's interests.

Time and space will not permit us to fully evaluate each area of the curriculum, but we found sharing and evaluating periods such as the one we experienced especially good because teachers can more readily see evidences of weaknesses as well as strengths. As pleased as we are with our over-all instructional program, we fully realize the need for greater concentration in many areas.

Little Creek Primary Faculty and
SARA NICHOLS, Assistant Principal



Language Arts Exhibit



Science Exhibit

Mid-Year Evaluation And Planning At Lott Carey School

A few years ago, when our school system was on semi-annual promotion from first grade up, a major portion of the time allotted for mid-year evaluation and planning was used in effecting an almost total reorganization of the school. Actually, it was difficult to do this job well in the time allotted. Now that grades one through five are on annual promotion, considerably less time is needed for mid-year reorganization. More time is available for taking a careful look at the first semester, determining direction and charting the course for the second semester.

Although the planning period at midterm this year was reduced by a day, here at Lott Carey a sincere effort was made to reduce organization details to a minimum, thus providing comparatively more time for group evaluation and planning. Routine checking of records and reports was completed during the first two hours of the first day. The remainder of the day, except for a brief lunch period, was given to appraising the over-all school program in general, and the instructional program in particular.

Appraising the Over-All School Program. At eleven o'clock on the planning day the professional staff assembled and reacted to evaluative instruments prepared by the standing committees for this purpose. Concise and easy-to-respond-to instruments had been previously constructed by the various committees for use at this time. (At this point it is well to indicate that the instruments permitted easy compilation of the data gathered.) Standing committees in Lott Carey's over-all school organization include:

Pupil Activity Committee
Teacher Activity Committee
Health and Lunchroom Committee
Public Relations Committee
Professional Growth Committee
Music and Cultural Programs Committee
Physical Education and Athletic Committee
Committee on Textbooks and Teaching Materials
Building Representatives (N.T.A., F.C.U., Testing)

About thirty to forty-five minutes were required for this activity. The remaining time before lunch was used by

A group of fourth, fifth and sixth grade pupils of Ingleside School look at an exhibit at their annual Science Fair which was held in the school cafeteria April 4-7.

the committees to compile data gathered and to prepare reports and recommendations to be submitted later.

Appraising the Instructional Program. After lunch the staff met in two groups—primary, and upper grade—with their respective chairmen in charge; to discuss, exchange opinions and ideas, and plan for improving the instructional program. By previous arrangement the principal served as resource person or consultant to the upper grade group, while the supervisor of instruction performed this duty for the primary group. Some possible starting points for these sessions were given in the following suggestive statement.

"In these groups we should explore one, two, or all of the following topics, or others suggested by the group.

a. Problems, practices, and peculiar features of the testing program—broad findings, and implications for instruction, and for future testing.
b. What were some satisfying features or strengths in the first semester's classroom program? How may these be continued and expanded?
c. What were some features in the first semester's program of instruction that need strengthening? Suggest means of going about this.
d. What do you think of the primary block plan of school organization?
   1. Should promotion be automatic in grades one and two, using the third grade as a check point of retention?
   2. Should promotion be on an annual rather than a 'block' basis in grade three and above?
e. Let's talk about the In-Service Program, Improving Comprehension and Interpretation Skills in Reading.
   1. What do you think of our organization for this study?
   2. Are you being helped? (Much? Little? None at all?)
   3. What might be done to enable you to get more out of this program?"

As might have been anticipated, discussion centered mostly around the suggestive outline, although other pertinent topics were introduced as prompted by teacher interest or felt need, and as time permitted.

Both groups reported enthusiastically on their sessions. There was 100% participation. An atmosphere of "aliveness' and permissiveness prevailed. Teachers commented that the consultants contributed to their deliberations but did not dominate them. Many teachers introduced problems of concern to them, getting reactions and suggestions from other group members. "Trade secrets" were exchanged between new and experienced teachers. Grade requirements or expectations were pointed up or clarified, thus giving teachers at each grade level a fresh view or picture of the place her class occupies in the total instructional program. Some progress was made toward a "staff philosophy" on promotion and retention. Strengths and weaknesses of the instructional program were uncovered modestly, and faced courageously. A sense of clearer direction for the in-service education program resulted.

Pulling the Threads Together. On the following Monday afternoon the total staff heard reports and recommendations from standing committees and grade level meetings. These were reacted to and acted upon, in an effort to coordinate the total school instructional program. With the report of the Process Observer for the planning period, these sessions closed with each teacher better prepared for her individual tasks, and the total staff a better coordinated team for carrying out the overall school program.

WELTON H. HENDERSON
Principal, Lott Carey School

An Experiment In Remedial Reading

At the beginning of the school year, the three sixth grades at Lakewood School administered the California Achievement Tests to their classes. It was discovered, as is usually the case, that several children were low in the area of their reading vocabulary and comprehension. While a very few fell short of the fifth grade reading level, approximately fifteen seemed to be in a low fifth grade reading classification. The problem encountered by the classroom teacher was that children could not adequately do the reading that was necessary within the framework of the curriculum, including other subject matter areas as well as reading from reading textbooks.

As our in-service program this year dealt with an evaluation of the reading program at our school, and as all our faculty felt that reading is of paramount importance to each pupil, the cumulative records of the slow readers were studied carefully. All the available information that could be gathered from the children themselves regarding their reading tastes, likes and dislikes, were given careful consideration by each teacher.

One of the Sixth Grade teachers had a schedule which gave her two free forty-five minute periods a week, and it was decided that a remedial reading class would be attempted. Due to the brief period of time available, the teachers selected children whose records indicated a low average ability, children who appeared to be "at home" in a low fifth grade reader, and those who had difficulty with reading in subject matter areas.

Ten children were included in the original group. Through use of tests, it appeared that while they did not rate low in comprehension, they all seemed to need additional work in the basic skills of syllabication, structural analysis, using picture and context clues, as well as overcoming their **reluctance to read.** In every case it was found that their silent reading exceeded their oral reading, about which they were extremely self-conscious.

Since the length of time per week for the remedial reading was limited, this program required a great deal of effort and preparation on the part of all the teachers involved. The reading lessons were carefully planned. The teachers met frequently to discuss the progress of their respective children. Individual diagnostic records were kept pointing up strengths and weaknesses. Arrangements were made for the **continuation of the remedial work to be carried on in the respective classrooms.** In the majority of cases, parents were especially cooperative. Children were supplied with books of their own choosing (under the guidance of the teachers) to supplement the instructional reading program. For the most part, the follow-up and interest in the homes was notable.

Much use was made of a variety of materials. Books relating to the subject of the assigned stories were made available, dictionaries were always at hand, maps were drawn on the board, and the children themselves were eager to bring in pictures or items of interest to amplify specific points covered in the reading material. As a matter of fact, these materials read and used for real purposes **made reading more important.**

Some of the anticipated outcomes for these children were: improving basic skills, increasing fluency in oral reading, expanding of reading tastes, and increasing of vocabularies. Perhaps the most important outcome was the development of **a positive attitude regarding reading, a feeling of self-confidence.**

In attempting to evaluate this remedial program, it was found that the children on an average advanced in a satisfactory manner. Although the average sixth grade child benefits from the total program within a self-contained classroom, there seems to be a strong indication that help can be given in certain situations. In the cases at Lakewood School, it was found that the **change in attitude toward reading** was one of the most notable features of this particular program. Not all below-average readers can be given individual help, but it does seem that they could benefit from a sytematic and regularly scheduled period of remedial work in reading. However, these teachers do not necessarily recommend grouping for ALL sixth grade children on reading levels, and those who are in a reading program should not be taken out of their classes indiscriminately. The success of any program depends upon the close cooperation of all the people involved, the child, the home, as well as the teachers. This was very noticeable in our experiment.

ANNA B. CAROTHERS, 6th grade
TRAVIS PETERS, 6th grade
Lakewood School

The Old World Museum

In the sixth grade social studies we study the different countries of the old world, which includes the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia. In making our plans for the past year's work, the class and I decided in November that we would have an Old World Museum and invite the parents. We set the date for the first week in April. We listed the main countries that we wanted to include in the museum and each child was assigned one.

Booklets were to be made on each country. The class decided that these booklets should contain information such as: a map, a flag, short history, present government, the climate, language, money, dress, customs, religion, products, exports, imports, important cities, and outstanding people.

Other items that were to be on exhibit would include: flags, replicas of native animals and musical instruments (made by the pupils), imported articles, charts, posters, books, dolls and money collections.

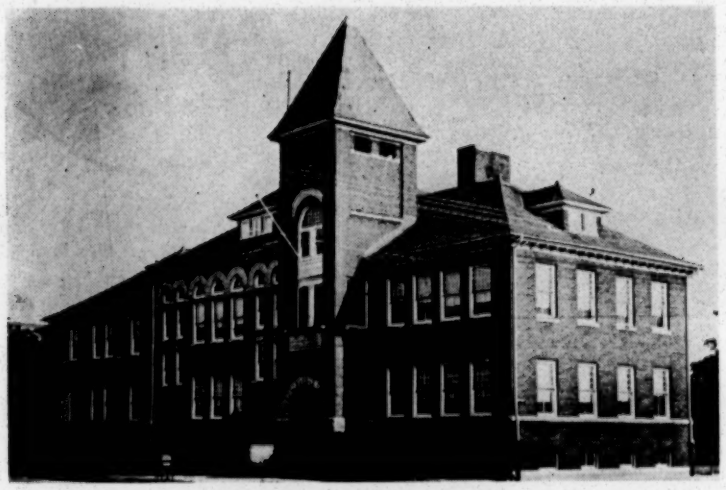
The children started at once getting materials together. As each country was studied in class the pupil who had that country shared with the classmates certain information that he thought would inspire them to want to see his exhibit.

The first of March, I announced that there would be prizes for the best three exhibits. The children were thrilled to hear this and decided that they wanted to set up the criteria for judging. The following are the points they chose: Attractiveness, neatness, creativeness, originality, how they used information about their country, realistic effects, use of initiative, effort, and presentation of subject in the auditorium.

The week finally arrived. There was no problem, for each child brought his own tables and set up his own exhibit in his assigned place. In a short time, the Old World Museum was a reality. What a delight it was to the parents, teachers and pupils in the school, but most of all, to the class itself. Each member wanted to inspect his classmates costume and hear him tell about his country. Social interest was paramount to the delight of the teacher.

The Old World Museum has come and gone. It was a success from an educational standpoint and represented a prodigious amount of work on the part of the students. All who saw it and those taking part thoroughly enjoyed it.

MARJORIE DILWORTH, 6th grade
Ballentine School



Patrick Henry School

The Move To Patrick Henry

About three years ago the elementary supervisors, the professional and curriculum library were moved to Patrick Henry. The population of Atlantic City had decreased to the point that the pupils did not use all of the building. In fact, the year 1957-1958 saw the last classes at Patrick Henry. Classrooms then were cut into offices for the elementary supervisors, the secondary supervisors, supervisor of libraries, curriculum library and professional library. One room was set up as a mimeograph room and a textbook storage room. During the same year the educational television project was set up with offices in the same building. The TV project involved a director, assistant director, several studio teachers, and secretaries. As time passed plans were made for moving all the instructional staff into that building. That was accomplished in February and March of this year. We have all the instructional department housed in that building with the exception of special education. In remodeling the building for office space the auditorium has been retained for conferences. The lunchroom area is used by the testing department. The two large rooms comprising the curriculum library and professional library are used for small conferences. All supervisors meetings, library staffs, special departments are held in Patrick Henry. Many things that used to require travel and long telephone calls now may be taken care of during the passing of the day as we meet each other in the halls and offices. The large grounds provide very adequate parking area that was always a problem at the other buildings whether downtown or at Marshall. It is expected as time goes on and other people are added to the instructional staff that they will be housed in this same building since there is still room for expansion. The clearing of Atlantic City. the building of the new hospital and the new health center makes a much more attractive area for Patrick Henry Building. It is anticipated that this building will be used for some years while we await the construction of a new administration building.

W. L. ROBISON

Many interesting articles which were submitted for use in Better Schools could not be used in this issue because of limited space. The excellent descriptive articles on summer tours and travels will be used in a special fall issue.

We thank all of you who helped with Better Schools this year. May all of you have a restful, interesting vacation.

A Librarian Experiments With Special Reading Groups

This year I have experimented with some special reading groups. The children in the groups were not all the excellent readers in Lakewood, but some teachers felt that their children could not spare the time which this program took. The more advanced group spent one hour each week, and the other a half hour.

We experimented with the following ideas:

1. We did a lot of word study while exploring the fascinating possibilities of the dictionary. During our word study, we used "Towards More Picturesque Speech" from the "Readers Digest".
2. Each child set up his own criteria for book choice. We compared our "advanced" criteria with those which were done by a second grade class.
3. Cartoons and caricatures (editorial, political and personal) were collected, discussed and enjoyed.
4. Editorials from magazines and newspapers were read aloud. The unusual words were looked up, discussed, and sometimes added to personal vocabularies.
5. Newspaper headlines, with unusual words, were collected and enjoyed. We looked for similes, but came to the conclusion that the reporter chose the best word.
6. Many brand-new books were borrowed from the Patrick Henry Library. The children were allowed to read and review them as a special treat.
7. A group of children with two mothers, Mrs. Peters and I, made a visit to the Book Exhibit at Patrick Henry. They were allowed to make out book order slips for the books which they would like to see in our library. As far as possible, I have added these requests to my order for the fall.

Mrs. Agnes Casey
Lakewood School, Librarian

Effective Use of the Filmstrips In The Teaching of Science

In the General Chemistry classes at Maury, a filmstrip "New Discoveries about Planet Earth" is used to enrich the material of the course. This filmstrip provides a comprehensive summary of the findings of the International Geophysical Year, an eighteen-month period of scientific investigation of our planet and its relation to the solar system. The filmstrip is in color and has many diagrams and pictures showing how scientists recorded various aspects of such topics as gravitation, the sun and its relation to weather, and satellites. A very good teaching guide accompanies the filmstrip, however, the writer found it advisable to use materials on the I.G.Y. from other sources to supplement the scientific information presented in the filmstrip.

Among the primary topics covered in "New Discoveries about Planet Earth" are:

1. How scientists from more than 60 nations cooperated to make the I.G.Y. possible.
2. The methods used to measure the gravitational force at various places on our planet.
3. The study of weather and climate on a world-wide basis.
4. The study of the sun; the use of the coronographs
5. The new discovery that the earth is not round, but pear-shaped and how this was determined
6. Seismic activity; earthquakes; the inner core of the earth
7. The satellite program; how satellites can be used to accumulate scientific knowledge

8. Cosmic ray studies
9. Causes of the aurora (Northern and Southern lights)
10. Effects of solar storms
11 Radiation belts around our planet
12. The exploration of Antarctica

Although these topics are covered adequately, the information presented is not too technical for use with groups of varying abilities. The writer has used this filmstrip successfully for a program in one of our Norfolk churches in connection with their group study of the United Nations.

Through the cooperation of the school library and the Director of Library Services, the science teachers of Maury High School have ready access to "New Discoveries about Planet Earth" and other filmstrips on scientific subjects. A subscription to **Filmstrip-of-the-Month-Clubs, Inc.,** 355 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., has been ordered for the library. In addition to "New Discoveries about Planet Earth," other titles in the series which have been received include "World of One-Celled Animals, "Preparing Oxygen — The Life-Giving Gas," "What Is a Neutron ," and "Man's Senses in Action." Projected titles in the series include "Atomic Detectives," "The Virus Mystery," and "The Story of Plastics." The school library also owns other filmstrips on a variety of scientific subjects.

The writer hopes that his experience and suggestion may be helpful in awakening interest in the possibilities of this type of filmstrip for use in elementary school and junior and senior high schools.

William L. Brittingham
Maury High School

SUMMARY AND REPORT ON THE EVALUATION OF THE RELEASED-TIME MEETINGS FOR 1959-60

Released-time regional meetings are a cooperative venture between the Supervisory Staff of the Central Office and the individual school.

The basic purpose of these meetings, like that in the individual school, is to encourage teacher growth and leadership.

A Steering Committee composed of elected representatives is responsible for planning these meetings. For the year 1959-1960 the released-time meetings have successively followed this pattern:

Meeting #1—What are we seeking?

Our speaker, Dr. Richardson, helped us focus on the use of problem-solving techniques, creativity, and critical thinking as facets which should ultimately help us attain QUALITY TEACHING and QUALITY LEARNING.

Meeting #2—How well are we as individuals now approaching quality teaching in the area of READING?

A symposium of primary and upper elementary teachers discussed Readiness, Word-Attack Skills, Comprehension and Interpretation, Evaluation, Enrichment, and Independent Activities. These were the "Keys to Reading" as outlined in our brochure from the Summer Workshop of 1959.

Meeting #3—What can we do, not only as individuals, but as faculty groups, to achieve QUALITY TEACHING in the area of READING?

At this meeting Dr. William Sheldon of Syracuse University emphasized that teachers must be aware of the errors responsible for a child's inability to read successfully. He further stated that every teacher has an obligation to see that children . . . are given a background of meaningful experiences . . . are taught successfully . . . read independently. This challenge bore implications for administrators as well as teachers and in-service education studies were further stimulated.

Meeting #4—To what extent have we accomplished our aims?

Evaluative check lists were distributed and checked. Suggestions for future meetings were written by teachers.

The broad questions to which they reacted were:

I. How have the Released-Time Meetings helped you individually?
II. How have the meetings helped your faculty as a group?
III. What is your opinion of the meetings?
IV. What suggestions have you for the meetings of the 1960-61 school year?

In answer to the last question the following suggestions were given:

1. Emphasis upon the area of "Reading" should be continued. Continue to use the services of consultants and experts when possible.
2. Presentations and demonstrations of reading lessons should be taught on grade levels.
3. At least one meeting should consist of a symposium touching problems with which most teachers are confronted.
4. Materials and suggested techniques should be compiled for further reference.
5. Longer question and answer periods would be more profitable.
6. Agenda for Released-Time Meetings should be placed in the hands of teachers before the day of the meeting.
7. Exhibits of materials from various schools be frequently displayed at Released-Time Meetings.
8. There should be longer grade group meetings and shorter general sessions.

GERALDINE R. THOMPSON
HORTENSE R. WELLS
Supervisors

Thus A Child Learns

Thus a child learns; by wiggling skills
through his fingers and toes into himself;
by soaking up habits and attiudes of
those around him; by pushing and pulling
his own world.

Thus a child learns; more through trial
than error, more through pleasure than
pain, more through experience than suggestion, more through suggestion than
direction.

Thus a child learns; through affection,
through love, through patience, through
understanding, through belonging,
through doing, through being.

Day by day the child comes to know a
little bit of what you know; to think a
little bit of what you think; to understand your understanding. That which
you dream and believe and are, in truth,
becomes the child.

As you perceive dully or clearly; as you
think fuzzily or sharply; as you believe
foolishly or wisely; as you dream drably
or goldenly; as you bear false witness or
tell the truth . . . thus a child learns.

FREDERICK J. MOFFITT, Chief
Bureau of Instructional Supervision
New York State Department of Education

The Principal of the Thing

1. If the principal arrives late at school, he is careless.
   If he arrives early, he is there to cook up a scheme to work his faculty to death.
2. If he is deliberate and conscientious in making decisions, he is timid.
   If his decisions are prompt, he has made up his mind in advance and is arbitrary and dictatorial.
3. If he attends state and national conventions, he is going off on a frolic instead of attending to his duties.
   If he doesn't attend these meetings, he is unimportant and unprogressive.
4. If he has a sense of humor, he is peculiar.
   If he has no sense of humor, he is peculiar.
5. If he praises someone for doing a good job, he is a flatterer.
   If he does not recognize a good job, he is unappreciative and cold.
6. If he delegates duties to others, he is passing the buck.
   If he does not delegate duties, he lacks faith in his associates and is conceited about his ability to do everything better than anyone else.
7. If he is kindily and understanding in handling discipline, he is soft.
   If he is stern in discipline, he is a Simon Legree.
8. If he drives a new car, his income tax reports should be investigated.
   If he drives an old car, he is a tightwad.
9. If his picture in the newspaper looks human, it was taken 20 years ago.
   If it resembles the Abominable Snowman, it is a perfect likeness.
10. If he receives valentines and gifts, he is accepting payola.
    If he doesn't get them, the children are "on to him."
11. If he gets a promotion, he is a politician patting the right people on the back.
    If he stays where he is, he is in a rut.
12. If he gives a desirable assignment to an able person, he is playing favorites.
    If the assignment was given to someone you don't like, the appointee had something on him.

Conclusion: It's great fun to be a principal.

Contributed by HENRY S. RORER
Principal, Mary Calcott School

Educational TV

The following areas will be taught in the educational television program of Norfolk City schools in the 1960-61 session:

Fifth grade science, two days per week
Sixth grade science, three days per week
Ninth grade science, five days per week
Eighth grade history, five days per week
Fourth grade social studies (new), three days per week
Sixth grade social studies (new), two days per week
Beginning Elementary and Seventh grade Spanish, varying 10-15 minutes periods, five days per week
Seventh grade history, five days per week.

A Field Trip Through Norfolk

(The article which follows was wrtiten by a teacher who came from Massachusetts to teach in the Norfolk School System this year)

The field trip through the City of Norfolk was one of the highlights of the third grade social studies program. This tour is particularly beneficial to Little Creek School because of the large number of Navy children who are new to the city each year. All ten of our third grade classes have been on a tour of our city this year.

The children found the wildlife exhibit and historical dioramas at the Museum of Arts fascinating. Actually seeing the genuine Norfolk Mace was a thrilling experience. The panoramic illustration of the Norfolk Story from its beginning up to the present day depicted in the Tidewater Virginia mural at the Bank of Commerce was beautiful and graphic. Other places of historic interest covered on the tour were the original site of Sci-co-ak, Old Christ and Saint Luke's Church, Saint Paul's Church with the Revolutionary War cannonball still in its wall and the tombstones of Civil War soldiers in its graveyard. the Confederate Monument, the Myer's House, and the lot where victims of the Yellow Fever Epidemic were buried.

Points of interest in present day Norfolk were the Post Office downtown, the Newspaper Building, the new Medical Center, the Court House, and the Telephone Building. One of the most impressive sights was that of the coal cars discharging their loads into the ships at the coal piers, bringing home Norfolk's place in the world as a great coal port as well as the importance of the railroads to her industry. Of great interest to Navy and civilian children alike was the tour of the Naval Base and the Convoy Escort Piers. Actually seeing jet planes taking off and landing, submarines and aircraft carriers at first-hand; and the buildings from the Jamestown Exposition, was most exciting. The flags of NATO at SACLANT Headquarters were very colorful and impressed the children with Norfolk's importance on the international scene. The recreational aspects were not forgotten . . . the children enjoyed a picnic lunch at City Park.

MRS. CLARA AMES
Little Creek Primary

Superintendent's Message

(Continued from Page 1)

such as, the one in family finance at the University of Pennsylvania, which is a very fine program in practical economics. We have been selected this year by the American Association of School Administrators and the National School Boards Association as one of the top thirty school systems in this country to have our evaluation procedure evaluated. On a recent visit the National Consultant in this program said we were one of the thirty blue ribbon school systems.

Also this year the President of the American Association of School Administrators selected the Norfolk Superintendent to be a member of the American Association of School Administrators Commission on the Advancement of School Administration, the purpose of which is to set standards to upgrade the position of schools and other administrators.

In conclusion we have one hundred able administrators and supervisors, two thousand professional-minded, dedicated teachers and a large number of other well qualified and loyal school employees who are working diligently to give the boys and girls of Norfolk the best in education. May God bless and give each of you strength to carry on the good work. J. J. BREWBAKER

July 13, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

Enclosed is our check for $200 for your revolving fund. When you wish this fund replenished, simply send us an accounting of the funds spent and we will send a check to again raise the amount to $200.

I will be happy to be of any possible assistance with matters pertaining to expenses, supplies, mailings or other administrative details.

It was a pleasure meeting you and I feel certain that we face a mutally pleasant and satisfying arrangement. Please feel free to call on me at any time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Check #1796; $200.00)

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Dear Ben, June 16, 1960

The enclosed material came to us cold from the National Conference on Citizenship. As I recall, this is the meeting that you and Brewbaker discussed his attending as SRC's representative.

I don't know whether or not that's why we received the form, or whether Brewbaker will handle his own accreditation. However, I have signed the form, and it is only necessary to fill in the representative's name in the two appropriate spaces. Please do so and mail it in, if appropriate.

I am glad you had a chance to improve -- or suggest improvements in -- Brewbaker's manuscript. I feel it best to leave this whole matter in your good hands.

Regards,

Harold

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

July 18, 1960

Dear Paul,

The check in the amount of $200 for the revolving fund has been received. I thank you for it.

I'm enclosing my expense account for the ten day trip. I enjoyed every bit of it and everyone I called on seemed glad to see me.

It was nice meeting you and the others of the group. I shall look forward to seeing you from time to time.

Sincerely,

Brew

PA ✓
PR ✓
LWD ✓
JC
MF

Recd 7/19/60 mf

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

July 18, 1960

Dear Harold,

I'm enclosing my report for the ten-day trip and a brochure, "Facts" which was given to me by the Superintendent of Chapel Hill.

The trip was most pleasant and I feel all of those on whom I called were glad to see me. I shall let you know later in some detail the trips we discussed to Washington-New York, New Orleans-Houston, and Knoxville-Chattanooga. No doubt other places will be included in each group.

It was nice meeting you and your associates, and I shall stop by to see you whenever I'm near Atlanta.

Sincerely,
Brew

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

ack 7/28/60 File

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

July 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

First, I should like for you to correct an error in my report on the first page in the Roanoke paragraph, the sentence next to the last should read, "The 39 applications" instead of "applicants". They didn't send the children.

Ben Muse and I met in Richmond last Tuesday to do some planning before his departure for Austria. We worked out the enclosed tentative schedule. Please give me your suggestions, making any additions or deletions. Of course, I shall already be on the Washington - New York trip when you receive this.

Ben and I decided that I should see Brooks Hayes in Knoxville and Saul Silverman in Tallahassee, if possible.

I am enclosing for your approval the rough draft of an article for the educational journals. Please make any changes you think should be made.

Received voucher this morning for traveling expenses and Consultant's fee thru July 16, the Telephone Credit Card, and the Rail Traveling Card. I thank you very much, and I appreciate your sending them so promptly.

I've worked in my yard only one day since I returned. I'm busier than I was when I had a full time position. However, I like to be busy.

I am looking forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB/ab

Enclosures: 2

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PRESIDENT

OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT

JOSEPH J. VAN
RESIDENT MANAGER

July 27, 1960

Dear Harold,

Thought you'd like the clipping from the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot. Seems that Virginia is making some progress in the lunch-counter problem. Northern Virginia last week and Norfolk this week.

I'm starting back home this morning via Washington and Fairfax County. Meeting here quite satisfactory.

Sincerely,

Brew

July 28, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Many thanks for your two recent letters, the report on your field visits, and the draft article for the education journals. I am greatly encouraged by the positive attitudes and receptivity you encountered among the school superintendents visited. Your warm reception in every instance was to be expected, but is nonetheless heartening.

The announcement for the journals is well done; my suggestions will be limited to a few minor editorial points. First, however, I am sending a copy to David Freeman of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for his approval of the reference to the Fund's support of our project. As soon as I hear from him, I will return the manuscript to you with a few suggested amendments.

It was a pleasure having you with us in the office, and I will look forward to your next visit. Meanwhile, your proposed schedule for the rest of the summer seems to me sound and impressive. You are undoubtedly one of the busiest "retired" people around!

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

8/3/60

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

July 30, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing my expense account for trip to New York City, one day in Richmond consulting with Ben Muse, and three days of work at home.

Please send me a supply of Expense Account forms as these are the last I have.

Expect to see you August 8.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

Desegregation in the Norfolk Public Schools

by

John J. Brewbaker

John J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant
Southern Regional Council
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

July, 1960

PREFACE

John J. Brewbaker, who retired on June 30, 1960, as Superintendent of Schools of Norfolk, Virginia, had spent thirty-three years in the service of the public schools of that City. He is a Southerner, and a native of Botetourt County, Virginia, where he was born on June 6, 1895.

Mr. Brewbaker began his public school career in 1922 as Principal of Buchanan, Virginia, High School, was appointed Principal of St. Paul High School in Wise County, Virginia, in 1926, and joined the Norfolk Public School System in 1927 as Principal of Robert E. Lee Elementary School. He held the posts of Business Manager and Assistant Superintendent of the Norfolk system before becoming Superintendent of Schools in 1949.

Mr. Brewbaker received his A.B. Degree from Roanoke College in 1918 and his M.A. Degree in Education from the University of Virginia in 1939.

He has been active in numerous local, state, national, civic, and education associations and has held office in some of them. Among these may be mentioned the Advisory Committee of the School of Nursing of the Norfolk General Hospital; Advisory Committee of the College of William and Mary in Norfolk; American Association for United Nations; Norfolk Kiwanis Club, of which he is past president; Norfolk Executives Club, Associated Public School Systems; Advisory member of the Educational Policies Commission; the Norfolk Education Association; Virginia Education Association; National Education Association, American Association of School Administrators; National Organization on Legal Problems of Education, and the National Conference on Citizenship, and he is a member of the First Christian Church, Disciples.

The University of Virginia chapter of the education fraternity, Phi Delta Kappa, honored him with the 1960 Distinguished Service Award.

Mr. Brewbaker's tenure as Superintendent of Schools included the difficult period of "massive resistance" in Virginia and the closed-schools episode of 1958. He received national attention because of the orderly manner in which Norfolk Public Schools were re-opened and integrated under his direction in 1959.

This brochure tells briefly the story of the public school crisis in Norfolk, an experience which made Mr. Brewbaker uniquely fitted for the duties of a public school consultant for the Southern Regional Council, upon which he entered on July 1, 1960.

Edwin L. Lamberth
Superintendent of Schools
Norfolk, Virginia

DESEGREGATION IN THE NORFOLK PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Change must take place or there is no growth - physical, economic, technological, social, and in the human being, we must add emotional, moral, spiritual, and mental. The manner in which we adjust to change is determined by the maturity of the individual. Maturity does not always develop in the same ratio as physical growth or chronological age. There are many young people who are quite mature while many older people are very immature. The maturity of the individuals determines the maturity of the society of the community in which they live.

It is quite natural that when changes come which upset our way of life, adjustments must be made. A community is fortunate if a major portion of its citizens have sufficient maturity to calmly evaluate the situation, on an intellectual level, and decide on the best plan to follow. The verities which are fundamental to the integrity of the individual and to society must not be disregarded.

Physical changes are natural and there is, of course, no protest when they come. Economic and technological changes come through the efforts and ingenuity of man and are accepted with pride and satisfaction, but social changes often come through the aspirations of minority or less favored groups striving to reach the economic and social level of the higher or more favored groups. It is often the case that men who have the "odds" against them do not proceed in the most pleasant manner and the more favored groups are antagonized Extremists among the favored groups become even more reckless and unreasonable. An emotional climate is thus created in which it is difficult to think clearly and take rational and constructive action

It has been my privilege to live not only in two centuries, but in two distinct generations. In this sixty-five year period, many economic and technological changes have taken place. I have experienced and observed the transition from the kerosene lamp to the electric light; from the open fireplace to gas or electric heat; from the crude outdoor toilet facilities to modern bathrooms; from horse and plow to mechanized farm equipment; from horse and buggy to automobile and airplane; and many others, including education from a one-room tin roof school to the most modern building with latest equipment. These changes have caused no eruption in our society, but have been

accepted as quite normal in the progress of an ever improving civilization of a great nation.

The change required by the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court is a very different kind of change. It is a social change. It is one which involves a departure from long-established customs and traditions in the highly sensitive field of human relations. Let no one imagine that this is an easy matter, or a simple matter. No domestic problem of greater magnitude is likely to confront us in our time. It presents a challenge which calls for the utmost in wisdom and human understanding and patriotism from the Southern educator.

Very soon after this decision was handed down, I had the privilege of serving on a panel in New York City with Dr. Frank P. Graham and others. Dr. Graham expressed the belief that we had been making progress toward racial change in a gradual, normal way and that, if this decision could have been delayed for some time yet, the transition would have been easier. Many in the South feel that the decision would have been wrong at any time.

But, regardless of how we may feel, we are faced with the problem. Shall we defy the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, or shall we, as we have done in the past, accept its decision as the proper interpretation of the law, and comply with it in the best manner possible? For the thoughtful American there can be but one answer.

What is the most important institution, in our democractic life, at stake right now? It is the public schools. Shall we destroy them and establish a system of private schools? In my opinion, this is impossible and any attempt along this line would result in irreparable damage to the education of our youth. The public school system is the most important institution in America today and it must be preserved and improved. The value and power of education is recognized by the leading nations of the world. We must not destroy the most essential resource of our people.

On May 31, 1955, a little more than one year after the May 17, 1954 Decision, the Supreme Court implemented its original decision and called for public school desegregation with "deliberate speed." On June 28, the Governor of Virginia and the State Board of Education sent a memorandum to all division superintendents stating:

> "It has not yet been possible for the Commission on Public Education to propose and the General Assembly to enact

"appropriate legislation which will enable the State Board of Education and the local school authorities to adjust to a new and different basis for the operation of public schools.

"Meanwhile, local school authorities are faced with the necessity of completing the formulation of plans for the coming school session.

"In view of these facts and circumstances, the Governor and the State Board of Education hereby declare and adopt as the policy of this Commonwealth that the State Board of Education will continue to administer its functions, in cooperation with the local school authorities, to the end that the public schools of Virginia open and operate through the coming school session as heretofore."

This was the 1955-56 school session.

The Commission referred to was appointed by the Governor on August 30, 1954, and was later known as the Gray Commission.

The Norfolk City School Board on July 1, 1955, expressed in a resolution grave concern and stated, "Though this decision leaves unmarked the road to be traveled, the objective is clear.... We intend, without mental reservation, to uphold and abide by the laws of the land. We believe in the public school system and pledge our efforts to its continuation in this City. We believe that our primary duty is to preserve and promote the welfare of all children involved through education and that any system by us administered must be devised to achieve this end within the framework of the law...."

Early in July, 1955, we received our first petition, signed by 233 Negro citizens, calling upon us to comply with the Supreme Court Decision and its reaffirmation of May 31, 1955, of "good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date."

At this time, much help and comfort came from a statement of the late Judge John J. Parker, a great jurist, who remarked in the Clarendon County, South Carolina, case on July 15, 1955: "The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation."

During the latter part of 1955, there existed in Virginia much confusion. On November 11, 1955, the Commission on Public Education, or the Gray Commission, made its report to the Governor.

The following quotation summarizes the report of the Commission: "The Commission has been confronted with the problem of continuing a public school system and at the same time making provision for localities wherein public schools are abandoned, and providing educational opportunities for children whose parents will not send them to integrated schools.

"To meet the problem thus created by the Supreme Court, the Commission proposes a plan of assignment which will permit local school boards to assign their pupils in such manner as will best serve the welfare of their communities and protect and foster the public schools under their jurisdiction. The Commission further proposes legislation to provide that no child be required to attend a school wherein both white and colored children are taught and that the parents of those children who object to integrated schools, or who live in communities wherein no public schools are operated, be given tuition grants for educational purposes."

Following the report of the Gray Commission, an Extra Session of the General Assembly was called to provide for a convention to vote on changing Section 141 of the Constitution to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. This Extra Session commenced on November 30, 1955, and ended December 3, 1955, and authorized the election on calling the convention. The election was held on January 9, 1956, and the convention was authorized by the voters. Since Section 141 provided: "No appropriation of public funds shall be made to any school or institution of learning not owned or exclusively controlled by the State or some political subdivision thereof," the purpose of changing Section 141 was to permit the payment of tuition grants to private non-sectarian schools.

The regular session of the General Assembly convened on January 11, 1956, and the Constitutional Convention was called and adopted the recommendations of the Gray Commission.

After the General Assembly adjourned and went home, agitation began now by a group known as massive resisters. The sentiment in the State became so strong for massive resistance, which had as its main purpose to prevent a single Negro child from entering any white school, that another Extra Session of the General Assembly was call-

ed on August 27, 1956, and ended September 29, 1956. In some way the Gray Commission Report - the mandate of the people - was shelved and was not heard of, as such, again. Thus, the State continued in confusion until the State Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Three Judge Federal Court both declared the Massive Resistance Laws unconstitutional on January 19, 1959.

During these confusing times on the State level, what was happening in Norfolk?

On May 11, 1956, the Norfolk City School Board and the Superintendent of Schools had served upon them their first summons to answer within twenty days, the complaint, Civil Action Number 2214, of eight legal pages, which in substance was that the defendants were operating separate schools for Negro and white children which is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The School Board and Superintendent were caught in a dilemma - the Federal Courts requiring the cessation of discrimination with "deliberate speed" and the State Laws requiring segregation of the races.

Litigation in Norfolk had been marking time for some time now, awaiting developments on the State level, but the petitioners were becoming impatient, or at least their attorneys were, and they realized that the School Board would not take action until an individual actually made application for a specific school.

The first applications were made on June 10, 1958, and by July 17, 195 , we had received 151 applications for admission of Negroes into the white schools for the 1958-59 session.

On July 17, 1958, the last day of receiving applications, the School Board adopted the following Standards and Criteria:

1. The assignment shall not endanger the health or safety of the child assigned to or the children already enrolled.

2. The assignment shall not interfere with the proper administration of the school.

3. The assignment shall not interfere with proper instruction of pupils already enrolled in the school.

4. The assignment shall be made after consideration of the applicant's academic achievement and the academic achievement of the pupils already within the school to which he is applying.

5. The assignment shall be made with consideration for the residence of the applicant.

6. The assignment shall consider the physical and moral fitness of the applicant and their relation to the general health and welfare of the pupils already enrolled in the school.

7. The assignment shall consider the mental ability of the applicant seeking enrollment.

8. The assignment shall take into consideration the social adaptability of the applicant seeking enrollment.

9. The assignment shall take into consideration the expected emotional and social adjustment of the pupil to the school to which he is assigned.

10. The assignment shall take into consideration the cultural background of the applicant and the pupils already enrolled in the schools.

In applying these criteria, the Board authorized the Superintendent to administer a program of tests and interviews. At the end of one month, on August 18, 1958, the Board adopted the following resolution disposing of all 151 applicants and transmitted it through its attorneys to the Federal Judge:

> "Stripped of the racial overtones, the basic problem here is whether certain pupils should be transferred from one school to another or initially enrolled in a specific school. The reason set forth in their requests is primarily that it is more convenient for the students to attend the selected school than to attend another school to which, otherwise, they would be assigned.
>
> "Although the School Board is aware that the petitioners

"are all of one race asking to be assigned, for the first time in the history of the Norfolk City School System, to schools of the opposite race, it has attempted to approach the problem from the standpoint of sound education.

"Accordingly, the first premise in considering any of these applications is that only those pupils who are sufficiently mature or advanced scholastically should be considered. Upon this assumption, the School Board on July 17, 1958, adopted a resolution setting forth certain criteria to be applied toward all applications for transfer or enrollment. At the same time, procedures were set up for testing the applicants and otherwise processing the petitioners. After careful examination and extensive interviews, the information relative to all of the applicants has been collected by the administrative staff and reviewed by the School Board.

"There were 151 children who applied for transfer or initial enrollment. One withdrew his application, 61 declined to take the tests prescribed by the School Board, and one declined to complete the testing procedure by refusing the interview. Accordingly, the Board hereby declines these 63 applicants.

"Of the remaining eighty-eight, sixty were clearly unsuitable for the assignment requested. The vast majoritity failed to meet the minimum scholastic requirements. The others were denied for equally cogent reasons. As for the remaining twenty-eight, the Board feels that these applicants fall into two categories:

(1) "Of four of these pupils, one has sough assignment to Maury, one to Granby, and two to Blair. Considering these applications against its understanding of the United States Supreme Court's decision in Brown versus the Board of Education, the School Board believes that the individual applicants would receive no educational benefit from the requested assignment, but would only suffer thereby. It is believed that the isolation which would be caused by such an assignment would be detrimental to educational progress and may well cause emotional instability and even detriment to health.

(2) "Of the remaining twenty-four children, nine requested entry to Norview Elementary School, six to Norview Junior High School and the remaining nine to Norview High School. As to these children, the Board feels it must deny their applications because it is not in the best interest of the applicants nor of the present students to grant such petitions. Racial conflicts have occurred in this area in the past and the Board is of the opinion that integration there would renew such conflicts and produce grave administrative problems within the school system - all to the detriment of good education and the public welfare.

"Nine of the Norview children, who have met the minimum scholastic requirements, are applying for entrance to Norview Elementary School. They reside in the Rosemont-Coronado area in which the City of Norfolk is now making plans to build an elementary-junior high school which will be ready for occupancy in September, 1959. In addition to the reasons set out above, the School Board believes that the transfer of these nine children would at most be for the period of one year, or until the Rosemont School is opened, and the dislocation occasioned to the children by the multiple transfers is not good for the children. It must be further borne in mind that the school to which they seek entrance, Norview Elementary, is so crowded that it will be on part-time during the school year 1958-59.

"Accordingly, the 151 petitions are denied."

This resolution denied the applications of all 151 pupils on the basis of the following six criteria:

1. Residence of pupil - nearness to school
2. Those who refused to take the test
3. Those who failed to meet minimum scholastic requirements
4. Those who would suffer because of isolation
5. Racial tension
6. Too frequent transfers

Seven days later, August 25, 1958, the Federal Judge called the School Board and Superintendent into Court and reviewed, in seventeen legal size pages, the history of this litigation, reminded us of our oath to carry out the law and the other responsibilities of our positions, and referred all applications back to us for further consideration, ending with the following statement:

> "With complete faith in the integrity and ability of the School Board of the City of Norfolk, as well as your desire to obey the law of the land and do justice to all mankind, the applications of the 151 Negro children are referred back to you for such further consideration, if any, as you may deem proper and legal by reason of my remarks."

The Judge called for our report on August 29, 1958, at 10:00 a.m., allowing only four days to restudy these cases. In his remarks he accepted the criteria of geographical limitations, scholastic achievement, and would give some thought to too frequent transfer, which he later accepted. He made it clear that he would not accept racial tension or isolation.

The attorneys made our report on August 29, 1958, at 10:00 a.m., as ordered by the Court. The Board prefaced all assignments with the following statement: "Contrary to what all the members of the School Board and the Division Superintendent of Schools honestly and sincerely believe is in the best interest of the applying children, the children in the affected schools and the public in general, but pursuant to the law as interpreted by the Court, these 17 children will be assigned to the six white high schools as listed." The remaining 134 were denied as in the first report.

The School Board petitioned the Court to defer the assignments for one year, and gave reasons for the request, but was refused. The District Judge refused to grant a stay of his order until the School Board could appeal to the Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals. Therefore, the Board delayed the opening of the schools until the Appellate Court could hear the case on its merits.

The Court of Appeals denied the request and the School Board, by resolution on September 27, ordered the schools to be opened on September 29, 1958, with the 17 Negroes admitted. The Governor was advised and he sent a letter to us on Sunday, September 28, by special messenger, closing the six high schools affected and removing them from the public school system.

They remained closed until February 2 and were opened after both the State Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Three Judge Federal Court had declared the Massive Resistance Laws unconstitutional on January 19, 1959.

This action closing six of our high schools denied education to approximately 10,000 children. Everyone waited anxiously to see what would happen. The citizens did not rise up immediately and demand that the schools be opened; instead, there was considerable feeling because the law did not close the Negro schools from which these children came. The City Council attempted not to provide funds for the operation of any grade above the sixth. However, a group of citizens petitioned the Court to issue an injunction against the Council to prevent this and the Federal Judge ruled that the Council had already appropriated those funds and had no control over the expenditure of them. Hence one catastrophe was averted.

What happened to the 10,000 children forced out of school? After it appeared that the schools might not open for some time, many enrolled in other public schools far and wide, some entered private schools when they were available, but the largest number went to tutoring groups set up by teachers and parents. Thus Norfolk became the scene of much unusual educational activity. Sunday School rooms, unused business spaces, and private homes were filled daily with boys and girls, some of them football players sitting on undersized chairs, using their knees for a writing table. The teachers from the closed schools did what they could to teach these groups the essentials of the subjects. The teachers were strong in their support of public schools and while serving in these tutoring groups had some fears that they might be encouraging complacency on the part of parents. Many pupils had to take one subject in one group and then travel, sometimes, all the way across the City to take another subject in another group where it was offered. Unfortunately, a rather large group, approximately 2,500, dropped out of school thus ending their formal education. The people were becoming more concerned all the while. Their own children were being deprived of their natural heritage and most valuable asset through no fault of their own. Thus came the public petition to the City Council on January 27, 1959, signed by 100 leading business and professional men of Norfolk:

"While we would strongly prefer to have segregated schools, it is evident from the recent court decisions that our public

"schools must either be integrated to the extent legally required or must be abandoned. The abandonment of our public school system is, in our opinion, unthinkable, as it would mean the denial of an adequate education to a majority of our children. Moreover, the consequences would be most damaging to our community. We, therefore, urge the Norfolk City Council to do everything within its power to open all public schools as promptly as possible."

The Federal District Judge issued an order on January 23, 1959, stating that the statutes of the Commonwealth of Virginia were delcared to be "in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and therefore void" and the said School Board and Division Superintendent of Schools were now "restored to their respective rights, duties and obligations of which they were purportedly divested," and were enjoined from discriminatorily closing any school because of racial integration.

The School Board by resolution, therefore, directed the Superintendent of Schools to open the six closed schools on February 2, 1959.

On this first day, a tense situation prevailed throughout the City. Between 75 and 100 news media representatives coming from as far away as London surrounded the buildings. The chips were down. The people rose to the occasion. The police department, mostly in plain clothes, did a wonderful service. The principals and teachers were on the alert to any signs of trouble and used the best judgment in administering the schools. The public generally was requested not to go to school unless on urgent business. As an additional precaution, those parents and others who had to go to school were asked to register at the door. The children, both white and Negro, had been requested, through the press, to go to school in the normal way. The Negro children walked alone or in groups of two or three. There were no incidents. Each day the tension grew less and the rest of the school year was rather peaceful.

It is difficult to include all significant items in a brief summary of this nature; however, I feel a few words should be said about the State Pupil Placement Board which was created by an Act of the General Assembly on September 29, 1956, at the 1956 Extra Session. Chapter 70 of the Extra Session of the Acts creates this State Agency as follows: "An Act to create a Pupil Placement Board and confer upon it powers as to enrollment or placement of pupils in the public schools and determination of school attendance districts, and to provide for administrative procedure and remedies for pupils seeking enrollment in a school or a change from one school to another school."

The first paragraph outlines its duties and divests local school boards and superintendents of theirs: "All power of enrollment or placement of pupils in and determination of school attendance districts for the public schools in Virginia is hereby vested in a Pupil Placement Board as hereinafter provided for. The local school boards and division superintendents are hereby divested of all authority now or at any future time to determine the school to which any child shall be admitted. The Pupil Placement Board is hereby empowered to adopt rules and regulations for such enrollment of pupils as are not inconsistent with provisions hereinafter set forth."

This Board attempted to keep any Negro child from entering any white schools and the Federal District Judge in Norfolk declared the Pupil Placement Board unconstitutional on its face and later, after the General Assembly had made some modifications in the requirements, he declared the Board constitutional but its application by the Placement Board unconstitutional. The local school board and superintendent were enjoined by the District Judge from the beginning from abiding by the decisions of the Placement Board and on December 9, 1959, Civil Action No. 2214, page 4, paragraph 3, the Judge stated: "So long as the Pupil Placement Board pursues its present policies and practices respecting Negro children applying for placement in schools solely or predominantly attended by white children, or white children applying for placement in schools attended solely or predominantly by Negro children, neither the School Board nor the Division Superintendent of Schools of the City of Norfolk, Virginia, is legally required to engage in any procedure involving the Pupil Placement Board, or legally justified in carrying out any action the Pupil Placement Board may take in denying such application. This conclusion of law shall remain in effect, unless otherwise modified or reversed by appellate proceedings, until such time as the Pupil Placement Board in good faith assures the Court that its present policies and practices as aforesaid have been permanently revised to comply with constitutional requirements in the administration of the Pupil Placement Act."

The District Court held a hearing of the Pupil Placement Board on August 27-28, 1959, and on request of the Board allowed twenty days to file an answer to the complaint.

Despite the strong stand of the State Placement Board, the District Judge ordered that it comply with the recommendation of the local School Board and Division Superintendent to admit certain Negro children to predominantly white schools, which the members did under pro-

test. The story of the present Pupil Placement Board came to an end when all three members resigned, effective June 1, 1960. At the time of this report, the Governor has not appointed a new Board.

Since Norfolk began the desegregation of its schools, two enrollment periods have passed and the third one is beginning.

In September, 1958, there were 151 applicants. As has been pointed out in this report, 17 were finally enrolled in six white high schools on February 2, 1959, after the schools had been closed for the first term with 10,000 children out of their regular classes. In September, 1959, there were 23 Negro applicants for white or predominantly white schools. The School Board recommended the admission of two and the Federal Judge ordered the admission of three others, making a total of five.

Three of the five were admitted to high schools already desegregated. Two were admitted to one of the elementary schools. This was the first elementary school to be desegregated. It should be said that one of these girls, they were both girls, was in the first grade, the other in the second. Their teachers reported that both got along nicely, and there appeared to be no strain or unhappiness. This is contrary to the majority of the high school pupils where there seemed to be more sensitivity to members of a different race.

The Judge ordered two Negro junior high school pupils admitted because the school authorities had interpreted differently from the Court what constituted an "unusual circumstance." Tests and interviews were given the two Negro applicants but were not given to all white pupils who are normally transferred to the junior high schools in question. Since these schools were already desegregated, the Judge held that the same procedure should apply to both white and Negro:

> "By its opinion of May 8, 1959, this Court approved the requirement of tests and interviews, if equally applied to children of the same class and race. Blair and Norview were already racially mixed. The Court said:
>
> > 'It is assumed that, with respect to the schools already racially mixed, the "unusual circumstances" would exist, and that applicants (both white and Negro) applying for transfer to, or initial enrollment in, such racially mixed school will be required to submit to tests and interviews.'

"The School Board incorrectly, but not deliberately, interpreted this language as excluding the necessity of giving tests and interviews to children of the white race graduating from one school to another within the school division. In commenting upon the language of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in Hamm v. County School Board of Arlington County, 4 Cir., 264 F. (2d) 945, this Court said in its opinion of May 8, 1959:

> 'It does suggest, however, that there should be equality of treatment as to children seeking admissions to particular schools under particular conditions.'

"It is apparent that the School Board has unconstitutionally applied its standards, procedure, and criteria in requiring these two Negro children to take tests and submit to interviews, whereas white children similarly situated were excused from compliance. The School Board argues that graduation is 'in the stream,' but this is a 'racial stream' so condemned by the decisions of courts of last resort."

The third Negro child, whom the School Board denied admission, was ordered admitted by the Judge, holding that the reason for declining admission by the School Board was "not legally sufficient and involves circumstances over which the child had no control."

A total of 22 Negro children have been enrolled in the white schools of Norfolk during the two years of desegregation. One Negro girl left the City last summer and another has dropped out during the past session which leaves 20 enrolled at the end of the second year. There have been 31 applications made for September, 1960. All of these are for schools already desegregated and 12 of them are for the elementary school.

At the end of the second year of desegregation, what is the actual situation in the Norfolk schools? I can honestly say from an overall point of view that we have had a happy and successful year. As for the Negro children who have been placed in classes with white children, from my observation, some of them do not seem to be happy. They are generally ignored by white children, and some white children have made ugly remarks to them. Removal of legal barriers does not in itself remove the barriers of custom or prejudice. But there have been no serious incidents and no interruption in the normal processes of education.

All children, both white and Negro, have been deprived of a certain type of social activity. All school-sponsored social functions, social clubs and even folk dancing have been discontinued. But public school premises are available for privately-sponsored social functions; dances and proms have been organized by the parents.

To me personally, these experiences have brought many trials and tribulations. Through them I have learned much. Beginning with February 12, 1957, when I spent most of the morning on the witness stand making my initial affidavit, I have spent many hours since in the Federal Court as a witness and observer. Just as the 100 business men preferred segregated schools, but came to the conclusion, as every thoughtful person is forced to do as the events unfold, that our public schools must either be integrated to the extent legally required or must be abandoned, which they stated is unthinkable, so for the same reason we accept these sacrifices - it is unthinkable to abandon the most important function of our government, the institution that makes our Nation great, the American Public Schools.

I am convinced that this is a problem in the South that can best be solved by Southerners. It is more acceptable to the people for those of us who were bred, born, educated, and all of our lives have been living and working in the South to take the lead in trying to solve the problem. We cannot hide our heads in the sand like the ostrich and wait for the problem to disappear - it is with us to stay.

I am intensely interested in doing all I can in working on these problems, and I accepted, sometime ago, an invitation by the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, Atlanta, Georgia, to serve as Consultant in the Southern Leadership Project which is financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This undertaking is an intensive and systematic program aimed at "moderate leadership," and a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership to achieve an orderly adjustment in working on problems arising from the 1954 Supreme Court Decision. I start the new work on July 1, 1960 - the next day after I retire. I shall work in the entire South - including Virginia. My services are available beginning July 1, and it will be a privilege to counsel with Superintendents, School Board members, and all other interested citizens in an effort to save our public schools.

---

12 copies JJB

HCA rewrite sent to Freeman for clearance 8/1/60

For Immediate Use

BREWBAKER SERVING AS PUBLIC SCHOOL CONSULTANT 45 22

~~ANNOUNCEMENT FOR EDUCATIONAL JOURNALS~~

John J. Brewbaker, who retired on June 30 as Superintendent of Schools of Norfolk, Va., after 33 years with the public school system of that city, has accepted the position of Public School Consultant for the Southern Regional Council. He assumed the duties of his new post on July 1.

The Council, headquartered in Atlanta, Ga., is a non-profit, educational organization concerned with improving race relations in the twelve Southern states. Mr. Brewbaker is associated with the Council's Southern Leadership Project, a special program made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. The aim of the program is to assist community leaders in achieving orderly adjustment to new requirements in the field of race relations.

Mr. Brewbaker's consultative services are available to school authorities and other groups, public and private, concerned with school desegregation. He may be reached at 545 Mayflower Drive, Norfolk, Va. His experience in Norfolk during the public school crisis has uniquely fitted him for his new position. His tenure as Superintendent of Schools included the difficult period of "massive resistance" in Virginia and the closed-school episode of 1958. He received national recognition for the orderly manner in which the Norfolk schools were reopened and desegregated under his direction in 1959. The University of Virginia chapter of the education fraternity, Phi Delta Kappa, presented him its 1960 distinguished Service Award. In accepting the award, Mr. Brewbaker said:

Insert quote from booklet - Insert A

Letter Jan. 4-3242 21

Mr. Brewbaker is a native of Botetourt County, Va., where he was born on June 6, 1895. He began his public school career in 1922 as principal of Buchanan, Va., High School, was appointed principal of St. Paul High School in Wise County, Va., in 1926, and joined the Norfolk Public School System in 1927 as Principal of the Robert E. Lee Elementary School. He held the posts of Business Mana ger and Assistant Superintendent of the Norfolk system before becoming Superintendent of Schools in 1949.

Mr. Brewbaker received his A. B. Degree from Roanoke College in 1918 and his M.A. Degree in Education from the University of Virginia in 1939.

He has been active in numerous local, state, national, civic, and educational associations, in some of which he has held office. Among them are the Advisory Committee of the School of Nursing, Norfolk General Hospital; Advisory Committee of the College of William and Mary in Norfolk; American Association for the United Nations; Norfolk Kiwanis Club, of which he is past president; Norfolk Executives Club, Associated Public School Systems; Advisory member of the Educational Policies Commission; the Norfolk, Virginia, and National Educational Associations; the American Association of School Administrators; the National Organization on Legal Problems of Education; and the National Conference on Citizenship. He is a member of the First Christian Church, Disciples.

Reporters and Photographers in Attendance

BREWBAKER PRESS CONFERENCE

August 9, 1960

(Newspaper)

Jerry Hopkins - Reporter - The Times-Picayune

Bill Madden - Reporter - The New Orleans States/Item

Frank Methe - Photographer - The Times-Picayune and New Orleans States/Item

(Television)

Bern Rotman - Reporter - WDSU-TV

Cameraman - WDSU-TV

Bill Reed - Reporter - WWL-TV

Cameraman - WWL-TV

Dick Wright - Reporter - WVUE-TV

Del Hall - Cameraman - WVUE-TV

(Radio)

Pinky Vadoscovitch - Reporter - WWL AM

Chuck Pratt - Reporter - WDSU AM

Dr. Robert Lecanto — Pres. of Conf. for Public Education

Mr. Ray Lopez — Pres. of Urban

Rev. Ralph Bridges — ~~Treasurer~~ Treas.

Daniel H. Evans — Asst. Treasurer

Mrs. Alice Rickford — " Press "

NEWS RELEASE FOR IMMEDIATE USE

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JACKSON 2-8764

August 10, 1960

BREWBAKER SERVING AS PUBLIC SCHOOL CONSULTANT

John J. Brewbaker, who retired on June 30 as Superintendent of Schools of Norfolk, Va., after 33 years with the public school system of that city, has accepted the position of Public School Consultant for the Southern Regional Council. He assumed the duties of his new post on July 1.

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national recognition for the orderly manner in which the Norfolk schools were reopened and desegregated under his direction in 1959. The University of Virginia chapter of the education fraternity, Phi Delta Kappa, presented him its 1960 distinguished Service Award.

In accepting the award, Mr. Brewbaker said:

> I am convinced that this is a problem in the South that can best be solved by Southerners. It is more acceptable to the people for those of us who were bred, born, educated, and all of our lives have been living and working in the South to take the lead in trying to solve the problem. We cannot hide our heads in the sand like the ostrich and wait for the problem to disappear - it is with us to stay.

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He has been active in numerous local, state, national, civic, and educational associations, in some of which he has held office. Among them are the Advisory Committee of the School of Nursing, Norfolk General Hospital; Advisory Committee of the College of William and Mary in Norfolk; American Association for the United Nations; Norfolk Kiwanis Club, of which he is past

president; Norfolk Executives Club, Associated Public School Systems; Advisory member of the Educational Policies Commission; the Norfolk, Virginia, and National Educational Associations; the American Association of School Administrators; the National Organization on Legal Problems of Education; and the National Conference on Citizenship. He is a member of the First Christian Church, Disciples.

- END -

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for sending me the memorandum on Ed Randall's announcement. It seems very good to me. Don't worry about the spelling of the name; I'm sure yours is spelled often with two "m's".

I received from Mildred fifteen copies of the News Release Saturday. I'm sending them out today. Thought you'd be interested in the enclosed copies of letters of transmittal.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enclosures

P.S. Received a letter from Supt. McFarland of Houston this morning. He expressed appreciation for my interest and stated he thought I was doing a good service for the schools of the South. He sent me a copy of their screening procedure which is about what I thought. Brew

August 22, 1960

Dr. Robert F. Williams
Executive Secretary
Virginia Education Association
Gamble's Hill
116 South Third Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Bob:

Your nice letter of July 8 was duly received, but I have delayed my reply in order to send you a copy of the enclosed News Release which has been prepared by the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and me. The Release is for educational publications and will not be carried by the daily newspapers unless they pick it up from the educational journals.

Since you said you were going to use some of the material I sent you previously in a fall issue of the Journal, I would appreciate your using the enclosed instead or additionally. I say additionally, as there may be something in my message to teachers, "Evaluation of Education" you wish to use. We think it covers the subject very appropriately. I believe you have a recent photograph of me.

I shall stop by to see you and Preston every opportunity I have.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

August 22, 1960

Dr. Finis E. Engleman
Executive Secretary
American Association of School Administrators
1201 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Finis:

Your nice letter of July 5 was duly received, but I have delayed my reply in order to send you a copy of the enclosed News Release which has been prepared by the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and me. The Release is for educational publications and will not be carried by the daily newspapers unless they pick it up from the educational journals.

Since you indicated you would be carrying an item on me in one of your fall issues of The School Administrator, I felt you would like a copy of the enclosed from which to get the item.

I have made reservation for the March AASA meeting in Philadelphia and shall look forward to seeing you from time to time.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

August 22, 1960

Editor
Phi Delta Kappa
Newsletter
Alpha Beta Chapter
Peabody Hall, University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Sir:

The July issue of the Newsletter stated that the next Newsletter would carry an item on me in connection with my receiving the 1960 Distinguished Service Award of the Alpha Beta Chapter.

The enclosed News Release which has been prepared by the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and me probably will be of help to you in preparing this item.

This Release is for educational publications and will not be carried by the daily newspapers unless they pick it up from the educational journals.

I enjoyed very much being present on May 20, and I do appreciate and value the Award.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

August 22, 1960

Mr. Stanley Elam, Editor
Phi Delta Kappan
Eighth Street and Union Avenue
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Elam:

The enclosed News Release was prepared by the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and me. This Release is intended for educational publications and will not be carried by the daily newspapers unless they pick it up from educational journals.

I should like for you to carry this item in one of the fall issues of your publication. I have been a member of the Phi Delta Kappa for the past twenty-six consecutive years and was presented on May 20, 1960 the 1960 Distinguished Service Award by the Alpha Beta Chapter of the University of Virginia.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

August 22, 1960

Miss Mildred S. Fenner, Editor
NEA Journal
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Fenner:

The enclosed News Release was prepared by the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and me. This Release is intended for educational publications and will not be carried by the daily newspapers unless they pick it up from educational journals.

I should like for you to carry this item in one of the fall issues of the Journal. I have been a school administrator in Virginia for the past thirty-eight years, the last thirty-three in Norfolk. I have been a member of the NEA the entire time, and I intend to continue under the retired membership provision.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

August 22, 1960

Mr. William C. Bruce, Editor
The American School Board Journal
400 N. Broadway
Milwaukee 1, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Bruce:

From time to time during the years, I have supplied you with news items from this area. The enclosed News Release is somewhat different. It was prepared by the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and me. It is intended for educational publications and will not be carried by the daily newspapers unless they pick it up from educational journals.

I should like very much for you to carry this item, or as much of it as you can in one of the fall issues of your publication.

I enjoy reading your Journal and intend to continue my subscription to help me in my new work.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

August 22, 1960

Dr. Walter D. Cocking, Editor
The School Executive
470 Park Avenue, South
New York 16, New York

Dear Dr. Cocking:

It has been most pleasant meeting with you from time to time at the various education meetings, and even though I am retiring as a school administrator, I intend to continue attending these meetings and hope to see you at them.

The enclosed News Release was prepared by the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and me. It is intended for educational publications and will not be carried by the daily newspapers unless they pick it up from educational journals.

I should like very much for you to carry this item, or as much of it as you can in one of the fall issues of your publication.

I enjoy reading the School Executive and intend to continue my subscription to help me in my new work.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 2, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing my expense account for the nine-day trip in southwest Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and western North Carolina; also, two days for work on summaries, correspondence, phoning, sending out news releases, etc.

Two memoranda have been received, one from you and one from Harold. These may have been sent to me only for information. I feel sure the one from Harold is for information, as it has to do with a meeting of the Executive Committee. I am very happy that you are moving the offices to this new location. The memorandum from you is notice of the next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference. Am I supposed to attend this? You see I'm just learning about these things, and I have to ask questions.

I shall be in Washington, D. C. attending the National Conference on Citizenship, September 16 - 20. However, if you think I should attend the Southern Interagency Conference, I shall arrange to be there September 20 and 21.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Sept 11. 1960

Dear Harold,

Thought you'd like to see the enclosed clipping - Galax and Grayson County seem to be having some real trouble. I'm planning to call tomorrow to see if either supt. would like any help - I'll have to be careful not to interfere.

I shall be in Washington D.C. the last of this week and first of next attending Nat Conference on Citizenship.

Sincerely,

Brew

September 26, 1960

LIST OF TRIPS AND MEETINGS WHICH I HAVE PLANNED UP TO JULY 1, 1961.

1960

Sept. 28 - Oct. 1	Trip to Southwest Virginia to visit Superintendents of Galax, Grayson County, Pennington Gap (Lee County) and others.
Oct. 9 - 11	Associated Public School Systems, Zone Meeting, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
Oct. 30 - Nov. 4	Superintendents Conference and Virginia Education Association Annual Convention, Richmond, Virginia.
*Nov. 17 and 18	National Organization on Legal Problems in Education, Sixth Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C. (I'm on the program.) *I'M not including this as a SRC activity unless you wish that I do so.
Nov. (latter part)	Trip to Nashville and Atlanta. (Maybe Memphis and Little Rock.)
December	I'm planning a trip of about two weeks to Florida, visiting the following cities and maybe others, on the way: Fayetteville, North Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Atlanta, Tallahassee, Tampa, Miami, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Savannah, Charleston, North Charleston and Wilmington.

1961

March 24 - 28	American Association of School Administrators, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia.
May 4 - 6	National School Board Association, Annual Convention, Philadelphia.
June 25 - 30	National Education Association, Annual Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey.

I'm sure there will be other trips and visits that I shall wish to make, but these will have to be planned as the need arises.

attached Travel Schedule thru July 1, 1960

October 25, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

This is to thank you, belatedly, for your reports of September 26 and October 10, which I have read with interest. As you may know, I have been out of the office a good bit lately.

I gather that you and Ben have by now agreed upon a workable schedule for the coming year. The plans you have agreed upon, leaving flexibility for new situations, seems to me wise.

I am glad you are reprinting your pamphlet on the Norfolk experience. I can think of no specific revisions that are needed and would have complete confidence in your judgment as to whether or not any changes should be made.

I'm looking forward to seeing you at the annual meeting.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
P. S. -- I envy you the New York vacation. Hope you and Mrs. Brewbaker enjoy it to the full.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 26, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing copies of the report of my last trip and a list of trips and meetings. Please give me your suggestions on these proposals. You may wish to make additions and deletions. I am sure there will be other places coming up from time to time which I should visit.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker,
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enclosures 2

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 28, 1960

Dear Harold,

I thank you for your nice letter of October 25. I appreciate your favorable reaction to my reports and the reprinting of the Brochure. I have placed the order for more copies.

According to my present plan, I shall arrive in Atlanta on the morning of November 9 to attend the Annual Meeting. I'm planning to do some other work while there. Supt. Paul West of the Fulton Co. schools has invited me to have lunch with him to discuss some problems - and when I returned from New York, I found a letter from Mr. R.P. Bucker, East Point, who wanted me to speak to their P.T.A. group on November 17. Instead of returning on November 17, I have arranged with him to meet with the officers of his group for lunch on November 9 and to speak to a group from four of the schools there on the evening of November 10. The meeting will be held at the Headland High School and Ralph McClelland will

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

share the platform with me. They have asked him to explain the Georgia school laws and want me to tell what happens in a city when the schools are closed. As I understand it this is an informational meeting. These schools are in Fulton Co. and Supt. West has approved with enthusiasm my meeting with them.

Copy of Dr. Paul Munro's letter has been received. I shall give you my reaction when I see you.

I sent you on yesterday some material from the National Conference on Citizenship including the Summarization of the Fifteenth Conference. I believe you will find it interesting.

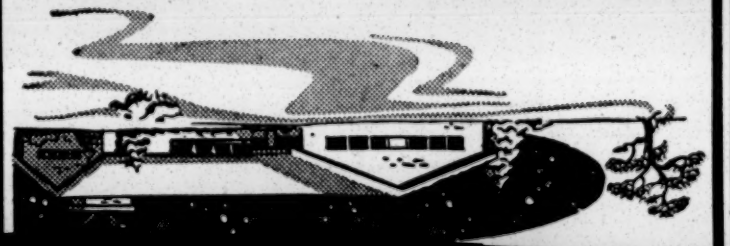
Please excuse this hand written letter. It is not convenient sometime to get to my secretary.

Sincerely,

Brew

B copies to Dazel Freeman & Brewbaker — file

WHY YOU GET MORE WITH A YORK GAS OR OIL FIRED FURNACE!



Mass Resistance Called Mass Confusion by Educator

By FRED GREER

Virginia's "massive resistance" to any degree of integration in public schools caused mass confusion to the schools of its largest city, an East Point audience has been told.

The confusion ended when city leaders demanded that schools be reopened, Dr. John J. Brewbaker, retired Norfolk school superintendent said, and with the admittance of 17 Negro children to six high schools.

Dr. Brewbaker told the "Norfolk Story" to representatives of several East Point Parent-Teacher Assn. groups who met at Headland High School.

"What happened to 10,000 children during the months of 1958-59 when our schools were closed shouldn't be allowed to happen anywhere," the educator declared.

* * *

DR. BREWBAKER said he spoke as a lifelong Virginian and as a lifelong school administrator. He said that he "started out as a segregationist and became a realist."

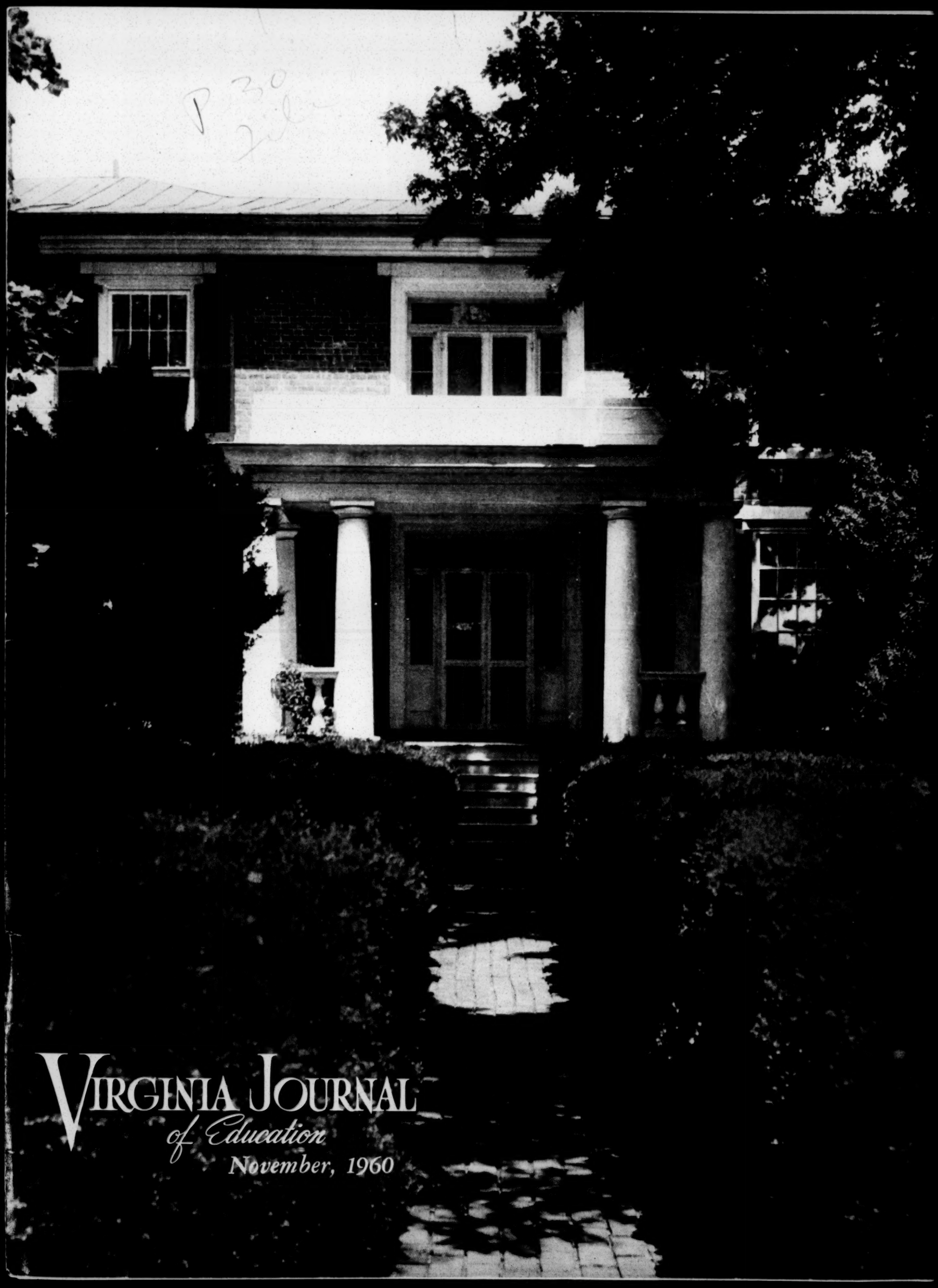
The Norfolk parents started sending their children to schools all over the United States when schools were padlocked by state authorities in 1958, Dr. Brewbaker said.

Many enrolled in private schools. Most made up lost work in summer studies. But 2,500 of the 10,000 children who were deprived of public school classes never did return to continue their high school studies, he said.

* * *

THE CONFUSION ended in Norfolk, he said, by determined efforts of parents who called for no violence as the 17 Negro children were admitted to classes. Since the schools reopened in 1959, only 23 or 24 Negroes have been admitted.

"If the experience we have had will help any school system, I am glad to bring what we learned," the educator asserted.



Virginia Journal of Education

November, 1960

School Consultant for Southern Regional Council

John J. Brewbaker, who retired on June 30, 1960, as superintendent of Norfolk City Schools, after 33 years of service in that city, has become public school consultant for the Southern Regional Council.

The Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, is a non-profit, educational organization concerned with improving race relations in the twelve Southern states. Mr. Brewbaker is associated with the Council's Southern Leadership Project, a special program made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. The aim of the program is to assist community leaders in achieving orderly adjustment to new requirements in the field of race relations.

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A native of Botetourt County, Virginia, Mr. Brewbaker began his school career in 1922 as principal of Buchanan High School and moved to Wise County in 1926 as principal of St. Paul High School. He joined the Norfolk City School System in 1927 as principal of the Robert E. Lee Elementary School, advancing to the posts of business manager and assistant superintendent of the Norfolk system before becoming superintendent of schools in 1949. He has an AB degree from Roanoke College and received his MA degree in Education from the University of Virginia. Active in civic and professional groups, he is a past president of the Norfolk Kiwanis Club and a member of the First Christian Church of Norfolk.

Desegregation Booklet

In a fifteen-page booklet describing briefly the public school crisis in Norfolk, Mr. Brewbaker's concluding statements covering the situation are:

EVALUATION OF EDUCATION

A Look at Norfolk City Schools

by Retiring Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker

Many changes have taken place in the Norfolk Public School System during the past ten or fifteen years. In my opinion, the majority of these changes have effected desirable improvements in the school. I shall enumerate briefly some of these events:

Since 1949, and including the school building construction now under way, our school construction costs will exceed twenty million dollars.

We have had two annexations during the past ten years—a part of Norfolk County, January 1, 1955, which gave us an addition of 12,000 pupils; and a part of Princess Anne County, January 1, 1959, which gave us another increase of 7,000 pupils. Our present enrollment is approximately 50,000 pupils.

Since the Supreme Court Decision on May 17, 1954, we have been in the throes of litigation in the desegregation of our schools. In 1958-59, six of our high schools were closed the first half of the session, putting 10,000 high school pupils out of school. On February 2, 1959, these six high schools were opened after both the State Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Three Judge Federal Court had declared unconstitutional the Massive Resistance Laws which had closed them.

We have pioneered in educational television, with the aid of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, for the past three years. Our School Board has voted to continue this program during the 1960-61 session without the aid of the Fund. Hampton City and Norfolk County are entering the program with us this coming year.

We have accomplished noticeable improvements in our instructional program. At the present time, we are emphasizing special programs for the gifted, more emphasis on reading, more attention to our guidance program, and more depth in our basic subjects; such as, science, mathematics, English, and foreign languages. We need more teachers, and we need more selectivity in recruiting teachers. To accomplish these things we need right now a teacher salary scale of about $5000-$7000 which would be one of the best in the State. Our present salary scale, including the recent increases, puts us only in a temporary competitive position with the surrounding school divisions. We must at least equal the best in the State.

During the past few years Norfolk has received national recognition as a good school system. We have been invited and participated in national pilot studies, such as, the one in family finance at the University of Pennsylvania, a program in practical economics. We have been selected this year by the American Association of School Administrators and the National School Boards Association as one of the top thirty school systems in this country to have our evaluation procedure evaluated. On a recent visit the National Consultant in this program said that we were one of the thirty blue ribbon school systems.

Also this year the President of the American Association of School Administrators selected the Norfolk Superintendent to be a member of the American Association of School Administrators Commission on the Advancement of School Administration, the purpose of which is to set standards to upgrade the position of school superintendents and other administrators.

In conclusion we have one hundred able administrators and supervisors, two thousand professional-minded, dedicated teachers and a large number of other well qualified and loyal school employees who are working diligently to give the boys and girls of Norfolk the best in education. May God bless and give each of you strength to carry on the good work.

Collegian

Senator Morton Chats With Interested Students

Ball Autographs Hats for Pretty Co-eds

NOVEMBER, 1960

(*See back cover*)

Alumnus Writes:

Public Schools Must Challenge And Develop

By John J. Brewbaker '18

In any age, the real aim or goal of the public schools is to challenge and develop, to the fullest extent, the abilities and capacities of each individual.

The critics of the public schools have accused us of neglect in doing this, especially with regard to the superior and gifted children. To some extent, this accusation is true. In our zeal to do everything for everyone, it is apparent that the superior and the gifted have not had the attention they should have had.

"Then, too, during the past few years, our public schools have been unfavorably compared with those of Russia and western Europe. When the recent scientific accomplishments of Russia came to light, our public schools were blamed for what appeared to be deficiencies in our preparation of scientists.

Fortunately, public school people did not panic, as many laymen did, for we knew that we had a superior school system. However, we also realized there were some easily-corrected weaknesses which we had been attempting to overcome for some years. But the American people up to that time did not seem to recognize the value or the importance of education as the Russians did. Consequently, they were unwilling to properly finance it.

A fair comparison briefly of our public schools and those of Russia and western Europe discloses that we have more breadth of subject matter and develop to a greater extent the social, emotional and moral lives of our children.

Russia and western Europe select early, about age eleven, those whom they expect to educate, to have more depth in subject matter in certain areas and to concentrate on completing the educational program in a shorter time. It must be remembered also, especially in Russia, that education is authoritarian in theory and practice with the purpose of serving the state; while in the United States, education is democratic in theory and practice with the purpose of developing the individual.

* * *

What should be done to overcome our deficiencies and make the American Public Schools, in fact and in name, the best in the world and able to meet the needs of this, "The Jet-Age" or any age?

John J. Brewbaker '18

First, we need more depth in some of our subject areas; such as, mathematics, science, English and foreign languages. By giving advanced courses in these areas in high school, more depth would be provided for the needs of the superior and gifted pupil. These courses would be elective only for those who have shown the ability to take them. This would enable many of the brighter pupils to receive advanced standing when they enter college.

Second, the trend seems to be returning to more "ability grouping" which will afford greater opportunities to the superior and gifted. It may be that, for the past twenty-five years, we have attempted to be so democratic in public school administration that our brightest children have suffered. More ability grouping, no doubt, will improve academic achievement.

Third, regardless of the position taken recently by my colleagues of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, it is my conviction that some foreign language teaching should begin in the elementary schools, about the third or fourth grade. This should not be of a formal nature, but enough drill on words and pronounciation to help the pupil to speak the language when he gets to high school.

John J. Brewbaker, a native of Botetourt County, Va., received his bachelor of arts degree from Roanoke in 1918. He retired last June after 38 years in public school work. The last 33 years were spent in the Norfolk School System where he served 11 years as superintendent of schools.

Brew, however, remains very active as a public school consultant for the Southern Regional Council.

The Commission takes the position, according to reports, that all pupils do not need this. It seems to me that it will not harm them to explore. If we do not permit it, the superior or gifted will once more be deprived of an opportunity which should be his.

Fourth, twelve-month schools are in the discussion forefront once again. It is my feeling at this time that well-organized summer schools for those who wish to progress faster or gain more depth in certain subject areas would be preferable to twelve-month schools.

Fall Week End Set Nov. 4-5

A gala Fall Week End celebration is set for Nov. 4-5.

Activity begins Nov. 4 with a big bonfire on College Field. Fraternities and sororities also have events planned that night.

A colorful parade will march through downtown Salem on Nov. 5 and climax at College Field where floats will be judged for a group of awards.

Roanoke meets Washington & Lee University in soccer in the top athletic event of the weekend. Climax of the celebration will be the College dance that night in Alumni Gym. A queen will be selected from nominees from various campus organizations.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

12/5/60

MF –

Please mail biog data on Brewbaker + his address to Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast, Jr., 1700 W. Paces Ferry Rd..

HCF

Sent 12/7/60 MF

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MF. file

December 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was nice to have several visits with you this week. Hope you and Les had an interesting trip to Washington.

I am enclosing my report of the last trip to Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Dollarway, Memphis and Atlanta, November 26 - December 8.

Also under separate cover, I am sending a copy of the November issue of the Virginia Journal of Education. My article is on page 30.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enclosure

December 12, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Thanks for the report of your most recent field trip. It was a pleasure to see you, although I am sorry that my all-too-frequent state of distraction prevented me from making the most of your visit.

The article in the Virginia Journal of Education is well handled. Do you have another extra copy you could send me for transmittal to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund? If not, don't go to any trouble; we'll do a photocopy.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

TRIPS

LAST WEEK IN JULY

BY AUTO--

TO ASSOCIATED PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS MEETING IN NEW YORK.
Leave Norfolk for New York about Noon on Saturday, July 23, and arrive in New York about Noon Sunday, July 24; attend meeting, APSS, Sunday afternoon, Monday and Tuesday. Come to Washington Wednesday afternoon, July 27, or Thursday Morning, July 28, to visit with Dr. Carl Hansen, Superintendent; then on to Fairfax to visit with Superintendent Woodson, arriving home either Friday evening or Saturday Morning.

FIRST PART OF AUGUST

BY TRAIN--

TO NEW ORLEANS.
Leave Norfolk about August 7 or August 8 for New Orleans and return via Houston and Atlanta.

ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF AUGUST

BY AUTO--

TO KNOXVILLE, via Prince Edward County, Roanoke, Pulaski and Knoxville, returning via Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Ashville, Winston Salem, High Point and Greensboro.

LAST OF AUGUST OR FIRST OF SEPTEMBER

BY AUTO--

TO MIAMI, via Fayetteville, Columbia, Atlanta, Tallahassee, Tampa, and Miami, returning via Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Savannah, Charleston, North Charleston, and Wilmington.

ARTICLE FOR EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL

John J. Brewbaker, who retired on June 30, 1960, as Superintendent of Schools of Norfolk, Virginia, after spending thirty-three years in the public schools of that city, accepted the position as Public School Consultant for the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, and began his duties in his new field on July 1, 1960.

Mr. Brewbaker is a Southerner, and a native of Botetourt County, Virginia, where he was born on June 6, 1895. He began his public school career in 1922 as Principal of Buchanan, Virginia, High School, was appointed Principal of St. Paul High School in Wise County, Virginia, in 1926, and joined the Norfolk Public School System in 1927 as Principal of the Robert E. Lee Elementary School. He held the posts of Business Manager and Assistant Superintendent of the Norfolk system before becoming Superintendent of Schools in 1949.

Mr. Brewbaker received his A. B. Degree from Roanoke College in 1918 and his M. A. Degree in Education from the University of Virginia in 1939.

He has been active in numerous local, state, national, civic, and educational associations and has held office in some of them. Among these may be mentioned the Advisory Committee of the School of Nursing of the Norfolk General Hospital; Advisory Committee of the College of William and Mary in Norfolk; American Association for United Nations; Norfolk Kiwanis Club, of which he is past president; Norfolk Executives Club, Associated Public School Systems; Advisory member of the Educational Policies Commission; the Norfolk Education Association, Virginia Education Association; National Education Association, American Association of School Administrators; National Organization on Legal Problems of Education, and the National Conference on Citizenship, and he is a member of the First Christian Church, Disciples.

The University of Virginia chapter of the education fraternity, Phi Delta Kappa, honored him with the 1960 Distinguished Service Award.

Mr. Brewbaker's tenure as Superintendent of Schools included the difficult period of "massive resistance" in Virginia and the closed-schools episode of 1958. He received national attention because of the orderly manner in which Norfolk Public Schools were re-opened and integrated under his direction in 1959.

His experiences in Norfolk during the public school crisis, have made Mr. Brewbaker uniquely fitted for the duties of a Public School Consultant. He feels that those of us who were bred, born, educated, and all of our lives have been living and working in the South should take the lead in trying to make the best possible adjustments in bringing about the changes in our society arising from the 1954 Supreme Court Decision.

In his position as Public School Consultant for the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Brewbaker will be associated with the Southern Leadership Project which is financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This undertaking is an intensive and systematic program aimed at "moderate leadership",

and a special effort to stimulate community leadership to achieve an orderly adjustment in working on problems arising at this time.

Mr. Brewbaker's services are available, as a Consultant, to share his experiences on desegregation in the Norfolk Public Schools with school authorities and other interested citizens. The problem is to find the best and most effective way by which a community can educate its children under the conditions and requirements of our time.

BREWBAKER REPORT - July 18, 1960

Newport News, Va.
Richmond, Va.
Charlottesville, Va.
Roanoke, Va.
Atlanta, Ga.
Greenville, S. C
Spartanburg, S. C.
Charlotte, N. C.
Chapel Hill, N. C.
Durham, N. C.
Raleigh, N. C.

cc to DFF
8/1/60

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
July 18, 1960

On the morning of July 6, 1960, I started my first trip for the Southern Regional Council. This trip extended over a period of ten days, and I visited school superintendents and others interested in school desegregation problems in twelve school divisions in four states; Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina. I found a cordial reception everywhere and was invited to return. In most instances I had made the appointment in advance, but in a few cases I just dropped in. Everyone seemed pleased to get copies of the brochure, "Desegregation in the Norfolk Schools", and felt it would be of much help to them. I distributed 100 copies on the trip.

In Virginia, I began the trip with Newport News, then went on to Richmond, Charlottesville, and Roanoke. Newport News had 24 Negro applicants for one elementary school which the school authorities were processing for admission this coming September. These applications had been before the State Pupil Placement Board and were assigned by the Board to Negro schools. The Superintendent was now processing the applications under the Court order.

Superintendent Willett, in Richmond, was pleased to see me. Despite the fact that I dropped in unexpectedly, he spent the entire morning with me and called in his chief assistant in charge of pupil personnel to consult with me also. At the present time, they have three applicants before the Court and six new ones applying for admission to white schools for the coming school year.

At Charlottesville, which was another drop-in visit, Superintendent Ellis kept me some time and insisted that I visit him again. There were 12 Negro children now attending predominantly white schools and eight more are being assigned for this September, making a total of 20.

Roanoke proved to be most interesting. Superintendent Rushton had talked to me at length by telephone previously and was looking forward to my visit. I spent an entire day with him and his group. He invited to the conference, which included a luncheon, two of his assistants, the chairman, vice-chairman, and one other member of his school board, the City Attorney, and the Attorney who had been employed by the City Council to represent the school board. We discussed many aspects of the state requirements. The 39 Negro applicants for one elementary and one junior high school are now in Richmond awaiting action of the State Pupil Placement Board. They were anxious to have me come back as needed, and I assured them that I would try to be available.

Late in the afternoon of July 10, I arrived in Atlanta via Ashville. Early on the morning of July 11, Benjamin Muse and I visited Headquarters, and I met the Executive Director, Harold Fleming, and his staff, for the first time. I was most favorably impressed by everyone and knew then

that I would like my new work very much. I spent July 11 and 12 in Atlanta getting acquainted at Headquarters and visiting school people in the City.

Early on the morning of July 12, I visited Superintendent Letson of the Atlanta Public Schools. He came to Atlanta from Chattanooga as the new superintendent on July 1 and had had his first board meeting the night before my visit. This board meeting was very satisfactory, and he seemed to be quite optimistic about the Atlanta situation. He and Deputy Superintendent Stephens both insisted that I come to see them whenever I came to Atlanta. They and I feel that Atlanta's problem is very similar to the one we had in Norfolk. Dr. Letson says he feels his new position is a great challenge.

I discovered that Superintendent West, of the Fulton County Schools, had offices across the street. I visited with him briefly, and he extended a cordial invitation for me to come back and spend a day with him. However, he has not had, up to this time, a single Negro applicant for white schools, and he feels they are satisfied with the present status. Only 14% of his 27,000 pupils are Negro.

During the afternoon of July 12, I visited President Clement of Atlanta University. We talked about the University, the Atlanta School Board, the Southern Regional Council, and the desegregation problem in Atlanta. I was much impressed with Dr. Clement, and I have put him in the class with Dr. Ralph Bunche.

My next stop was Greenville, S. C. I left the Piedmont Hotel at 6 A. M. on the morning of July 13 and met Superintendent Anderson in his office in Greenville at 11 A. M. Dr. Anderson said the only thing that has happened there was that the NAACP petitioned the School Board very soon after the Supreme Courts 1954 Decision to assign all pupils without regard to race. The Board acknowledged receipt of the petition, and nothing else has been done. He feels the younger men on the Board, as a rule, have a fairly moderate attitude, while the older ones are not so moderate.

Spartanburg, S. C. was my next stop. I met Superintendent McCracken about 2 P. M. and spent the rest of the afternoon with him. He took me to see his School Board Chairman who cordially invited me to return, that he was sure they would need some help before long. He and the Superintendent seem to have liberal points of view. Dr. McCracken wants me to return to meet with him and a group of South Carolina superintendents living within a radius of 100-200 miles of Spartanburg. He feels that much thought should be given to this problem before they are actually faced with it. I told him that I would do my best to be available to meet with him and his group.

In North Carolina, I visited Charlotte, Chapel Hill, Durham and Raleigh. In both Charlotte and Raleigh, things seem to be at a standstill. Charlotte has one Negro in a white school and six applying this year; Raleigh has none in school and doesn't have a single application this year.

Durham has 161 Negro pupils suing in Federal Court. These were among those turned down when 226 applied last year. They have seven enrolled at present.

Chapel Hill had 12 to apply. The Board has admitted three to the first grade but turned down nine applying for junior high school. Five of these nine are appealing the case in the Federal Court. Superintendent Johnston stated there were several adult groups in Chapel Hill, including the League of Women Voters, who thought the school board should begin desegregation of the schools. Dr. Johnston gave me several copies of a brochure "Facts" prepared by the League of Women Voters. I am enclosing a copy.

In all my conferences, I found the superintendents and others interested in doing the right thing and most anxious to find the proper procedure. I encouraged them all I could, and we discussed the best ways to prepare a school board and the community to accept this social change, and I emphasized the fact that those of us who have been born and spent all of our lives in the South should furnish the leadership.

BREWBAKER REPORT - August 1, 1960

Washington, D. C.
New York City
Tampa (Hillsborough County) Fla.
Panama City (Bay County), Fla.
Muscogee County, Ga.
North Charleston, South Carolina
Martinsville, Va.
Norfolk Couty, Va.
Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York
Fairfax County, Va.
Arlington County, Va.
Richmond, Va.

Revise & copy for DFF + N.O. Hope

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 1, 1960

cc to DF Rock Bros 9/14/60 mf

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing report of my trip July 23 - 29, 1960. I am enclosing for your information also an Information Bulletin of the Associated Public School Systems.

Your nice letter of July 28 has been received. I enjoyed talking with you by telephone last Friday and expect to see you Monday.

I am planning to go to Prince Edward County to talk with Superintendent McIlwaine Wednesday, August 3.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc. 2

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
August 1, 1960

When I was informed over the telephone on July 22 by Superintendent Carl Hansen of the Washington, D. C. Schools that he had planned to go on vacation the following week, but would be happy to see me any time the next day, Saturday, in the afternoon at his home, I started my second trip on Saturday morning, July 23, as soon as I finished some correspondence. Washington was on my way to attend the twelfth Annual Conference of the Associated Public School Systems at Columbia University, New York City, July 25-29, 1960. After spending the greater part of three days at the Conference, I returned to Norfolk via Fairfax County, Virginia and Richmond. As a matter of interest, the Norfolk City Public School System is a charter member of the Associated Public School Systems, and I have attended every conference since its organization in 1949.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Superintendent Hansen was very gracious when I arrived about 4 P.M. He introduced me to his wife who served us large glasses of refreshing lemonade. We promptly started discussing our mutual problems and exchanged brochures. His publications are "Miracle of Social Adjustment: Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools", 1957, and "Addendum: A Five-Year Report on Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools", 1960.

Dr. Hansen seemed to feel that Washington is different from most places that have desegregated, and while the gradual procedure seemed to be preferable elsewhere, that the plan, "all-at-once", used in Washington was probably better there. I am disposed to agree with him. He pointed out that integration could not be the chief cause of the movement of the people on the higher economic level to the suburbs and those on the lower economic level, and often impoverished and destitute, to be forced to crowd into downtown city areas where rooms, apartments, and houses are much cheaper. Most other American cities are following this pattern with or without integration problems.

Dr. Hansen is pleased with the academic achievement, shown by standardized tests, by the fact that major problems are not of a racial nature, and with the new instructional design, The Four Track Curriculum, used now in grades ten, eleven and twelve. He gave me a most cordial invitation to visit him again and spend some time observing in the schools. As my work grows lighter, I should like to accept the invitation.

NEW YORK CITY - ASSOCIATED PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

I attended the opening session for participants July 25 at 9 A.M. for registration and coffee hour. My preregistration was in order,

and I received my lapel card and materials. The welcome address was given by Dr. John H. Fischer, Dean of Teachers College, which was followed by introductions and an overview of the Conference. Each participant introduced himself which afforded me an opportunity to say a few words about my work. I attended the luncheon meetings at the Men's Faculty Club on Monday and Tuesday, and on Tuesday I was invited and accepted an invitation to sit at the speaker's table at which time I was introduced again. I also attended the Social Hour at 5 P.M. and the Superintendent's Dinner at 6 P.M. at the Men's Faculty Club on Monday. During my stay, I attended some of the regular meetings and talked with several superintendents from the South and others, as follows:

TAMPA (Hillsborough County), FLORIDA

Superintendent Crockett Farnell, whom I know very well, was the first one to start talking with me at the beginning of the Coffee Hour on Monday. Tampa has 78 Negro applicants for 16 different schools, including both high and elementary grades. When the school authorities refused to admit them, the plaintiffs appealed to the District Federal Court which refused to act on the grounds that all administrative remedies had not been exhausted. The case was then appealed to the Federal Circuit Court and was referred back by this Court to the District Court where the case remains at present.

PANAMA CITY (Bay County), FLORIDA

On Monday, I ate lunch with Superintendent Thomas Smith and his General Supervisor, Fletcher Jones. They have had no applications in Bay County.

NATCHEZ, MISSISSIPPI

Superintendent McLaurin said that different cities in Mississippi had had a total of three petitions requesting school boards to discontinue the pratice of segregation, and Natchez was one of those that had received a petition. This was about three years ago, and there have been no developments since that time.

MUSCOGEE COUNTY, GEORGIA

Superintendent Shaw was present at the luncheon meeting, and my impression is that Muscogee County has been in the discussion stage only. I remember Mr. Shaw said that the attitude of many people was gradually changing for the better, and I was pleased that most of the superintendents had this feeling.

NORTH CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Garrett said that the climate in North Charleston is changing in the direction of more moderation, and up to this time they have had only a general petition requesting that segregated schools be discontinued. The Superintendent of Charleston was not at the meeting, but Mr. Garrett stated that Charleston's population was about 70 per cent Negro and very mixed residentially.

MARTINVILLE, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Carper talked to me at some length about the situation there which has been reasonably quiet up to this time, but he is interested in preparing for coming events. He requested sufficient copies of my brochure which I gave him for his board members and said he would like for me to come to see them soon, probably within a month. He would contact me.

NORFOLK COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Chittum and I talked about his situation which is quiet at present, but he realizes it won't stay that way. He was happy to get copies of the brochure. This was true of all superintendents; they want something to take with them to read. Mr. Chittum and I are neighbors but very seldom see each other. Often we see our next door neighbors more at meetings than we do at home.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Dean John H. Fischer and I have been personal and professional friends for some years, so I couldn't leave New York without a chat with him. Before accepting the position as Dean of Teachers College, about a year ago, he had been Superintendent of Schools of Baltimore--just up Chesapeake Bay from Norfolk. We discussed the desegregation of Schools in Baltimore, and Dr. Fischer feels that there is no school problem in Baltimore but a Community problem. This is caused by a big increase in the low rent, low cost communities of both white and negro families of low economic status. These communities have no one left to furnish proper leadership, and many of the families there are not only of low economic status but very transient.

FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA

After leaving New York, my next conference was with Superintendent Woodson of Fairfax. They have 31 Negro applicants for white schools, and the local board has offered no objection to the State Pupil Placement Board assigning three of these to white schools. The local board has adopted the stair-step plan and is admitting to first and second

grades this September. The three to which they offer no objection are in the first and second grades.

ARLINGTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA

When I reached Fairfax, I found that the new State Pupil Placement Board, which had gone into office recently, had a quite different attitude from the former one and that the State Board had assigned 12 Arlington Negroes to two white schools and three predominantly white schools. This brings to 35 the number of Negro children admitted to previously all-white schools in Arlington. I called Superintendent Reid of Arlington from Superintendent Woodson's office in Fairfax who said three of those assigned by the State Board had not been acted on in any way by the local board, but they fell within the criteria of those who were not opposed by the local board. The indications are that the State Board may follow the recommendations of the local boards-- or, as in the case of Arlington, will assign if local board offers no objections.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

While I was in New York, the new State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia was appointed by the Governor. He is Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, who succeeds Dr. Davis Y. Paschall, who has been appointed President of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Dr. Wilkerson seemed most happy to see me and invited me to meet with him later after he became more familiar with the problems. He expressed interest in a conference with me in which he and Dr. Paschall would participate.

This was a most satisfactory trip.

Harold

Associated Public School Systems

A nationwide organization of school systems working together for better education.

Information Bulletin

Affiliated with the Institute of Administrative Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

Associated Public School Systems

Founded in 1949 for nationwide cooperation on school improvements, the A.P.S.S. includes approximately 200 public school systems located in 38 states. This represents 3500 schools with a total enrollment of more than 3,000,000 pupils. A number of teachers colleges, universities, state departments of education, and school study councils are associate members of A.P.S.S.

Major activities of the Associated Public School Systems include: carrying on cooperative research and using the results of educational research to improve schools; promoting the pooling and sharing of worth-while educational ideas and school practices; and providing resources and services to members.

Cooperative Research

Basic to the research program is the continuous evaluation of the quality of education by member school systems. It enables school systems to evaluate themselves in comparison with other school systems of comparable size, interests, and socio-economic backgrounds. This involves studies of:

- **professional staff characteristics.** Data supplied by member systems are analyzed and interpreted according to the best available research. Specific suggestions are made for local improvement.
- **community characteristics.** Population traits as they relate to education are analyzed and indications are given for long-range community planning.
- **financial features of the school district.** An analysis of salaries, current expenditures, and physical facilities is made along with a study of the community's ability to support good education.
- **the quality of the educational program.** This measure involves determining the degree of use of selected educational practices and the dates of their introduction in a system.

Pooling and Sharing Ideas and Practices

Research shows that it takes more than fifty years for a good educational practice to come into nationwide use in our schools. The A.P.S.S. makes it possible to cut years off this fifty-year lag by:

- **publishing the national magazine,** KNOW-HOW, four times each year. KNOW-HOW contains the best teaching practices gathered by teacher reporters in member schools. Circulation is over 44,000.
- **encouraging the publication of local "Know-Hows."** These local publications spread effective local practices and recognize teacher contributions to better education.
- **compiling the A.P.S.S. Yearbook,** a collection of the best local educational projects.
- **promoting regional conferences** where action programs are planned to meet the needs of a specific geographic area.
- **holding an annual national conference** to evaluate accomplishments of the past year, develop the program for the coming year, and acquaint members with educational trends.
- **stimulating intervisitation,** which facilitates the flow of ideas between schools and school systems.

Additional Services to Members

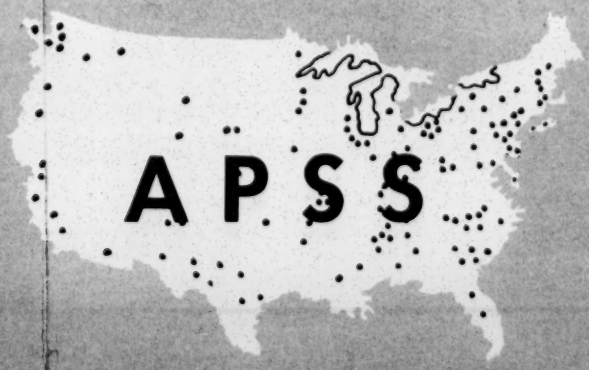
Through its affiliation with the Institute of Administrative Research at Teachers College, Columbia University, the central staff of the A.P.S.S. works closely with the staffs of other cooperative research organizations affiliated with the Institute—the Metropolitan School Study Council and the Central School Boards Committee for Educational Research. The A.P.S.S. annual budget of $70,000, combined with the budgets of affiliated organizations, gives each A.P.S.S. member the benefits of an annual budget of $160,000. In addition to services already discussed, the following services to members are also financed through the pooled budget:

- **packets** of the best educational materials available in areas of common interest—reading, administrative procedures, gifted children, and others.
- **mailbags** of materials produced by A.P.S.S. members; these include such items as kindergarten handbooks and school budget documents.
- **loan packets** in special areas such as reporting to parents or guidance.
- **immediate response to requests** for materials on specific problems.
- **visits** by central staff members to assist with local problems such as more effective teacher use of research materials.

A.P.S.S. is a nonprofit organization directed by officers elected annually by member school systems. Annual fees for public school systems range from $175 to $300, depending on the size of the community. State departments of education, study councils, colleges, and universities may become associate members for a minimum fee of $175.

For further details write to:
Associated Public School Systems
525 West 120th St., New York 27, N. Y.

A nationwide organization of school systems working together for better education.



BREWBAKER REPORT - August 5, 1960

Farmville (Prince Edward County) Va.

LWDV
PRV
MF

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
August 5, 1960

FARMVILLE, (Prince Edward County) VIRGINIA

Preparatory to my visit to New Orleans the week of August 7, I drove to Farmville August 3 to get as much first hand knowledge as I could on the Prince Edward County situation. This County has about 1500 white pupils and 1700 Negro. The Negro pupils are receiving no formal education, except the very few who are able to go away to school. The white pupils are widely scattered in very inadequate facilities over the County by the Prince Edward School Foundation, as follows:

HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS:
Farmville Presbyterian Church-- Over 300
Baptist Church at Worsham --Approximately 100

ELEMENTARY:
7th Grades - Moose Club Hall on edge of City of Farmville 100 - 150
Other elementary grades - Farmville Methodist Church 500 - 600

and a small number in the following:
Woman's Club House

Those in County outside of City (Pisgah Baptist Church at Rice
(Prospect Methodist Church at Prospect
(Liberty Christian Church at Green Bay
(Spring Creek Baptist Church at Darlington Heights

The few inadequate laboratories and shops are in various locations. The laboratories are across the street from high school classes, the vocational shops, including home making, are in other locations.

There is a movement on foot to raise $300,000 to build and purchase buildings, $175,000 to build high school building and $125,000 to purchase buildings for elementary schools. (According to State standard of $1500 per pupil for high school building, the $175,000 would build sufficient space for only 117 pupils.)

The Foundation at present is using the white teachers who formerly taught in the public schools. Of course, they are unable to recruit new ones, and it is questionable how long the present ones, even if their homes are in the County, will continue to teach under such unstable conditions.

The tuition has been set for 1960-61 at $240 for elementary and $265 for high school pupils. The County Board has agreed to pay $100

toward the tuition for any child applying to go to school, both white and Negro. The difficulty for the Negro pupil will be to find a school to attend. The State Tuition plan allows up to a maximum of $275 for high school pupils and $250 for elementary pupils of which the State pays $150 and $125 respectively. I don't know how the County proposes to pay the balance of its part-- except the State Law provides if any County or City fails to pay its share, the State will withhold any tax money coming from the State to the County to meet this cost.

Last year the tax rate in Prince Edward County was reduced to $1.50; the previous year it was $3.50. The reduction was made with the understanding that the amount the tax was reduced would be paid into the fund to operate the private school. (Last year the school was operated by using money raised by voluntary pledges.) It seems this did not work very well, so the tax rate has been increased to $4.00 for the coming year with the provision to pay the $100 tuition and accept State Grants. Tax Credit is allowed up to 25 per cent of taxes owed for contribution to the Foundation. No transportation is furnished; all children furnish their own.

After all this deprivation of the opportunities for an adequate or some kind of education for the children of Prince Edward County, no application has been made yet by a Negro child to attend a white school in Prince Edward County, and it is not known that there would be one. The order of the Court is to receive and act upon applications, but none has ever been received. After they are received, all administrative remedies must be exhausted.

It is not known how long this make-shift arrangement will last. There has been a motion filed in Federal Court at this time against the local school board and the State Board of Education to force the State law to be carried out, which law requires the State to provide an efficient system of education.

BREWBAKER REPORT - August 19, 1960

New Orleans, La.
Baton Rouge, La.
✓Houston-Dallas, Tex.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

CC DFF - Rock. Pres.
9/14/60
mf

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 19, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing my report on the trip to New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Houston-Dallas.

Hope you have an enjoyable trip to St. Louis.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
August 19, 1960

This trip began on Sunday afternoon, August 7, via Seaboard Railway, and I returned Tuesday, August 16 about Noon. I arrived in Atlanta on Monday morning and had conferences with several of the executives at Headquarters. I spent considerable time during the morning with Edwin Randall, making five tape recordings of five-minutes each by the question and answer method. I understand he distributes these recordings to radio stations, and they are used in various ways--one each day of the week, Monday thru Friday. This impresses me as a good way to get a message across to the public.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

I arrived in New Orleans about 9 A. M. on Tuesday, August 9. I was met at the train by Rev. Ralph Bridges, an Episcopal minister who is Treasurer of the Committee for Public Education. He and I had agreed, in advance by telephone, that I would meet for a press conference at 10:30 A. M. in one of the rooms at the Monteleone Hotel where I was staying. I had cleared this arrangement with the Superintendent of Schools, and it had his approval. The following memorandum of those present was prepared for me by a representative of Swigart & Evans:

Reporters and Photographers in Attendance

BREWBAKER PRESS CONFERENCE

August 9, 1960

(Newspaper)

Jerry Hopkins - Reporter - The Times-Picayune

Bill Madden - Reporter - The New Orleans States/Item

Frank Methe - Photographer - The Times-Picayune and New Orleans States/Item

(Television)

Bern Rotman - Reporter - WDSU-TV

Cameraman - WDSU-TV

Bill Reed - Reporter - WWL-TV

Cameraman - WWL-TV

Dick Wright - Reporter - WVUE-TV

Del Hall - Cameraman - WVUE-TV

(Radio)

Pinky Vadoscovitch - Reporter - WWL AM

Chuck Pratt - Reporter - WDSU AM

(Committee for Public Education)

Dr. Robert Lancaster - President
Mrs. Kay Coffee - Vice - President
Rev. Ralph Bridges - Treasurer
Daniel G. Evans - President of Swigart & Evans
Miss Alice Brodfield - Vice-President of Swigart & Evans

This conference lasted almost two hours. Each television and radio station made individual recordings after a general session of questions and answers. News from this conference was carried by the television and radio stations during the afternoon and on practically all evening news broadcasts. Both papers carried write-ups with pictures, which I left at Headquarters on my return from New Orleans.

Dr. James F. Redmond, Superintendent of Schools, came by the hotel at 12:30 P. M. to take me to a luncheon meeting with his Board members. We met at Commander's Palace, and the luncheon ended at 4 P. M. The Superintendent, Chairman of the Board, Vice-Chairman and one other member were present, also the School Board Attorney and one assistant superintendent. Mr. Wagner did not attend. Each one of them filled me in as to the situation in New Orleans, and I told them the Norfolk story briefly.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the Superintendent decided that he and I had had about enough for the day, that he would show me a little of the City and then go to his home for dinner, as his wife was expecting us. I had a very pleasant evening in their home. I have known both of them for several years.

Early on Wednesday morning, August 10, I received a telephone call from an official of one of the sugar companies who had attended high school with me. He had seen me on television and had read the newspaper accounts. I accepted his invitation to have lunch with him at the International House. He said he thoroughly agreed with the approach I was presenting.

Dr. Robert Lancaster, the President of the Committee for Public Education, and his wife came by the hotel for me about 5:30 P. M. to take me to dinner with about a dozen of the directors of their organization at the Commander's Palace. (I was beginning to be pretty well known over there.) After the very enjoyable dinner, we drove to Dixon Hall, Tulane University, for the public meeting, at which I was speaker of the evening.

It was a very nice meeting, with over 500 present. I reviewed my experiences in Norfolk which was followed by a very informative question and answer period.

The members of the Committee for Public Education were much interested in a meeting which was being held at the same time in another auditorium of the City. This group is known as the "Cooperatives" whose purpose is to organize private schools. It was reported that the attendance was only about 100 persons, and no questions were allowed. It was reported also, at the conclusion of the meeting, those interested in signing the charter for private schools were invited to do so, and only five showed any interest. This meeting was addressed by the State Segregation leader, William M. Rainach, also one of the defeated candidates for governor, and by Emile A. Wagner, Jr., the only member of the New Orleans School Board who is strongly resisting Judge Wright's order.

I understand that some of the White Citizens Council members attended the meeting at which I spoke but left before the question and answer period. The Committee for Public Education had representatives at the meeting of the "Cooperatives" also.

On Wednesday night, after the meeting, I met a number of people. One was the President of the Young Men's Business Club of Greater New Orleans which organization has a membership of 3200. Honorable Ross R. Barnett, Governor of Mississippi, had addressed the Club at their Wednesday luncheon meeting which was today. The President invited me to attend an informal luncheon meeting of their Board of Directors on Thursday at Kolb's Restaurant, which I accepted. Twelve of the directors attended--a cross section of segregationists and liberals. We had an interesting discussion, but everyone was nice and courteous.

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge was not on my schedule, but I received two very persistent calls to attend an organization meeting there on Thursday night. Dr. Lan-

caster, the President of the New Orleans Committee for Public Education, was going over to help them organize, and they had heard and read reports of my being in New Orleans and wanted me to come too.

Dr. John T. Clarke, Chemist for one of the oil companies, and his wife, a free lance writer, both called me early Thursday morning and insisted that they come for me and I could return to New Orleans after the meeting with Dr. Lancaster. I accepted, and Dr. Clarke came by the hotel for me at 3 P. M., took me to his home for dinner, then took me by one of the television stations for an interview and on to the meeting in a building on Louisiana State University Campus. I also left a clipping of this meeting at Headquarters.

The meeting at Baton Rouge had three speakers and a chairman, Dr. Nicholas Canady, Jr. of the LSU faculty, who also spoke briefly stating the purpose of the meeting which was to organize a group to help save the schools. The other speakers were Dr. Robert Lancaster, a medical doctor, President of the New Orleans Committee for Public Education, and Dr. Paul Hostetler, a member of the Tulane University faculty and active in the New Orleans Save Our Schools Committee. I was the last speaker and told of the Norfolk experiences, about the same as I had done in New Orleans.

HOUSTON-DALLAS, TEXAS

I had written to Dr. John McFarland, Superintendent of Houston schools, that I would call him from New Orleans. When I called on Thursday, I found he had to go to Dallas to an education meeting and suggested that I call Superintendent White of Dallas, and we could meet on Saturday morning. On Friday morning, I called Dr. White and found he had another engagement but for me to call him when I arrived, that he would have one of his assistants to meet with us, but he wanted to say "hello", etc.

The train was late arriving in Dallas, and I was unable to contact Dr. White. I met with Dr. McFarland from Houston. He was somewhat disturbed because he had just read in the morning paper that the Federal Judge was requiring desegregation to begin in Houston in the first grade rather than the kindergarten which they were hoping to be sufficient. He said about 30% or 44,000 of their pupils were Negro. He said they had quietly made some preparation to desegregate if they had to but were not making this information public. I gathered from our conversation that they would attempt to do as much screening as possible.

The Texas Superintendents are always cordial, despite Dr. White's indifference, but I feel they are true to the Texas type--they can do it themselves. I think we should let them try unless they ask for help.

I left Dallas on the evening train Saturday, arriving in Atlanta Sunday night; had some conferences at Headquarters on Monday and on home Monday night, arriving about Noon on Tuesday, August 16.

This was a "rough" trip from a work standpoint, but a most pleasant and satisfactory one. I hope it will do some good in Louisiana.

BREWBAKER REPORT - September 6, 1960

Roanoke, Va.
Pulasky County, Va.
Knoxville, Tenn.
Chattanooga, Tenn.
Atlanta, Ga.
Asheville, N. C.
Winston-Salem, N. C.
High-Point, N. C.
Greensboro, N. C.
Martinsville, Va.
Roanoke, Va.

cc DFF - Rock Bros.
9/14/60
mf

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing my report for the last trip, August 23 - September 1. Sorry I missed you when I came through Atlanta.

I'm sure Paul Anthony has talked with you about the meetings. I shall arrange to come to any which you think would be good or appropriate for me to attend.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

P.S. I'm enclosing also a clipping from this morning's Virginian-Pilot.
B

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
September 6, 1960

On the morning of August 23, 1960, I started on this trip and returned to Norfolk the afternoon of September 1, making a total of nine days. It included ten school systems in southwest Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and western North Carolina, Roanoke College and Atlanta. The Director of Publicity of the Alumni Association of Roanoke College requested a couple of weeks ago that I write an article for the fall issue of the Collegian, entitled, "What Should be the Real Aim or Goal of the Public Schools in this, the Jet-Age". Since Roanoke College was directly on my route, I dropped by to clear up some points about the time and the picture he had requested.

ROANOKE COUNTY, VIRGINIA

The administration offices of the superintendent of Roanoke County are located in Salem, Virginia, near Roanoke College. I had heard that the County had received some applications from Negro pupils to enter a white school this fall. I had a nice talk with Superintendent Horn and Assistant Superintendent Broadwater and found they had received seven applications from Negro children to attend one elementary school on the edge of the Roanoke City line. These applications are now before the State Pupil Placement Board, and the superintendent feels they will not be processed in time for admission this year.

PULASKI COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Pulaski County and the Town of Pulaski form one school division. Superintendent Critzer was expecting me and was very happy to see me. He felt the other superintendents in that area who had desegregated or who had received orders to desegregate would like to talk with me also. I shall plan to see them sometime soon. Pulaski County has a cooperative arrangement with one or more other school systems in the area to operate a high school for Negroes at Christiansburg, quite a distance away. In October 1959, 18 of these pupils, from 13 families, applied to go to the Pulaski High School which is near their homes. Since the schools had opened already and money had been put in the budget for the cooperative high school, the Judge postponed the assignment until 1960-61. In the meantime, two of those applying graduated and two dropped out of school, leaving 14 who on order of the Court will enter the white high school in Pulaski this September. Superintendent Critzer expects no trouble, and he expects also that some of the more than 100 who are still going to the cooperative school will apply next year.

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

Galen Martin called me early in the morning of August 25 and came by the Andrew Johnson Hotel, where I was staying, for a short conference. He was very helpful in giving me information about the situation

which I used to advantage in my conference with Superintendent Johnston. The Knoxville School System will have about 600 Negro pupils in the first grade this year, and Superintendent Johnston thought about 88 of these would be eligible to attend 15 different white schools. He expected approximately 25 to apply. In an associated press report September 1,: "Eight schools in Knoxville, Tennessee, opened today with first grades integrated. Superintendent Thomas N. Johnston reported no trouble when 28 Negroes enrolled in the formerly all-white schools Wednesday."

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Since my appointment on August 26 was with Acting Superintendent Potts at 10 A. M., I decided to go by the Chattanooga Times to see John Popham and Martin Ochs before calling on Dr. Potts. Mr. Popham was out and not expected back until 3 P. M., but Mr. Ochs was in and had just read the article about the Federal Court decision in New Orleans which we discussed. He was very kind to fill me in on the Chattanooga situation and took me in to meet Ben Hale Golden, Publisher, and Norman Bradley, associate editor. I was most favorably impressed with all three of these newspaper men.

Dr. Potts came by the Read House and picked me up a few minutes before 10 A. M., and we went to his office and spent a most interesting morning discussing the Chattanooga situation. After our conference, I concluded that the cartoon which showed John Letson jumping out of the frying pan into the fire when he left Chattanooga to go to Atlanta, was wrong--Dr. Letson was just jumping out of one frying pan into another. In fact, I believe Atlanta might be a little smoother than Chattanooga.

The school board set-up there is most unique, and I hope the only one in existence. Dr. Potts told me about the Commissioner of Health and Education, elected by the people, and who ran the school system prior to 1941. Beginning with 1941, a school board of six members was established by what is known there as, Private Legislative Act. The six members were designated in the Act by name, and at the expiration of the term of each member, the other five members recommend to the City Council the person to fill the vacancy, which appointment is confirmed by the City Council. The Commissioner receives a salary of $12,000 a year, serves as Chairman of the School Board, and votes only in case of a tie. He seems to have no other required responsibility in connection with the schools but has some duties in the department of health.

In October 1955, the school board appointed a biracial committee which had only one meeting which was broken up by controversy and tear gas bombs. In the Spring of 1960, four Negro pupils made specific applications to attend a white elementary school. Both plaintiffs and defendants requested summary judgment, and the case at present is still with

the Judge. It seems the trouble at Clinton is much used as propaganda to delay desegregation here. Also the last two elected Commissioners have been much opposed to desegregation.

The new superintendent, Dr. Benjamin E. Carmichael from George Peabody College, was expected to report the next day.

ATLANTA

While in Atlanta Friday night and Saturday, I talked with Paul Rilling by telephone, and we discussed several of the situations where we had mutual problems. Paul had a bad back and was confined to his home.

On Saturday, I did some report writing and while eating lunch in the Ship-Ahoy, Paul West, Superintendent of Fulton County Schools, came in, and we had a nice talk. Paul insisted again that I let him know beforehand the next time I come to Atlanta, that he would like to arrange a conference with some of his board members and others. He wants to do some thinking through the problem before he actually faces it. I shall arrange to see Superintendent West sometime soon.

ASHVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Griffin seems quite pleased with the situation in Ashville. They have had no petitions and no applications from Negroes to go to white schools up to this time. His board has discussed the matter, and he feels the members have a very liberal point of view.

The lunch counters were desegregated without public notice in the press. It was agreed in advance that the Negroes would be served like anyone else, and when they appeared in several places this was done. Very few, if any, returned afterwards.

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Phillips had a very busy day with orientation of new teachers but met me at my hotel about 5 P. M. and stayed until almost 7 P. M. They have nine Negroes in white schools and have taken in all who have applied the last two years. A very liberal attitude exists, and at the present time some Negro high school pupils who can't get vocational classes in their high schools are permitted to take these courses in the white high school.

HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Pruette said they took two Negroes in the white schools last year and one this year. He seems to screen the applicants more than some of the other North Carolina Cities.

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Weaver seems to have a very good situation. They have one Negro board member who is very good. They admitted six Negroes to white schools four years ago and have only five now, one new this year. They have one or more to drop out each year and seem to add about the same number. The North Carolina Cities seem to be have no trouble; however, very few Negroes are applying for white schools.

MARTINSVILLE, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Carper has no immediate problem but, as I stated in an earlier report, is interested in being prepared. He showed me his facilities for both White and Negro pupils which are very good. The Junior Chamber of Commerce has completed a new recreation building, with a beautiful swimming pool and other facilities, next door to the white high school. This was my first trip to Martinsville, and Mr. Carper gave me interesting information by driving me through the City and showing me the school buildings, industrial plants, and some of the residences. Martinsville is a leading furniture manufacturing center.

ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

Nine Negro children were being admitted at the time I visited Superintendent Rushton on August 31, one that day and the other eight the next day. He expected no trouble; however, a group of parents came to his office while I was there seeking transfers to segregated schools. Of the 39 who applied, these nine were approved apparently by a joint conference of the Roanoke school officials and the State Pupil Placement Board. It seems that the State Board took some initiative in assigning these pupils.

Superintendent Rushton told me that the lunch counter situation was handled there the same way it had been done in Ashville. When the Negroes appeared, they were served, and there was no trouble.

The trip was interesting, and it seems to me that a more liberal attitude is gradually taking place. This is most encouraging.

BREWBAKER REPORT - September 26, 1960

Front Royal, Va.
Manassas, Va.
Richmond, Va.
Hopewell, Va.

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
September 26, 1960

For some time I had wanted to visit the Warren County schools and to talk with Dr. J. L. Blair Buck, President of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools in Richmond. Also since Ben Muse had been away for several weeks, I felt I should like to have a chat with him about our mutual problems. Another attraction was The Fifteenth National Conference on Citizenship which was held in Washington, D. C. September 16 - 20. In this report, you will find that I attended the Citizenship Conference on my own and not as a SRC activity, but I shall send you both, Harold and Ben, some material which will give you a good idea of the Conference. I shall wait until I receive copies of the summary of the Conference which should arrive any time now.

FRONT ROYAL, WARREN COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Early in the afternoon of September 14, I left Norfolk for Front Royal, arriving there about 6 P. M. Hurricane Donna had done considerable damage to my back yard, but after I was able to get the telephone and electric wires reconnected, I felt the other things could wait until my return.

Superintendent Gasque seemed very happy to see me at 9:30 A. M. on September 15. I see him frequently, but he seemed to be in better spirits at this time and was more encouraged about his situation generally. His board has divided the County into two attendance areas for high school pupils, using U. S. Route 340 as the dividing line. They have named the two areas, the East Zone and the West Zone. The white high school is in the west zone, and the new Negro high school is across highway 340, about one-half mile from the white high school, in the East Zone.

The plan is for all high school pupils in each zone to attend the school in that zone; however, if a Negro lives in the West Zone and wishes to attend the Negro high school in the East Zone, he would be granted permission to do so. Similarly, if a white pupil lived in the East Zone and wished to attend the white high school in the West Zone, he would be allowed to make the transfer. This year, the Warren County High School has 516 pupils, and of these, 17 are Negro; only one new this year. Last year the Warren County High School had 420 pupils, so the increase of almost 100 has encouraged Mr. Gasque. The figures on enrollment for last year: Private academy - 470; the public high school - 420. This year: the private academy - 484; the public high school - 516.

Another encouraging feature of the school situation is that the seventh grade pupils, coming to the high school in the eighth grade, show a trend to the high school rather than the academy. Last year 43 per cent

of these went to the public high school; this year the public high school received 60 per cent of them. Superintendent Gasque stated that a few had returned from the academy to the public high school, and a number had returned from other high schools outside the County who had left when Warren High School was desegregated.

There were some applications by Negro pupils to enter one of the white elementary schools, but the Judge delayed these with the understanding that plans would be submitted by May 1, 1961 for desegregation of the elementary schools, beginning with the 1961-62 school year.

MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

On my way to the home of Mr. Muse, I stopped by to visit with Superintendent Beville of the Prince William County Schools. I told him I wanted to report progress in my new work to him since he had been instrumental in introducing Mr. Muse to me which led to my entering this new field which has been most pleasant.

Superintendent Beville had four Negro pupils from one family to apply for admission to the white elementary school at Woodbridge. The applications were made the latter part of August, and the State Pupil Placement Board denied them because of the sixty-day limit. (The State Board has a rule that a pupil who wishes to transfer must make application, at least, sixty days before the date of opening the schools.) Superintendent Beville expects them to apply again next year, and he seems to think there would be no trouble in admitting them.

Arriving at the home of Mr. Muse about 3 P. M. September 15, I was met by Mrs. Muse who was a most gracious hostess. Mr. Muse and I had a very pleasant and profitable afternoon discussing our mutual plans and problems. I enjoyed the hospitality of their home, and after partaking of a very delicious dinner, I departed for Washington, D. C. about 7:30 P. M.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

The Citizenship Conference ended at 11 A. M. on September 20, at which time I left for my appointment with Dr. J. L. Blair Buck, President of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools. Dr. Buck met me in my room at Hotel Jefferson about 3 P. M., and we spent two hours exchanging experiences. He filled me in on the work of the Committee and supplied me with a copy of their brochure, "Organizing to Save Public Schools". For some reason, I had not seen a copy of this publication. It is reassuring to know that we have this state organization of 25,000 members with local committees for public schools in fifteen cities and counties affiliated with it. I am sure the work of the State Committee and the local committees has been very effective in reopening closed schools and preventing others from being closed.

HOPEWELL, VIRGINIA

On the afternoon of September 20, I called Superintendent Smith of Hopewell and arranged to meet with him in his office at 10 A. M. the next day, September 21. He was most cordial and told me that he had seven Negroes to apply on September 16 for admission into the Hopewell High School. He accepted their applications, which were brought in by an attorney, and sent them on to the State Pupil Placement Board. Since the schools were already in operation and since the State Board has a sixty day requirement, he feels sure they will have to continue in their present school this year.

Hopewell is a city of about 30,000 people, in the southside Virginia area, but Superintendent Smith feels that they would not have too much trouble making the change. He is also Superintendent of Prince George County, and he feels he would have trouble in the County. Hopewell and Prince George are in the same general section of the State with Prince Edward.

Superintendent Smith requested sufficient copies of my brochure to supply both school boards which I supplied. He then invited me to ride through the City with him, and I found Hopewell to be more wealthy, industrially, than I had thought. The Nitrogen Division of Allied Chemical Corporation has its headquarters here, including the Research Division; the Hercules Powder Company, the Continental Can Company, and a Firestone Tire and Rubber Plant are also here. After a very delightful visit with Superintendent Smith, I left for Norfolk, arriving home in the late afternoon.

Much activity is going on in Virginia at the present time. During the past week or ten days; for example, on Friday, September 16, the NAACP attorneys filed a supplemental complaint in the Prince Edward County suit naming the State Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the County Board of Supervisors as defendants. The contention is if the County refuses to operate public schools, then the State must operate them. Federal Judge Oren Lewis granted the motion and cleared the way for arguments.

In Winchester, Virginia the applications of three Negro pupils to enter the all-white Handley High School were referred by the local school board to the State Pupil Placement Board on September 19.

In Alexandria, Virginia, on September 16, Judge Bryan ordered eleven more Negroes admitted into the predominantly white schools, because the board had not applied the same tests to the white pupils that it applied to the Negroes.

In Fairfax County, Judge Bryan on September 22, overrode the County's recently adopted plan for a grade-a-year desegregation and ordered the

immediate admission of 19 Negro applicants seeking to enter white schools. 15 of the 19 ordered admitted were rejected by the County officals on the grounds they were not first or second graders.

The work is very interesting, and I plan to spend about three days in southwest Virginia next week visiting the superintendents in Galax, Grayson County, Pennington Gap which is in Lee County, and others along the way.

BREWBAKER REPORT - October 10, 1960

Galax, Va.
Grayson County (Independence), Va.
Lee County (Jonesville and Pennington Gap), Va.
Bristol, Va.
Marion (Smyth County), Va.

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
October 10, 1960

The trip to Southwest Virginia required four days in time, September 28 through October 1, and over one thousand miles in travel on winding roads over rather high mountains, but since I was born in this section of the state, the rough terrain did not bother me too much. My conferences were with superintendents entirely, and I was given the impression there would be very little trouble in making the change to desegregated schools when the time comes, and they preferred doing the job voluntarily, if the attitude of the people had reached the stage they could do it. However, they felt, at this time, probably it would work better under a court order. As one superintendent expressed it, he had approximately one hundred people in his county who were on about the same economic level as the Negroes, and these would give considerable trouble.

There are so few Negroes living in Southwest Virginia that most of the school divisions are sending their high school pupils to schools in other counties or cities some distance away. Sometimes one county or city takes the pupils from several others. In cases of this kind, the superintendent and school board have no defense when a Negro applies to go to a white school in the county or city. The school people realize this, and they are preparing to meet the situation when it arises, either voluntarily or on court order.

GALAX, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Sutphin told me when I called that he had to be away on the day that I had scheduled to visit him, but he would have Mr. Hager, the principal of Galax High School see me. Mr. Hager was quite familiar with all the details, which have been given several times in the newspapers. The seven Negro pupils from Grayson County were admitted after the Court had ordered that they be admitted to the Galax High School along with the white pupils from the same section of the County. There had been no incidents and everything was moving along nicely. It seemed the chief objection by some citizens of the City was based on the fact that these pupils did not live in the City. However, when the County assigned them to the high school in Grayson County at Independence, the only high school in the County, they refused because the other children in the section where they lived were being sent to Galax on a tuition basis. Therefore, the Court ordered that they be assigned to Galax, or the white children could not go there either.

There are twenty high school pupils living in Galax who are sent by the City to Wytheville and other places. The City pays tuition and

other expenses, and they come home only on weekends. Wytheville is about fifty miles distance. These could apply to go to the Galax High School any time, and I'm sure they would be assigned. There is only one Negro school in the City which is attended by 86 pupils, grades 1 - 9 inclusive.

GRAYSON COUNTY, (INDEPENDENCE), VIRGINIA

Superintendent Monday, whose office is in Independence, was very happy to see me. He was reading the article in the September 26, 1960 issue of Time Magazine which had given a brief sketch of the Galax situation. The article stated that 590 of the 598 pupils at Galax High School had signed a petition demanding that the Negro pupils be assigned to their school. In support of their children's demand, 1900 adults, about half living in the County and about half in the City, signed a similar petition.

There are 200 Negroes of school age in the County. The County sends 64 of these to Wytheville on a plan similar to that used in Galax. If any of these apply to go to the County high school, Mr. Monday feels they would be assigned. He assigned the seven, who are now attending the Galax High School, to Independence, but as I stated in the Galax report, they refused to go and insisted on going to Galax.

LEE COUNTY-- JONESVILLE AND PENNINGTON GAP, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Richmond of Lee County has his office at Jonesville which is the County seat. He explained the basis of the report that they were considering the enrollment of the Negro children to the white schools in Pennington Gap. There are 40 Negro pupils of school age in the County, 16 in the high school and 24 in the elementary schools. There are not more than 150 Negroes living in the County. The high school pupils are sent out of the County on a tuition plus other expenses plan. Two of them go to Oak Ridge, three to Morriston, and the other 11 to Big Stone Gap.

Just before school opened this year, four or five members of the Civitan Club of Pennington Gap came before the School Board and requested that the high school Negro pupils be assigned to the white high school. On the following day, a similar group from the same club came to the superintendent and requested that they not be assigned. Consequently, this year they are following the same plan as in the past, paying tuition and other expenses outside the County.

Lee County has two one-room elementary schools for the 24 Negro pupils.

BRISTOL, VIRGINIA

On the way back from Lee County, I stopped at Bristol to talk with Superintendent VanPelt. Bristol has a high school for Negroes with about

200 high school pupils enrolled and 150 elementary pupils in the same building. Washington County sends 80 high school pupils to Bristol to attend this school. Mr. VanPelt has a very liberal attitude toward the problem and feels that Bristol would have no trouble. He very cordially invited me to spend the night so we could talk more, but I felt I should move on to the next stop.

MARION (SMYTH COUNTY), VIRGINIA

Superintendent Mauck of Smyth County has his office in the Court house at Marion. I had an appointment to see him at 8:30 on Saturday morning, and he had an appointment at Emory Henry College at 9:30. As we got into conversation on the problem, his interest was such that he cancelled by a long distance call his appointment at the College, and we talked until 11 o'clock.

There are 90 Negro children of school age in the County. All of these except four are being transported from the entire County to a school in Marion. Only 28 are high school pupils. It seems the Saltville section is a separate school district, and the four who do not attend the Marion school, attend a school in the Saltville district. This is admittedly very expensive to operate a school for four pupils.

Mr. Mauck says that he has been "threatened" with applications, and he expects to receive some soon. He thinks they would cause no trouble. He was quite interested in knowing what was taking place throughout the country and insisted that I visit him again.

BREWBAKER REPORT - October 14, 1960

Tampa, Fla.
North Charleston, S. C.
Spartanburg, S. C.
Martinsville, Va.
Richmond, Va.
Chapel Hill, N. C.
Columbia, S. C.
Inman, S. C.
Gastonia, N. C.
Wake County, N. C.
Fayetteville, N. C.
Wilson, N. C.
Elizabeth City, N. C.
Greene County, N. C.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1960

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing reports on my last two trips, one to Southwest Virginia, the other to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, attending the APSS Zone Conference.

I am enclosing program of the Conference for your information.

My supply of brochures, "Desegregation in the Norfolk Public Schools" is almost exhausted. I have found these most helpful and should like to have more printed. Do you have any suggested changes?

Mrs. Brewbaker and I plan a week's vacation in New York City beginning October 17. I can be reached during that week at Hotel Edison, 47th Street West of Broadway, New York 36, New York, Telephone Circle 6-5000.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB;ab

Enc. 3

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
October 14, 1960

Since we had registration Sunday afternoon, October 9, and an important address that night, I left for Chapel Hill Sunday morning. I had previously talked with some of the superintendents with whom I talked during this conference, but a number of them I saw for the first time. Some of those with whom I had talked had had some activity since I had seen them, so I shall give a brief report of these also. One superintendent told me about a situation in Greene County, North Carolina, and since Superintendent James of Greene County was not at the meeting, I drove by Snow Hill, the County seat of Greene County, on Tuesday afternoon to see him.

First, I shall relate briefly the changes, if any, in those cases where I had talked with the superintendents previously. I believe the follow up on these situations is helpful.

TAMPA, FLORIDA

Superintendent Farnell was one of the speakers on the program. He is Superintendent of Hillsborough County Schools which includes Tampa. His school population is increasing from 4000 to 5000 pupils each year, and at present he has about 85,000 pupils. His participation on the program dealt mostly with meeting today's demands of a rapidly growing school district and providing more and better education. He did a good job. The 78 applicants, on which I reported August 1, 1960, are still in Court. He seemed quite happy to know that I was planning a trip to Florida and insisted that I come by to see him then.

NORTH CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

When I talked to Superintendent Garrett on August 1, 1960, they had no immediate problems, and he felt the climate there was changing to more moderation. Today, he is quite worried because a situation has developed in Charleston which is having an influence on the Negroes in North Charleston. Superintendent Carrere of Charleston was not present at the conference because of the tense situation in his schools, and Mr. Garrett said he did not want to be critical of another school system. However, it seems that there has been inadequate planning over the past few years to provide for the growing Negro school population, (about 70 per cent). Due to this neglect, the Negro pupils in the high school and in some elementary schools are very crowded and on double shifts while the white schools have vacant classrooms. Consequently, the Negroes are demanding more classroom space and are unwilling to wait until next September or later for it to be provided.

Recently, the Negroes have run a paid advertisement or petition in the newspaper, demanding relief from this situation immediately. Super-

intendent Garrett thought they were not seeking entrance into the white schools, but the next day after I talked with him, October 11, an item appeared in the Charlotte Observer, as follows:

INTEGRATION CASE
MAY GO INTO COURT

CHARLESTON, S.C.--(UPI)

The parents of three Negro children who unsuccessfully attempted to transfer their children to white schools here Monday threatened to "seek legal redress in federal court."

J. Arthur Brown, president of the local NAACP chapter, said the integration attempt was made because of "overcrowded" conditions in the city's Negro schools.

Brown tried to move his 16-year old daughter, Minerva, to Charleston High School. She is a senior at Burke High School.

Two ministers--the Rev. Fred Douglas Dawson and the Rev. B. J. Glover--sought to move their children also. Douglas tried to move his 14-year-old son Ralph from Burke to Charleston High also. The youth is a ninth grader.

Glover wanted to move his six-year-old daughter Oveta from the A. B. Rhett Elementary School to the Mitchell school. She is a first grader.

The Negro parents said they were dissatisfied with the port city's city schools. They said they were overcrowded and some schools were holding not only double, but triple sessions.

I have the impression that the school board in Charleston would be difficult to work with right now. Superintendent Garrett and I agreed it would be better for me to try to help later when I make the Florida trip.

SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent McCracken said there was no change since my visit on July 13.

MARTINSVILLE, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Carper reported no change since my visit on August 31.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Superintendent Willett said they had admitted two of the three applicants which I reported on July 18, but refused the third because

he lived nearer a Negro school. There were interesting accounts in the press of the school board employing an engineer to measure the distances.

CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Johnston said they had admitted the three first graders which I reported in July. One of the nine refused, a seventh grader, has appealed, and the case is still in the Court.

I talked with the following superintendents for the first time on this problem:

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Varn said up to this time there ~~has~~ have been no applications of Negroes to attend white schools. About 36 per cent of his 30,500 pupils are Negro. In reply to my question as to the attitude of the people, he replied: "The people are just not talking about it."

INMAN, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Mabry said that they had had no applications, but the Negroes were growing restless and were checking on money allotments to white and Negro schools; such as, library allotments, to see if they were receiving equal amounts.

GASTONIA, NORTH CAROLINA

I didn't have an opportunity to talk with the superintendent, but Miss Baxter, a teacher, felt the situation was very good. They have a biracial committee working, and it has been decided that lunch counters would be desegregated on January 2, 1961. They have had no applications from Negroes for admission to white schools.

WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Smith and Assistant Superintendent Grimes were both present. Mr. Smith is zone chairman of APSS. They have had no applications from Negroes for white schools, but Mr. Grimes said he was sure they would accept them if they had any.

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

No application from Negroes to white schools within the City, but nearby Fort Bragg schools are integrated, and these children go to Fayetteville to attend high school where they are segregated. Up to this time, there has been no registered objection.

WILSON, NORTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Willard and former Superintendent Chappell were both present, and I talked with both. I spent the night of October 11 in

Wilson, and just from observation one can see a heavy Negro population. Quite a bit of planning is going on in Wilson by both white and Negro leaders. Their lunch counters were desegregated about two weeks ago without trouble. Both men feel the school problem will be more difficult but think it can be worked out when applications are received. None has been made up to this time.

ELIZABETH CITY, NORTH CAROLINA

Superintendent Wagoner said they had no applications from Negroes to white schools up to this time, but he seemed to feel it would not be long until they did. He suggested that I see Superintendent James of Greene County who had a problem now. In checking the map, I found Superintendent James' office at Snow Hill was only about 100 miles farther on my way home, so I arranged to see him.

GREENE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

When I called Superintendent James at his office, Snow Hill, on the morning of October 11, he said he would be glad to see me that afternoon. I arrived at his office at 4:45 P. M. and spent about one hour with him. Greene County Training School is the only high school for Negroes in the County. It has an enrollment of 1200, grades 1 to 12 inclusive. Of this number, 474 are in the high school department. The entire school is very crowded and has inadequate facilities. The white high schools have vacant rooms and better facilities. About 60 per cent of the school enrollment of 5379 pupils is Negro.

In June 1959, five Negroes applied to go to the white high school at Walstonburg. They were denied because of the lateness of the application. These have not reapplied nor have any others applied. These cases are in the Court, and it appears the school authorities are working to prevent their admission to the white schools. The entire County, generally speaking, seems to be of a very low economic status.

Attendance at meetings of this kind affords me an opportunity to see many superintendents that I would otherwise not see. However, seeing a person in his office gives an opportunity to get a fuller picture of the situation. I think the combination of the two plans, as I have been working, is good.

Our final speaker, as listed on the last page of the program, was C. A. McKnight, Editor of the Charlotte Observer. We looked forward to hearing Mr. McKnight who gave a very fine address stressing the relationship between school boards and the press. He was most complimentary of the Charlotte School Board and stated it followed the practice of open meetings with the representatives of the press in attendance.

I enjoyed seeing again Dr. Arnold Perry, Dean of the School of Education, University of North Carolina, Dr. Paul Mort, retired, formerly

Professor of Education, Columbia University, and Dr. John Polley, Executive Director, Associated Public School Systems, which by the way, now has 222 member school systems from 42 of the states.

Dr. Polley very cordially invited me to attend the next zone meeting of APSS to be held in Panama City, Florida, December 1, 2 and 3. This zone includes Florida, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. The zone meeting just concluded at Chapel Hill includes Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Associated Public Schools Systems

Southern Regional Meeting

Sponsored By Zone 2 – APSS

CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

October 9-11, 1960

THEME: *EDUCATION IN A NEW DECADE*

HEADQUARTERS: CAROLINA INN

MEETING PLACE: ROOM 08 — PEABODY HALL
(Across Street from Carolina Inn)

Program

Registration: 5:00-8:00 P.M., October 9
Lobby of Carolina Inn

Registration Fee	$1.50
Meal Tickets (3)	4.50
Total	6.00

SUNDAY NIGHT, October 9, Room 08 Peabody Hall

8:00 Presiding: Fred A. Smith, Superintendent Wake County Schools, Zone Chairman, APSS

Welcome: Arnold Perry, Dean, School of Education, U. N. C.

Introduction of Speaker: Guy Phillips, U. N. C.

Address: "The Able Teacher," Paul Mort, Columbia University

MONDAY MORNING, October 10, Room 08 Peabody Hall

8:30- 9:00 Registration: Peabody Hall
Presiding: Fred Smith, Zone Chairman
Panel: "The Able Teacher" — Selected teachers from Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.
Paul Mort, Moderator.

10:00-10:15 Recess

10:15-11:45 Address: "The Pros and Cons of Ability Grouping," Harry Passow, Columbia University
Discussion Leader: J. Minor Gwynn, U.N.C.

12:00- 1:45 Luncheon: Carolina Inn Ballroom
Presiding: H. I. Willett, Superintendent, City Schools, Richmond, Virginia.

Address: "Meeting Today's Demand for More and Better Education," J. Crockett Farnell, Superintendent, Hillsborough County Schools, Tampa, Florida.

MONDAY AFTERNOON, October 10, Room 08 Peabody Hall

2:00- 3:30 Presiding: George Willard, Superintendent, Wilson City Schools, Wilson, North Carolina.
Panel Discussion: "Improving Articulation Between High Schools and Colleges"

Panel Members: Gordon Garrett, Superintendent, North Charleston Schools, South Carolina.
M. L. Carper, Superintendent, Martinsville Schools, Virginia
Joe Cashwell, N. C. State Department of Education, Raleigh, North Carolina
Kenneth Rabb, Admissions Officer, N. C. State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

MONDAY EVENING, October 10

6:00 Banquet. Carolina Inn Ballroom

Toastmaster: Fred A. Smith, Zone Chairman
Introduction of Speakers: John Polley, APSS

Addresses: Bernard Schweikard, teacher, Nyack, N. Y. Public Schools
Kenneth MacColman, Superintendent, Nyack Schools, New York.

8:30 Morehead Planetarium: "Spirits in the Skies" (Tickets are included in registration)

TUESDAY, October 11, Room 08 Peabody Hall

9:00-10:00 Presiding: Joseph McCracken, Superintendent, Spartanburg Schools, South Carolina

Address: "Decision Making in Administration" John Polley, APSS

10:00-10:30 Break

10:30-12:00 Panel Discussion: "Meeting the Needs of the Rapidly Growing School District."

Moderator: Neal Tracy, School of Education, U. N. C.

Panel Members: E. W. Chittum, Superintendent, Norfolk County Schools, Virginia.
Guy Varn, Superintendent, Columbia Schools, South Carolina.
George M. Harper, English Department, U.N.C.
J. Crockett Farnell, Superintendent, Tampa, Florida.

12:00 Luncheon — Carolina Inn Ballroom

Presiding: Fred A. Smith, Zone Chairman, APSS

APSS Business — John Polley, APSS

Introduction of Speaker: Arnold Perry, Dean of School of Education, U.N.C.

Closing Address — "A Layman Looks at Today's Demands for Better Education" — C. A. McKnight, Editor, Charlotte Observer.

NOTE: Room reservations may be made by writing direct to the Carolina Inn or the University Motel, Chapel Hill, N. C. To assure rooms in the Carolina Inn, reservations should be made prior to October 1.

LWD ✓
PR ✓
MF

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 14, 1960

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was nice to visit you in your new offices. I enjoyed my visits there and also the meeting of the Board. I'll be back on December 6, either going to or returning from Nashville, Memphis and Little Rock. I have promised to speak to a combined group of PTA's in the Sandy Springs area on the night of the 6th.

I am enclosing reports of my Richmond, Virginia Conference of Superintendents and Virginia Education Association, October 31 - November 5; and last trip to Atlanta, November 8 - 12. Also, under separate cover, I am sending a copy of the November issue of the Roanoke Collegian. There is an article by me on Page 6.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enclosure

Brewbaker - Nov. 8, 1960:

Prince Edward County
Pulaski County
Hopewell
Fairfax County
Wise County
Franklin County
Campbell County
Albemarle County
Clarke County
[illegible]
Floyd County
Danville City
Dinwiddie County
Chesterfield County
Henry County
Falls Church
Virginia (General)

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
November 8, 1960

The combined annual conference of the Virginia Association of School Administrators and the annual convention of the Virginia Education Association was held in Richmond November 1 - 5, 1960. The majority of the 130 division superintendents attended and 8000 teacher delegates plus a large number of non-delegate teachers.

Many speakers appeared on the programs, but the two most outstanding were Dr. John Ciardi, Poetry Editor, The Saturday Review of Literature; Director, The Bread Loaf Writers Conference; and Professor of English of Rutgers University and Dr. Wernher von Braun, Director, George C. Marshall Space Flight Center, National Aernautics and Space Administration, Huntsville, Alabama.

Of course, my chief interest was to get a good sampling of the activity in the State with reference to race mixing in the schools and the growing attitude throughout the State relative to this problem. In doing this, I talked to some whom I had seen before to note the progress made, but I put forth a special effort to see as many as possible for the first time.

A special opportunity presented itself for me to talk with one member, A. L. Wingo, and the Executive Secretary, B. S. Hilton, of the new State Pupil Placement Board. I offered my services in working with the Board and requested that the Board let me know of any help I could give as I worked with superintendents and local school board members. The new Placement Board is very anxious to be of service, and it would like for local school boards to make recommendations as to assignment of Negro pupils to white schools. I told these gentlemen that the pattern which they were initiating would be of much help to the State and to local school divisions. The State Placement Board is approving all those "not opposed" by the local school boards, and in some cases, it is assigning others.

In talking with the superintendents, I feel the attitude in Virginia is growing more moderate rather fast, and most superintendents have accepted the fact that something must be done when they receive applications. It is gratifying to find these superintendents anxious to do some thinking on plans to be used in their special localities.

First, I shall give some of the more significant developments in a few of those localities which I have visited previously.

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

When I visited Prince Edward County about two months ago, the superintendent was reluctant to talk very much about the situation. He was

one of the first superintendents that I saw at this conference, and he approached me apologetically stating he wanted to talk with me, that he felt he had shown some reluctance in talking in our previous conference. He feels that many people there are growing tired of the present inadequate arrangement and are becoming more moderate in their thinking; however, they lack the courage to speak their minds in the open, fearing boycotts and other reprisals from some of the extremists. The situation there is more confused because of the recent litigation which has named the State school officials along with the local ones as defendants in an attempt to force the State Board of Education to operate the schools since the locality has refused to do so. Despite the fact that the Court may force the reopening of the schools, the people are going ahead with plans for a new building. The most encouraging highlight is that the superintendent is beginning to speak out for public schools.

PULASKI COUNTY

Superintendent Critzer, who placed Negro pupils in the white high school in September, stated in reply to my question, "How are things going in Pulaski?" "It is amazing how quietly everything has worked out".

HOPEWELL

Superintendent Smith said he had given copies of the brochure which I left with him to his board members, and they appreciated them and had read them with much interest.

FAIRFAX COUNTY

When I talked to Superintendent Woodson earlier in the year, he and his board had worked out a stair-step plan similar to Nashville in which they offered no objection to the State Pupil Placement Board assigning three children to be admitted to first and second grades, plus two others if they could provide birth certificates. This would be five out of a total of 31 applying. The State Board approved the procedure of the local school board. However, the other 26 appealed, and the Judge took the position that since only about two per cent of the school population was Negro and he saw no problem in admitting others, he ordered 19 more to be admitted. One of the seven remaining was a senior, and it was thought not good education to transfer her; three lived nearer Negro schools and were denied on that basis which left three who were referred to the local board for further study, after which the local board recommended their admission also. This made a total of 27 admitted out of 31 applying. Since Superintendent Woodson was not present at the conference, I obtained the above information from Mr. B. S. Hilton, Executive Secretary of the State Pupil Placement Board.

In my opinion, this action points up the fact the Federal Judges are studying local situations trying to determine the speed with which the transition can be made. Farther south, Nashville, Knoxville and New Orleans, for example, the slower stair-step plan seems to be acceptable. In areas farther north, such as, Deleware and Fairfax County, Virginia, where there is more moderate thinking, the speed is faster.

It would be too much duplication to mention all the places; such as, Roanoke and Charlottesville, where there are no significant changes.

Some of the new places will be reported on briefly. In many cases, it was an exchange of greetings, usually with the statement, "We have had no applications".

WISE COUNTY

Superintendent Kelly and I had a rather long conference, and he is quite interested in the stair-step plan when he receives applications. I explained to him what happened in Fairfax County, and since he had only about five per cent of his 12,000 school enrollment Negro, the chances were that he would be asked to assign all who apply. I was principal of one of his high schools in 1926-27, and he and I agreed that he would have no or very little trouble. There are only two Negro schools in the County, a high and elementary combination at Big Stone Gap and an elementary for grades 1 - 5 at Coeburn.

FRANKLIN COUNTY

Superintendent Ramsey stated that they had received no applications, but the Negroes were rather well mixed in the white areas, and he expected some applications soon. About 15 per cent of the 6500 pupils are Negro.

CAMPBELL COUNTY

Superintendent Fray feels that his Negro pupils are quite satisfied, and he expects no applications in the near future. About 25 per cent of the 8000 pupils are Negro.

ALBEMARLE COUNTY

This County surrounds Charlottesville. Superintendent Cale has had no applications, but they have allowed state tuition grants to some of their white pupils to go to the Charlottesville desegregated schools. Approximately 20 per cent of the 6000 pupils are Negro.

CLARKE COUNTY

This is up in Senator Harry F. Byrd's territory. Superintendent Burton reported no applications and apparently didn't expect any. About 20 per cent of the 2000 pupils are Negro.

FLOYD COUNTY

This County has already desegregated its high schools. Six of the 17 Negroes who had been transported to a senior high school outside the County are now attending the white high schools in the County. The change took place smoothly. * See page 5.

DANVILLE CITY

This City is in the middle of the massive-resistance-minded Southside. However, Superintendent Bonner was rather encouraging in that he and the NAACP lawyers are working together, and it seems they are waiting for the "climate" to change. He feels it is getting more and more moderate.

DINWIDDIE COUNTY

Another Southside County with 59 per cent of the school enrollment of 4400 is Negro. Superintendent Scarborough has received no applications.

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY

This County is near Richmond and has a school enrollment of 16,000 with 12 per cent Negro. According to Superintendent Thompson, no applications have been received.

HENRY COUNTY

This is a Southwest Virginia County with a school enrollment of 10,000 pupils with about 29 per cent Negro. No applications have been received.

FALLS CHURCH

Falls Church is a small city on the edge of Fairfax County in Northern Virginia. There are only 22 Negroes in a school enrollment of 2100 pupils, and these are transported to Fairfax County Negro schools. There has been no objection to this arrangement so far, according to Superintendent Schmitt, and no applications to white schools have been made.

The Executive Secretary of the State Pupil Placement Board said the Board has set a definite date for applications for transfers to be in their hands for processing, which is July 1.

Mr. Muse and I have proved ourselves very accurate forecasters. The number of Negroes assigned to white schools in Virginia has reached the 200 mark, which we predicted for the second year. I doubt that we can do this well again in our forecasts, but from all signs, the number will continue to increase somewhat more rapidly.

* VIRGINIA

Since typing this report, I read an associated press item on November 15 that the State Pupil Placement Board had assigned Louise Price to the Check High School in Floyd County, Virginia. Six Negro pupils previously had been enrolled in the 225 - pupil school. The Floyd County assignment increased to 204, the number of Negroes enrolled in 37 formerly all-white schools in Virginia.

At the same meeting, the Placement Board rejected "without prejudice" the requests of seven Negroes from Hopewell and one from Prince George County for transfers to white schools. The applications were filed beyond the Board's deadline of 60 days prior to the opening of school. The "without prejudice" rejection means the pupils may file new requests for the 1961-62 school year prior to July 1 which is the Board's new cut-off date.

Brewbaker - November 14, 1960

Fulton County Public Schools
Atlanta

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
November 14, 1960

This trip was planned to attend the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, but before leaving Norfolk I had invitations to meet with and talk to two groups of Parent-Teacher members in Fulton County, and other conferences developed after my arrival in Atlanta, which extended my visit for four days, November 8 - 12, 1960.

It was a pleasure to visit for the first time the new office of Southern Regional Council, and I was quite impressed with the improvement over the old set-up. I attended the informal get-together in the new quarters on the night of November 9 and the meeting of the Board at Atlanta University of November 10. It was a good meeting, and it gave to us new staff members an opportunity to get acquainted with the Board and to appreciate the able leadership of the members.

FULTON COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A representative of the Parent-Teacher Council of Fulton County Schools had written to me about the possibility of my coming to Atlanta on November 17 to speak to some of their groups. Since I was planning to be in Atlanta a week previous to the proposed meeting, I requested that the meeting be moved up a week which they did.

Superintendent West and I had planned sometime ago to have lunch together on November 9, but instead we were both invited to attend the luncheon meeting of the Fulton County PTA Council in the YMCA. After the luncheon, I spoke to them on the Norfolk situation. They were so interested and their attention so inspiring that the meeting lasted from 12:30 to 2 P. M. I was speaking and answering questions during that period. There were approximately 75 leaders present from the 55 County school PTA's. Practically each school was represented.

On Thursday night, November 10, I spoke to a combined group of PTA's at Headland High School in East Point. Mr. Ralph McClelland of the Georgia State Legistature shared the program with me. He explained the Georgia school laws and was strong in his conviction that all school closing laws should be changed. I commented, "If Georgia had enough legislators like Mr. McClelland, there would be no trouble". Those present, feared they didn't have enough like him. The meeting had been arranged hurriedly, but more than 100 PTA members, representing nine different schools, were present.

After the meeting with the PTA Council, Mrs. C. H. Dallas, of the Sandy Springs School area, invited me to speak to a combined group of

five or more PTA's on December 6. I accepted the invitation and shall plan to come by on my way to Nashville, Memphis, Little Rock and Pine Bluff, the first part of December. I shall be unable to make the Florida trip until January, which I believe will be better.

Superintendent West is very pleased that his parents are showing this interest, and his invitation to me to work with them is most cordial.

ATLANTA

In addition to attending the meeting of the Southern Regional Council Board, I had the pleasure on Friday morning, November 11, of meeting Mayor Hartsfield. Superintendent Paul West arranged the appointment for me with the Mayor. City Hall was closed, with the exception of the public schools administration offices, but Mayor Hartsfield was there and greeted me in his warm, pleasant manner. I could see that he likes to talk and told me how disillusioned and discouraged he had been recently with the action of some of the Negroes. He said the way the Negroes acted on the one hand and the white radicals on the other made his life rather difficult. His displeasure about the Negro vote has appeared in the papers.

Since the school administration offices were open, I went up to speak to Superintendent Letson of the Atlanta Schools. He was in a staff meeting, and I offered to leave my card saying "Hello", but his secretary took my card in to him, and he came out and talked sometime. He told me that he felt there was taking place in Atlanta a "terrific change" toward the more moderate attitude, and he seemed quite optimistic over this. He and Paul West insist that they want to talk with me whenever I come to Atlanta which is also encouraging. This attitude, to talk about the matter, is developing generally.

On Friday afternoon, November 11, at the request of Paul Rilling, I met with Charles Wittenstein, Area Director of the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Wittenstein is interested in his organization encouraging with financial aid certain school personnel in the Atlanta schools to participate next summer in a workshop on Human Relations. We discussed some of the more tactful ways to handle this rather delicate matter. We realize there are extremists who resent any plans or preparations. I assured him that he would find Superintendent Letson a very sympathetic, understanding person.

On each trip, I find the attitude of people generally continues to improve.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

December 19, 1960

Dear Harold,

Returned last night from a visit to my Mother and found your nice letter of December 12.

I'm happy that you like the article in the Virginia Journal of Education and I'm sending you under separate cover two more copies of it and ~~and~~ one copy of the Roanoke Collegian. I'm glad you are sending the Journal to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Thought you might like a copy of the Collegian for the same or another purpose.

I wish for you, your family, the office staff and their families the best Christmas and most prosperous New year ever. Sincerely,

Brew.

P.S. Expect to see your journal 12.

Brewbaker***News

Brewbaker - December 8, 1960

Little Rock, Ark.
Pine Bluff, Ark.
Dollarway School District, Ark.
Memphis, Tenn.
Nashville, Tenn.
Davidson County, Tenn.
Atlanta, Ga.
    Kathleen Mitchell School - PTA
    Sandy Springs High School
    Hope

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
December 8, 1960

For sometime, I have been wanting to visit Little Rock and Nashville to talk with the superintendents about their programs, for I felt they were making satisfactory progress at both places. There were other cities along the way which I wished to visit also, so this turned out to be rather a lengthy trip. However, I found it most interesting and I believe quite worthwhile.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

When I telephoned Terrell Powell, Superintendent of Schools of Little Rock that I intended to visit him, he was most interested in my coming and asked that I see him Monday morning, November 28, as he had to leave on Monday night for a speaking engagement in Iowa. I left Norfolk the afternoon of November 26 by the Seaboard Railway and arrived in Little Rock at midnight, Sunday, November 27.

Superintendent Powell and School Board Chairman Everette Tucker met with me Monday morning at 9:30, and we had a most interesting two hour conference. Both remembered their visit with us in Norfolk in July 1959 and said they felt obligated to us for the help they received. Upon returning home after the visit, they set up a local pupil assignment plan which they have been using quite successfully.

The Rainey Private High School, which was set up when the schools were in the throes of being desegregated, was discontinued just before the public high schools were reopened in August 1959, and there is no private school organized specially to take pupils who object to desegregated schools.

Superintendent Powell stated that there were some incidents on the opening day in August 1959, but after the first day and up to this time, there has not been any except those that would normally occur. In August 1959, eight Negro pupils were enrolled in the white senior high schools, five at Central and three at Hall. At the close of the 1959-60 session, according to the approved assignment plan, all White and Negro pupils were assigned for the coming year. Five new Negro pupils were assigned at Central and three more at Hall by the Board on a volunteer basis. However, when these were added to the eight assigned the year before, it left only 11 for the second year or now. Two of those assigned the first year had graduated, two had dropped out for various reasons, and one little girl requested to go back to Horace Mann, the Negro high school.

This past September, 90 white pupils requested transfers to schools other than those they would normally attend for various reasons, and hearings were granted. Of this number, 29 didn't appear for the hearing and of the 61 who appeared, the request of 22 were granted and 39 denied. In

the case of Negroes, 80 filed requests for transfers, 40 didn't appear for the hearing, five were granted transfers to other Negro schools and 35 were denied. It should be repeated that the eight Negroes assigned to white schools were voluntarily assigned by the Little Rock School Board before any applications were made. In my opinion, this is real progress.

?!

Desegregation in Little Rock is in the senior high schools only. There were 90 applications by Negro pupils to be assigned to the junior high schools this past September, but the judge upheld the School Board in limiting desegregation to the senior high schools for the present.

In summary, there are seven Negro pupils at present at Central High School which has an enrollment of 1700, and four at Hall High which has an enrollment of 900. Horace Mann, the Negro high school, has only Negro pupils, and Tech High, with only 160 pupils, has all white pupils. This is a school for boys who are slow learners, and the feeling is it would cause trouble to assign Negroes here. It is doubtful that they would want to attend anyway.

Both Mr. Tucker and Superintendent Powell feel that the attitude in Arkansas is becoming more moderate, and the school people are interested now in discussing the situation. It is my feeling that the situation is very very good, and the school people are making progress as fast as they can safely do so.

Most of us would be interested in seeing Central High School since it has been in the news so much, so I went out to see it. It is a very massive, pretentious building of the traditional type. I drove by Horace Mann, the Negro high school, on my way to Pine Bluff, and it is modern, but quite unpretentious, more like you find in rural agricultural areas.

PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

In checking on the best way to reach Pine Bluff and Dollarway, I decided on the Avis Rent-a-Car system which had headquarters across the street from the Albert Pike Hotel where I was staying. I spent the entire day, November 29, visiting in these school districts.

My appointment with Dr. John A. Trice, Superintendent of Pine Bluff schools, was at 10 A. M., and he, Harvey McGeorge, Chairman of the Board, and Paul Young, another member of the Board, met with me. They impressed me with the fact that they had to make an important decision soon and preferred the conference to be as confidential as possible. I assured them that all of my conferences were confidential unless the school people whom I was visiting wish to give publicity to them. However, after we talked for two hours, they invited me to attend the Rotary Club meeting with them which I did. This is a large club of over 200 members, and the speaker of

the day was another Virginian from Richmond, Dr. James A. Jones, I believe, President of Union Theological Seminary.

The Pine Bluff School Board started working on a plan of compliance in the summer of 1955, but before they put the plan in operation, the Little Rock episode occurred which dampened their enthusiasm and courage. On September 7, 1956, the School Board of Pine Bluff School District No. 3 adopted a resolution expressing their willingness and set up certain criteria as guides. The resolution begins:

> "Over a year ago the Pine Bluff School Board appointed a Citizens' committee, composed of both whites and negroes, to assist the Board in working out a feasible plan to comply with the United States Supreme Court's decision relative to integration."

The plan was delayed for two years in an attempt, first, to complete a building program, and then came Little Rock. The plan simply is to begin desegregation with the first grade and use the stair-step method. It has not been announced up to this time, hence the reason for some secrecy. The Board and the Superintendent are trying to decide whether it would be best to announce the plan soon which would "invite" Negroes to apply to enter white schools this coming September, or to postpone still further. The decision will depend on what can be determined as to the climate of the City and in what spirit the announcement of the plan will be accepted. They feel obligated to do something in light of the state adopted Pupil Placement Plan. This group is doing some good thinking, and I believe they will come through all right.

DOLLARWAY SCHOOL DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

The Dollarway school is in a separate district in Jefferson County. Charles Fallis is superintendent. There is some overlapping of municipal and school areas between Pine Bluff and Dollarway, but the schools are separate, drawing pupils from each others municipal areas. Superintendent Fallis told me some things about the near riot, at a Board meeting, in 1959 when three high school Negro pupils applied to enter the white schools, and the Board was giving them a hearing. The local Federal Judge ordered them admitted after the School Board denied them admission, and upon appeal to the Federal Circuit Court, the local Judge was reversed, and the School Board was asked to submit a plan. The stair-step plan, beginning with the first grade, was submitted to become effective in September 1960, and one Negro first grader was admitted to the white school this year. The Superintendent stated that the Federal Circuit Court noted when it reversed the decision of the district Federal Judge, that it had learned through the press the plan would be submitted and that one child had been approved for assignment to a white school. Final approval by the Court has not been received,

but Superintendent Fallis feels it will be approved and if so, they can make progress without further incidents.

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Stimbert came to my room at the Peabody Hotel about 10:30 A. M., and we had a very interesting conference which extended through lunch. About two years ago, a Negro applied to enter a white school, and he was denied on a technicality. He has not reapplied, and no one else has applied. A petition for class action, signed by 100 Negro citizens, was filed with the School Board in July 1960. Most of the signers of the petition are not bona fide residents of the City of Memphis. This was a general petition, simply asking that segregated schools be discontinued. The local Federal Judge was scheduled to hear the petition on December 7, and I have not heard what the decision is.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Oliver of the Nashville schools seemed very happy to tell me about their plan which started with the first grade four years ago and is now in the fourth year, and desegregation extends through the fourth grade. The first three years, they enrolled only 44 Negro children in the white schools, but this present year, they enrolled 143, making a total of 187. Superintendent Oliver attributes the large increase to renewed activity on the part of the NAACP. Mr. Oliver is quite pleased with the progress, and I feel the following report is of sufficient interest to reproduce it:

For the month ending October 28, 1960, the following table shows the negro membership by grades together with the per cent of negromembership in grades 1 - 4 for each of the predominately white schools in which negro students are enrolled.

School	Number Negro Students (Grades)					Membership Grades 1-4	Per Cent of Negro Students In Grades 1-4
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Total		
Buena Vista	17	12	15	11	55	233	23.60
Clemons	3	4	1	3	11	331	3.32
Cotton	1		1		2	228	.87
Fall	12	3	5	8	28	268	10.44
Fehr	13	6	4	8	31	273	11.35
Glenn	10	3	7	3	23	360	6.38
Jones	12	5	4	7	28	314	8.91
Kirkpatrick		2	2	1	5	368	1.35
Lipscomb		1	1		2	150	1.33
Warner	1	1			2	524	.38
Total	69	37	40	41	187	3049	6.13

The following is a frequency distribution showing the grade and sex of the negro pupils enrolled in the predominately white schools and whether the students have enrolled for the first time in desegregated schools or have previously been enrolled in desegregated schools.

	New Students in Predominately White Schools				Students Previously Enrolled In Predominately White Schools				Totals		
	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	4th Grade	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	4th Grade	New	Previous	Grand Total
Boys	37	15	13	16	1	5	8	2	81	16	97
Girls	31	8	7	16		9	12	7	62	28	90
Total	68	23	20	32	1	14	20	9	143	44	187

Of the total number of negro students enrolled in predominately white schools 97 or 51.87 per cent are boys and 90 or 48.13 per cent are girls.

The following table shows the per cent of the negro students in the grades 1 through 4 who are students in a predominately white school for the first time.

Grades	Total Number or Negro Students	Number Enrolled for The First Time	Per Cent of Total Number of Negro Students
1	69	68	98.55
2	37	23	62.16
3	40	20	50.00
4	41	32	78.04
Totals	187	143	76.47

The total enrollment in Nashville is about 30,000 pupils with about 35 per cent Negro.

DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Superintendent Moss of Davidson County had planned to meet with Superintendent Oliver and me, but due to an emergency, he sent his Director of Research, Mr. F. A. Detchon. Davidson County is under Court order to desegregate through the fourth grade in January 1961, to put it on the same basis as Nashville. They had asked for the first grade

only, but the Judge ruled it would be better for the two systems so close together/~~should~~ to have the same grades desegregated. Davidson has 85 schools, and about 31 of these could be affected by desegregation. There are only 2,000 Negroes in a school registration of 47,000 pupils. The NAACP has asked that the teachers be desegregated also which is giving the school officials some concern.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

My trip to Atlanta was primarily to speak before two Parent-Teacher groups; however, it gave me an opportunity to pay three visits to headquarters, and I received a boost in morale from some nice remarks and quite a bit of help in planning the January trip through North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Before arriving in Atlanta, I had the pleasure of eating breakfast with Superintendent John Letson of Atlanta at the Peabody Hotel in Memphis. Superintendent Letson seems to be growing more optimistic and told me about the recent action of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce supporting public education.

Kathleen Mitchell School PTA, in the College Park area, had invited me to speak at a meeting of members from several PTAs in this section. I spoke there on Monday night, December 5, before about 30 members. The talk with questions and answers lasted for two hours, and there was considerable interest shown.

Sandy Springs High School was the place of the PTA meeting on Tuesday night, December 6. Over 100 attended the meeting from several PTAs in this area, and a few came in from DeKalb County. This program also lasted for two hours, and more interest was shown here than the night before, and many good questions were asked. These people are doing some good thinking.

Hope has requested that I try to arrange to speak before the Lions Club at Carrollton, Georgia on January 12, 1961 which gave me an opportunity to have a meeting with the leaders of this group. When Mrs. Tom Breeden, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Hope learned of my desire to meet with them, she arranged a luncheon meeting through Mrs. William Pauley, Chairman of the State Organizing for Hope, at the Druid Hills Country Club. The following six officers of the Hope organization attended the meeting, which I am sure was mutually beneficial:

Mrs. William Pauley (Frances)
Chairman State Organizing for Hope

Mrs. Beverly Downing, Athens
Chairman Executive Committee, Hope

Mrs. Ross Green (Mary)
Political Action Committee, Hope

Mrs. David Nieman (Judy)
Chairman Public Information Committee, Hope

Mrs. Frederick Robin (Florence)
Public Information Committee, Hope

Mrs. Tom Breeden (Fran)
Chairman Board of Directors, Hope

I am happy to have the privilege of knowing these ladies, and I am most favorably impressed with their ability and their efforts. I am looking forward to working with them.

ANNUAL REPORT

BRIEF SUMMARY OF YEARS WORK
July 1, 1960 -- July 1, 1961
by
J. J. Brewbaker

This report will contain no details or reactions of my visits, as these have been included in the nineteen reports which I have made during the year.

These nineteen reports cover nineteen separate trips which required 129 days in which I visited 92 school systems (a few repeats are included), and attended seven different meetings. In these meetings, I had an opportunity to meet a number of new people and talked over problems of desegregation with 55 different individuals, most of whom were school superintendents.

My visits have included most of the larger school systems in all the southern states except Alabama and Mississippi. The meetings which I attended were the Associated Public School Systems in New York, and a Zone Meeting of this organization in Chapel Hill, the American Association of School Administrators, the National Education Association, the meeting of the Virginia Administrators, the Virginia Education Association, and the Board of Directors' meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

In making these trips, I traveled 24,410 miles; 13,565 by automobile and 10,845 by train.

This has been a most pleasant year in my association with Mr. Ben Muse, Director of the Project, and Mr. Harold Fleming and Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Directors, and all members of the Southern Regional Council staff. On the whole, my visits have been enjoyable and informative. I feel that I have learned much, and I hope I have helped others during the year.

ANNUAL REPORT

BRIEF SUMMARY OF YEAR'S WORK
July 1, 1961 -- July 1, 1962
by
J. J. Brewbaker

At the conclusion of each of my twelve trips, I have made a detailed report of findings, reactions, and observations; therefore, this report will contain none of these.

These twelve reports cover twelve separate trips which consumed 97 days in time and enabled me to visit 76 school systems and attend six different educational meetings. The attendance at these meetings gave me the opportunity to renew acquaintances and to make new contacts all of which has proved very valuable in my work.

In making these trips, I have traveled a total of 13,590 miles; 11,420 by automobile and 2,170 by train. They have taken me to most of the larger cities in the South except Mississippi and Birmingham, Alabama which I have planned to visit this coming August. I have visited Mobile and Montgomery already.

This has been an unusually pleasant year, and I have found in this second year of my work remarkable changes for the better in attitudes, sentiments, and in the general climate of the southern communities.

BREWBAKER REPORTS

(Final report before retiring from SRC - 1963)

~~Summary~~

3-Year Summary Report of Brewbaker's activities with SLP from July 1, 1960 - May 31, 1963

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PA ✓
SB ✓
VJ ✓
ML ✓
MJ - file

May 31, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

First, I wish to thank you for the copy of the "statement" made at the May Executive Committee meeting of the Southern Regional Council. It is a very fine statement.

I am enclosing copy of my report, May 12 - 23, 1963 and copy of the Summary Report for the three years, July 1, 1960 - May 31, 1963; also copy of a recent complimentary letter from Judge Sidney O. Smith, Jr. of Gainesville, Georgia, which I answered in like manner. I shall continue to give information and send requests to your office. The latter part of the enclosed May report contains requested information I am sending out at this time.

Les, I wish to thank you for three very pleasent and interesting years. I have enjoyed meeting and working with you, your staff, and the members of the Board of Directors. I shall be happy to continue to give whatever information I can on request.

Please give my best wishes to your family and members of the staff.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 3

2 p. Summary
Report only
July 1, 1960 –
May 31, 1963
(omit 3rd page)

Viterbi, Andrew J

Principles of digital communication and coding / Andrew J. Viterbi, Jim K. Omura. — New York : McGraw-Hill, c1979.

xiii, 560 p. : ill. ; 25 cm. — (Communications and information theory) (McGraw-Hill series in electrical engineering)

Bibliography: p. 547-552.
Includes index.
ISBN 0-07-067516-3

1. Digital communications. 2. Coding theory. I. Omura, Jim K., joint author. II. Title. III. Series. IV. Series: McGraw-Hill series in electrical engineering.

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SUMMARY REPORT
of
J. J. BREWBAKER, PUBLIC SCHOOL CONSULTANT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
July 1, 1960 -- May 31, 1963

This summary covers briefly, the main statistical aspects of my work for the approximate three years that I have served as Public School Consultant for the Southern Regional Council, Inc. The details have been reported after each trip, and I shall report here only a few examples that seem unusual.

It was agreed when I accepted this position that I would work about one-third of my time. During the three-year period, I worked 337 days and traveled approximately 63,270 miles. As I do not travel by air, 34,380 miles were traveled by automobile and 28,890 miles by train and bus.

It was my privilege to travel in eleven states and the District of Columbia. I visited the larger cities and larger county school divisions in all states except Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas. In Arkansas, I visited Little Rock and Pine Bluff; in Mississippi, the University of Southern Mississippi at Hattiesburg; and in Texas, Dallas, and conferred with the Superintendent of Schools of Houston while in Dallas. The Superintendents of Mississippi felt the time had not come for them to talk at home with an outside consultant; however, I talked with several of them at last February's meeting of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The states that I visited were Alabama, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The cities are recorded in my reports after each visit.

In making these visits, I made 42 trips and held interviews, conferences, and attended meetings 217 times. This does not mean that I visited 217 different places because in a number of them I made two or more visits. Nor does this number include all the interviews and conferences because at meetings; such as, the American Association of School Administrators, Virginia Education Association, State Superintendents meetings, State School Board meetings, National Education Association, and Associated Public School Systems, I had a number of interviews and conferences each day during my attendance. At these meetings, many people would take advantage of talking with me rather than have me visit them at home. Some school people are still being terrorized at home.

One of the most interesting and pleasant meetings of this nature was the Annual Conference of the Alabama Association of School Administrators in Mobile, November 11, 12, 13, 1962. I was invited to attend as a guest by I. J. Browder, Superintendent of Gadsden City Schools and Dr. Raymond Christian, Vice-President of the organization and Superintendent

of the Huntsville Schools. I was treated with true southern hospitality and met practically everyone of the Alabama superintendents, and had the privilege of talking with many of them individually and in groups. This illustrates in general the type of meetings which I have attended, except the national meetings, give opportunities to cover a broader field.

In all the places I visited, I observed improvements in attitudes and climate except one. This was Sumter, South Carolina. On my first visit, I noted a strong feeling of non-compliance on the part of the Superintendent and Vice-Chairman of the School Board. This was January 9, 1961. After more than two years, April 16, 1963, I revisited Sumter and talked with the Superintendent and Vice-Chairman of the Board again. The attitude of both of these men apparently had hardened against compliance. They were among the few whom I met in favor of state tuition grants and said that the desegregation of Clemson College had not had a good effect.

At the other extreme is Baton Rouge, Louisiana. When I visited Baton Rouge the first time, August 11, 1960, I did not see the Superintendent of Schools. At that time, friction was developing between the Superintendent and the School Board, and a little later, the Superintendent who was apparently more liberal-minded than the School Board was replaced by one who was more in accord with the then School Board's thinking. My first visit was to attend an organizational meeting of Citizens to form a Committee to save the public schools.

My next visit was on May 16, 1962, and I saw the new Superintendent and his assistant. At that time, they were in a mood for non-compliance; in fact, the Superintendent would not even admit the inevitability of desegregating the schools. Almost one year later, on April 24, 1963, I visited Baton Rouge on the Superintendent's invitation. He and his associates were very happy to see me and said the school board had asked the administration to submit a plan for the desegregation of the schools; that they could not see the welfare of the children and the public schools suffer because of a disagreement in principle. In the meantime, I understand, the people had elected a more liberal-minded school board.

There are many examples I could repeat here, but I think these are typical. The first one is alone in its extreme position, and the last one shows more change for the better than most others. However, all others are either between these two with more favoring the liberal attitude or much more liberal than either, for example, more like or approaching the climate that has developed in Charlotte, North Carolina. The states of North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia should, with a few exceptions, experience very little trouble.

It seems to be that school people at this time have available sufficient information of plans and practices that have been successful and

those that have not worked well, to approach their problems in the light of the experience of others in such a way to assure them reasonable success.

It has been a pleasure to try to do a small bit, and to visit so many old friends and meet interesting new ones. I sincerely hope the problems of desegregation will more and more be resolved in an intelligent, mature, and non-violent manner.

BREWBAKER REPORTS

1960 - 1963

SCHOOL SUPTS. and/or ASSISTANTS

TOTAL: 220

STATE DIRECTORS OF INSTRUCTION AND SCHOOL BD. CHAIRMEN AND/OR MEMBE

TOTAL: 36

OFFICIALS OF SOS-TYPE GROUPS

TOTAL: 9

GOVT. OFFICIALS (Nat'l & State) and CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

TOTAL: 10

GOVERNORS AND MAYORS

TOTAL: 2

EDITORS

TOTAL: 1

NOTEWORTHY ACTIVITIES

Special BREWBAKER Press Conference - August 9, 1960, New Orleans, La.
Reporters and photographers from 2 Newspapers:
Times-Picayune & New Orleans Statex Item

Reporters and camera crews from 3 TV Stations: WDSU; WWL; WVUE.

Reporters from 2 radio stations: WWL-AM; WDSU-AM.

****

Nov. 1-5 Attended annual conf. of VA. Association of School Admns, and Va. Ed. Assoc.

Nov. 14, 1960 Spoke to 55 County School PTA's (Fulton County)

Dec. 5-6, 1960 Spoke to special PTA gatherings, Atlanta, Ga.

Jan. 11, 1961 Spoke at Emory University to group of Univ. professors.

Jan. 12, 1961 Spoke to Lions Club, Carrollton, Ga.

Mar. 31, 1961 Attended American Assoc. of School Admns., Atlantic, N. J.

June 25-30, 1961 Attended Nat'l Education Assoc., Atlantic, N.J.

July 19, 1961 Attended Summer Conf. for Supts. and School Bd. Members, Univ. of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Brewbaker Reports - Cont'd.

NOTEWORTHY ACTIVITIES - continued

July 23, 1961 Attended Annual Mtg. of Associated Public School Systems, New York, New York.

Oct. 5-7, 1961 Attended Annual Mtg. of Virginia School Bd. Association Virginia Beach

Oct. 30 - Nov. 1, 1961 Attended Virginia Education Association, Richmond

Feb. 17-21, 1962 Attended AASA Conf., Atlantic City, N.J.

Apr. 9-11, 1962 Annual Mtg. of Va. Supts. Meeting, Roanoke, Va.

Oct. 16, 1962 Attended specially arranged conference of 7 Supts. of of Northern Ala. (Birmingham)*

Oct. 18, 1962 Attended second specially arranged conference of 5 Supts. (Birmingham) *

Oct. 29-Nov. 3, 1962 Attended Virginia Education Association (Richmond, Va.)

Nov. 11-13, 1962 Attended Annual Conf. of Ala. Association of School Admns. (Mobile, Ala.) Brewbaker chaired, at this meeting a specially arranged round-table discussion with 6 school superintendents*

*These figures included in total number of superintendents reached during Brewbaker's tenure with the SLP.

Mar. 11-13, 1963 Attended Annual Conf. of Va. Superintendents Roanoke, Va.

Feb. 16-20, 1963 Attended Annual AASA conference, Washingtn, D. C.

JULIAN M. LONGLEY

Apartment 10 E
1559 Peachtree St. N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia.
June 29, 1961
Tn. 4-3197

Dr. Lesley Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for suggesting through Mr. Muse, during our telephone conversation today, that I hand you a biographical sketch of my self, education, and business experience.

This, I am delighted to do in support of my expressed desire to become associated with you. The Southern Regional Council is, in my opinion, confronting a challenge which offers an opportunity for a most rewarding accomplishment in elevating the human values in a large segment of our people throughout the Southeastern states. In striving to raise the levels of economics, culture, education, and social order within this area, you are rendering a highly creative service to our country. In this, I would like to have a part.

Please feel free to verify any of the content of this letter or its enclosure as you deem proper, and call on me for such additional information as you may require.

Please convey my regards to each of your associates, and tell them for me that I shall look forward with pleasure to knowing them, and dedicating my best efforts for the attainment of the goals of your organization, in an orderly and constructive manner.

Cordially yours,

Julian M. Longley

Julian M. Longley.

Encl:

JML/s.

June 29, 1961.

Biographical outline: Julian M. Longley.

Born at LaGrange, Troup County, Georgia, June 6, 1901,
Son of the late Judge and Mrs Frank P. Longley.
Attended elementary and high school there, graduating in 1919.
Worked during high school vacations, and after school hours teaching grown people how to drive automobiles and doing free-lance automobile service work for private owners.
Worked two summers with the local ice plant making platform sales, accounting for ice tickets issued, checking trucks out at five o'clock every morning and back in at eight o'clock each night, seven days per week. Earned $5.00 per week for that assignment.

1919-1921: Worked a year in a textile mill at LaGrange for experience, and for preparation for pursuing a college course in Textile Engineering.
Attended Staunton Military Acadamy one year (1920-21) for a refresher course prior to going to college.

1921-1925: Enrolled at Clemson College, Clemson, S. C., in the textile school. Worked in various cotton mills during summer vacations while attending Clemson, except the summer of 1924 during which I attended the senior R. O. T. C. training camp at Fort McClellan, Ala.
Graduated from Clemson in June 1925 with,

Major in Textile Engineering, B. S. Degree.
Minored in: Sociology (elective), industrial psychology, English, Rhetoric, and Composition.

Extra curricular activities: Sophomore, Junior, and Senior student manager of athletics in charge of ticket sales for athletic contests, and worked with the college authorities in planning road trips and accounting for athletic equipment.
Staff writer and assistant editor for the "Tiger", College Paper, and served as advertising manager and assistant editor for the College Annual during junior and senior years.

Following graduation from Clemson, returned to LaGrange and commenced working through The Dixie Cotton Mills.
Started as a common laborer at ten cents per hour's work.
Progressed through the various levels of machine tender, fixer, foreman, overseer, and assistant superintendent in charge of personnel, production and cost control, and village management.

1925-1935: Worked continuously with The Dixie Cotton Mills.

During 1934, The West Point Manufacturing Company, West Point, Georgia, purchased the Dixie Mills, shortly following which, I was promoted and made assistant to the plant manager at West Point's Langdale, Alabama Division. Continued at Langdale until 1938 at which time I was selected to become manager of the Dalton, Georgia plant of The American Thread Company.

1938-1945: Served The American Thread Company as Manager at Dalton, then General manager, Dalton-Bristol, Tenn., and during the war, persuaded the company to purchase the vacant mill property at Tallapoosa, Ga., which we engineered and equipped with surplus idle machinery from the company's New England plants, following which I was made Southern Manager of manufacturing in charge of Dalton, Bristol, and Tallapoosa.

During the war, while serving with American Thread Company, acted as a member of the Northwest Georgia War Manpower Commission which, then, was headquartered in Rome, Ga. Planned and implemented a training-replacement program in conjunction with our local draft board for the orderly replacement of men called into the armed services which, I have been told, became a model for one of the vocational training services of the Federal Government, in the local area.

1945 to date: Self employed. Organized and built the Dalton Yarn Mills for the manufacture of coarse cotton yarn to be sold to the chenille industry in that vicinity. Sold interest in that venture and organized the Dalton Spring Bed Company for the manufacture of low-cost box springs and innerspring mattresses from by-product material from local tufted textile plants. Sold same in 1958.

1958 to date: have done personnel counselling and consulting with young men in career development. For two years in this connection, represented a well known correspondence school specializing in business administration training.

FAMILY STATUS: Married to the former Mary B. Robertson, of Clemson, S. C., daughter of the late Mr. B. F. Robertson, South Carolina State Chemist, and sister to the late Ben Robertson, author and war correspondent.

Have two grown sons. Julian Longley, Jr., is an attorney and accountant in Dalton, Ga. Ben Longley is credit manager for the Hardwick Stove Company, Cleveland, Tenn. Both of them are married and have children of their own.

Free-Lance writing: 1958-1961. Articles and essays sold to and published in The Coca-Cola Bottler, The Rotarian, Journal of The American Society of Training Directors, The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, and others.

Religion: Membership in the First Baptist Church, Dalton, Georgia. When in Atlanta over week-ends, attend the Peachtree Christian Church, First Presbyterian Church, or the Second Ponce de Leon Baptist Church.

Financial status: Mrs Longley and I own our home in Dalton, Ga., and an industrial building which is leased to an out-of-town manufacturer. This is the building in which we formerly conducted the business of the Dalton Spring Bed Company. These properties are debt free and produce some income.

Business and Civic Affiliations, past and present:

Rotary International, Member The West End Rotary Club of Atlanta. Past President, The Dalton, Georgia Rotary Club. Member, West End Business Men's Association. Member, Greater Atlanta Chapter, American Society of Training Directors. Past member and Director, The Georgia State Chamber of Commerce, The Georgia State Y. M. C. A., The Textile Manufacturer's Association of Georgia, The Textile Operating Executives Association of Ga., Served with the late Mr. C. L. Emerson as an area Director of The Committee of Economic Development. Currently, member of the Better Business Bureau of Atlanta, Inc.,

Personal References:

Mr. George L. Rice, President,
First National Bank
Dalton, Ga.

Mr. James L. Clegg,
Baptist Minister
Valley Drive
Dalton, Ga.

424-3226

Mr. Robert H. Hudson,
Training Director,
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation
Marietta, Ga.

Mr. Roger Hill
President
Economy Auto Stores
Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Edward Loveland, Ph. D.,
Director
School of Industrial Psychology
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta, Ga.

TA. 4-6321

Dr. Robert W. Carney, Ph. D.,
School of Industrial Managmnt.
Georgia Inst. Technology
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. H. L. Bowen, Vice Pres., and
Director of Personnel & Labor Relations
Georgia Power Company
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. T. M. Forbes,
Executive Vice President,
Textile Mfg. Association
of Georgia
Atlanta, Ga.

July 11, 1961

Mr. Julian M. Longley
Apartment 10 E
1559 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mr. Longley:

Mr. Benjamin Muse and I are most grateful to you for the interest you have shown in the Council. We would like to bring you into our work, as a field consultant working with Southern industrialists on questions of employment, for a trial period in which the feasibility of the service can be tested.

We see this as embracing several tasks. One would be that of opening up discussions with employers on the need for non-discriminatory employment policies and the positive recruitment of Negroes for jobs for which, traditionally, they have not been eligible. A second would be that of advising employers of how best to recruit and develop Negro skills; obviously, you could do this only in situations where advice would be welcome. A third task would be that of interpreting the President's employment order.

You would work entirely in the field, and as a member of Mr. Muse's project. It would be expected that you would consult Mr. Muse in advance when planning your itinerary and would write occasional reports to him. It is not intended, however, that you would work under anyone's supervision or close direction.

Because we cannot be sure that this endeavor is practical, I want to propose that we undertake it for a three month trial period. This, undoubtedly, is too short a period to produce results. I believe, however, that it will permit you and us to evaluate whether a continuation is desirable.

For this trial period, we would ask that you give us 3/5 of your time. We would pay you a salary at the rate of $10,000 per year. ~~Then~~, for the three month period, a total salary of $1,500 is
Thus,

contemplated.

If we decide after the trial to continue the effort, salary and time arrangements can be re-considered.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

8/18/61

Memorandum to Messrs Muse and Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,

From Julian M. Longley.

Re: Commentary on Conferences to date having to do with
Equal Employment Opportunities for Colored people.

There are certain elements which seem to be common to all conferences todate regarding our efforts in behalf of the subject matter.

(1): There is a general mixture of feeling regarding equality of employment on the part of employees in industry, consisting of fear, lest Negroes will displace white employees who have long been employed; and, prejudice against the whole matter of integrated employment which is traditional.

(2) Resentment on the part of both employees and employers against the compulsive features of order No. 10925.

(3) Feeling about this matter varies directly, in proportion to the attitudes of the several managements involved.

The more enlightened management opinion is:"Given time in which to adjust to this undertaking so that the problem may be approached with the degree of caution which it requires, we can gradually solve it in an orderly manner."
These are the ones who, taking an affirmative view, are proceeding to coach their foremen to engage in frank, open, educational discussion of the problem with their employees, in an effort to remove or reduce the intense feeling of fear toward it. Executives in establishments such as this seem glad to discuss it with your representative, and to exchange ideas concerning its orderly implementation. In most such companies, they are beginning to inventory talents and abilities of the colored people already on their pay-rolls, looking toward selection, training, and gradual re-assignment to positions better than those to which they have heretofore been confined.

Such an approach is, indeed, a sound, affirmative beginning.

A prevalent comment is, "It would be fool-hearted to rush into this thing, or to move too rapidly".

Others, more conservative, are approaching it from the legal point of view, referring the whole matter to their legal advisers for evaluation and recommendations.

In the final analysis, this is a management problem, solutions to which will test the judgement and skill of those men in industry who will administer and enforce it. It will not be an immediate solution, however, progress toward its ultimate resolution is beginning, slowly but surely.

file

July 14, 1961.

Mr. Opie L Shelton,
Executive Vice President,
The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
1301 Commerce Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Shelton:

Greetings. Congratulations to you, James Townsend, editor, and to all the members of your staff. The July issue of ATLANTA is the best yet. You have added a new high to the superior quality of your magazine. Thank you for sending me one.

How right you are. Being a Southerner these days does, in fact, put a fellow to the test. Today, and tomorrow too, those of us who were born and bred as Chattahoochee River Southerners are facing a challenge which will, indeed, test our metal.

Challenge though it be, it is fraught with opportunity for creative accomplishment. Were it not for the problem, there would be no opportunity.

In the course of your honest-to-goodness soul search, see, if you will, the vast potential which awaits us only if we measure up to the responsibility of raising the economic, intellectual, civic, and moral values of those we seek to serve. In this endeavor we must, at every opportunity, encourage forthright, open-minded, and affirmative leadership in politics, business, and in our religious activities in order to give direction and purpose to our efforts at problem solving. See, if you will, our vast and dormant waste-lands of land and mind which are crying to us for development. Please realize, and encourage those around you to realize that we can never solve our problem so long as we maintain the present low level of average education. With an average of eighth grade education for our white people in Georgia, age twenty-five and over, and an average of 4.9 grades for our colored friends, we should take action now to

elevate that level. Only by so doing can we hope to supply trained management people for an expanded industrial growth. See, too, if you will, the need for us to replace emotional hysteria with reason and agitation with truth. Then, and only then, can we expect to take action based on enlighted thinking. Let us seek seek truth by rational appraisal of ideas and test it by open-minded discussion in the market place of ideas. Let us see that we cannot move forward or upward so long as we continue to look backward with wishful thinking and immature worship of a past that is dead and gone.

Let each of us ask ourselves, "Why am I afraid to face the issues of our day, and to speak out affirmatively and boldly in behalf of what I believe"?

Should we continue indefinitely to hide our faces from the light of day, with craven souls and fearful, or shall we meet the tests which come our way with resolute heart and cheerful?

The most sublime endeavor to which we, as Southerners, can commit ourselves is to concentrate our thinking, talking, writing, and action affirmatively so as to continually direct our efforts toward resolving this unholy tumult that has lately arisen among us.

Only by the exercise of the democratic processes of honest inquiry, frank, open, and bold discussion may we hope to do so. In such an undertaking, let us be re-reminded that,

"Great minds seek and discuss ideas.
Broad minds discuss events, and
Only narrow, closed minds discuss people."

Mr. William James said of Ralph Waldo Emerson, "..... there ever shown from him the effulgence of the Universal Reason. The great Cosmic Intellect terminates and houses itself in mortal man and passing hours. Bach of us is an angle of its eternal vision."

Let each of us as Southerners ask ourselves, what is the scope of my angle of vision? How broadly do I reflect the divine intelligence with which my Creator endowed me? Or, am I neglecting to focus my intellect, reason, and action in the positive quadrant of our Southern life

Carry on sir, for the Atlanta area and the Southland that she leads and serves. There is magic in believing and doing. And there is gold to be found in leading us on to the higher levels of human value in commerce, politics, industry, and ethics and intellect that only affirmative action can attain.

Cordially yours,

Julian M. Longley,
Industrial Consultant,
Southern Regional Council.

Encl:
Copy of Origin and Aims.

JML/s.

Julian M. Longley
1559 Peachtree St., N.E. - Apt. 10 E
Atlanta 9, Ga. — TR. 4-3197

PRV
PA ✓
SM-file

July 17, 1961.

Mr. John H. Sibley,
Trust Company of Georgia,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Sibley:

You, as Chairman of the Sibley Committee, have added another accomplishment to the many you had already contributed to the best interest of Georgia.

We are now confronted with the problem of equal employment opportunity as set forth in the Executive Order by The President of The United States under date of June 7, 1961, by means of which The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity was created.

The Southern Regional Council, headquartered here, in Atlanta, has undertaken to assist in implementing the effectiveness of that order and the activity of the committee which is to administer it.

In the belief that this new development in our racial problem can be of far reaching consequence to the industrial economy of the South, and, at the same time, lend impetus to elevating the economic level of a goodly portion of our colored population, I have committed myself to act as an industrial counsellor in this particular phase of our work. One, well versed in industrial management can, I believe, make valuable contributions to the direction of such an undertaking.

This letter is my request to you to act, if you will, as a kind of informal counsellor to the counsellor to the end that your very broad angle of vision, wisdom, and your knowledge and insights of both the racial problem and our industrial structure may be focused on finding solutions as we proceed.

Please indicate when it will be convenient for you

to have me visit you for our initial discussion.

For your information, one of the operating executives at Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, with whom I spent last Friday morning, has given me copies of that company's announced policy for dealing with this matter as it pertains to their operations, along with an outline of the procedure they have commenced to follow. During my visit, I saw several very bright, intelligent looking, young negro men who have already been enrolled in various phases of Lockheed'd training program. They seemed to be doing well, and there have been no signs of discord because of their presence.

It will be my pleasure to be with you again.

Cordially yours,

Julian M. Longley,
Industrial Consultant.
Southern Regional Council.

JML/s.

July 18, 1961

Mr. Julian Longley
Apartment 10 E
1559 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mr. Longley:

Thank you for your gracious letter of July 11, and welcome to SRC. I understand from Paul Anthony that you are hard at work already.

There is one statement in your letter which probably should be somewhat clarified. In our conversation of July 11, my intention was to say to you this: We believe that the project on which you are embarked will work and, therefore, will be continued. We think it prudent, however, that there be the three month trial period, after which you, Ben Muse, and I will be better able to evaluate the idea. You remarked to me that entering the employ of SRC could require some social adjustment on your part, and that therefore you were hesitant about a short term commitment; you asked, very understandably, what your situation would be if the project trial was disappointing. I replied that, in that unlikely event, we would hope to keep your talents at work in some other satisfying human relations work.

This is a very slight matter, but if I did not succeed in saying clearly what I intended we probably should discuss this again.

Good luck, and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
cc: Benjamin Muse

JULIAN M. LONGLEY

Tuesday,
July 11, 1961.
Apartment 10 E,
1559 Peachtree St. N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Your courtesy of yesterday and the thoughtful expressions in your letter dated July 11, handed to me then, are additional incentives for me to dedicate my efforts to serving you and your associates in the Southern Regional Council in the attainment of your goals.

In keeping with our conversation in your office and your letter, I propose to immediately begin preparation for discussions with executives in the southern textile industry, many of whom I know personally. Since I am already acquainted and familiar with that industry, I suggest that we direct our initial efforts toward establishing "beach-heads" within it from which to expand into other industries. This, I propose to approach in an affirmative, sane, and practical manner seeking full discussion and exchange of view-points, being ever mindful of the objectives we seek to attain, "with all deliberate speed".

By such discussions with employers, superintendents, foremen, and rank-and-file employees, we can, it seems to me, tend to soften the impact of the impending change from the traditional outlook of "business as usual" attitude to an affirmative acceptance of President Kennedy's employment order. By so doing, we may assist to establish or to adjust employment and personnel policies so as to provide for positive recruitment, training, and upgrading of negroes for jobs and positions heretofore denied them by tradition.

By instruction, discussion, and interpretation of the President's order in all situations which prove conducive to so doing, we can enhance understanding. This will most likely prove to be the key-stone of our undertaking.

Permit me to emphasize that, in my opinion, this industrial phase of our work will require a vast amount of positive effort, careful and patient analysis of each situation, and, to a degree, some "lead-pipe" selling. It will require expanding the altitude, latitude, and longitude of human understanding and tolerance.

Our Southern problem, I use the word problem advisedly, is one which, in spite of its multitude of complexities, offers us all a tremendous opportunity for creative accomplishment. Without the problem, there would be no such opportunity.

By seeking solutions to each of its many facets, and accomplishing them one by one, we can assist our whole Southland to attain new and higher levels of intellectual, economic, and cultural values. Such attainments will, of necessity, require both short and long range planning and work.

In further reference to your letter and to our conversation, to both of which this is a response, I confirm my understanding that commencing now, and continuing for three months, during the initial stage of my association with the Southern Regional Council, I am to give you not less than three fifths of my time, in return for which you will pay me fifteen hundred dollars, in three monthly payments of five hundred dollars each. At the end of that three months trial period, we will evaluate the results and potential of the industrial project for which I am beginning employment with you. Then, you will determine whether to continue that project, or to re-direct my services into other fields of the Council's activities.

With this understanding, I am commencing in the belief that, together, we will have a rewarding experience and wholesome fellowship in our mutual endeavors.

Please convey my regards to each of your associates, advise them of my pleasure in becoming associated with each of them, and, for yourself, accept my assurance that I am looking forward to a happy and worthwhile affiliation with you, to the end that your own accomplishments may be amplified.

Cordially yours,

Julian M. Longley

Julian M. Longley.

JML/s.

file

July 19, 1961.

Mr. J. Spears, Vice President,
Burlington Industries, Inc.,
P. O. Box L-1,
Greensboro,
North Carolina.

Dear Mr. Spears:

In your recent speech to the members of the Southern Textile Manufacturer's Association, at Myrtle Beach, you sounded the key-note in facing up to a problem, the solution of which will add momentum to improving the economic wealth of the South, and prove to be of great value to the textile industry.

Having had broad experience in the textile management field, I can see this matter of equal employment opportunity for negroes from both the management and labor points of view.

Beginning immediately, I am arranging a series of conferences with management people looking toward compliance with the recent Executive Order, issued by the President of the United States having to do with equality of employment opportunity for properly qualified negroes. It will be a pleasure to come to Greensboro to confer with you and your associates about this matter. Our mission in such an undertaking is strictly one of consultation, discussion, and, if desired, to assist in efforts at conciliation and mediation in the resolution of such issues as the compliance may create.

We are, in no sense, a government agency, but we are working closely with the President's Committee in this general field.

Mr. J. Spears,
Burlington.
July 19, 1961.

Please convey my personal regards to Henry Rauch. He is, in my opinion, one of the best analytical, administrators in the textile industry. He and Joe Heyman, Senior Vice President, and Business Analist, Trust Company of Georgia, here, are peers in their respective fields. They would enjoy knowing oneanother.

If, in your opinion, we can be of value to you in implementing your plans for proceeding with conformaty with the President's order, I shall look forward with pleasure to meeting with you there.

The enclosed copy of the origin and aims of the Southern Regional Council may be of interest to you.

Cordially yours,

Julian M. Longley,
Industrial Consultant
Southern Regional Council.

Encl:

JML/s.

July 19, 1961.

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson,
Vice President of The United States,
Chairman of The President's Committee
On Equal Employment Opportunity.

Executive Office Building
Pennsylvania Avenue and 17th Street,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

You were very thoughtful in each of your several letters, during our correspondence in 1959-1960, to suggest that I write you "at any time". We were, then, exchanging ideas and opinions about mediation and conciliation as possible means with which to seek solutions to our racial problems. This expression is a supplement to those letters, in view of which, I feel that I am, again, writing to an old friend with whom I share a deep mutual interest in a common problem.

Since then, the thinking which you expressed in your speech on the Floor of the Senate, January 20, 1959, and your efforts in support of your Civil Rights Bill, S. 499 have brought forth good fruit in the form of President Kennedy's Executive Order creating the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and in which you became its Chairman.

As an enclosure, in your letter of February 3, 1959, you mailed me a copy of your speech. Today, it has a deeper and more profound meaning than when it was originally delivered.

As a white, Chattahoochee River swamp Southerner, I am convinced that yours is the sound approach from which to start working toward solutions to many phases of the complex racial problem confronting us. Having begun work as a common laborer in a southern cotton mill and progressed to a position as multi-plant manager, I know the value and effectiveness of open minded communication in exchanging views, and of mediation and conciliation in solving controversial problems, with continuing, intelligent discussion. Promped by a deep sense of believing that we can help to elevate the economy and culture of the South, and contribute to the unity of our Country, I have, as of last week, become an industrial consultant with the Southern Regional Council, with the avowed determination to assist you, and your committee, in attaining your goals.

My good friend, "Bob" Hudson, Training Director, at the Marietta, Georgia plant of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, has shown me his company's accomplishment in the field of equality of employment opportunity for qualified negroes, and given me copies of that company's declaration of policy along with a copy of their outline of procedure to that end. They are well along with splendid progress.

My copy of your speech and the Lockheed papers are basic tools from which to work. I also have a blurred Verifax copy the President's Order.

A currently dated, original letter from you, as the Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity would be a most effective tool. I assure you that such a letter would be used judiciously, and solely as a means to assist you in the attainment of your goals.

With continuing best wishes to you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Julian M. Longley,
Industrial Consultant,
Southern Regional Council.

Encl:

JML/s.

August 1, 1961.

Coats and Clark, Inc.,
430 Park Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Attention: Mr. J. C. Weeks, Administrative Vice President.

Gentlemen:

During a brief visit to your Clarkdale plant , yesterday, Mr. James McGurn suggested that we write you relative to possible adjustments in employment practices which may be occasioned by Executive Order No. 10925 with respect to broadening areas of Equal Employment Opportunity.

Having had approximately thirty years experience in industrial management, most of which have been spent in southern textile plants, I have undertaken an assignment with Southern Regional Council, Inc., as an industrial consultant.

In the hope of offering some help to employers who may be confronted with problems having to do with this matter, I am now concentrating on a study of methods and techniques of employment integration which may be least disruptive, and, ultimately, advantageous to the industry affected.

No doubt, I may be able to learn from your experience, and I may have some ideas and suggestions which will be advantageous to you.

This is, I believe, rapidly becoming a major problem for industry in which your cooperation can be a helpful service.

Please advise me with whom, in your company, I should discuss this matter, and when and where.

Sincerely yours,

Julian M. Longley,
Industrial Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

August 1, 1961.

Mr. Robert Train, President,
Bibb Manufacturing Company
Macon, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Train:

The need to broaden the area of Equal Employment Opportunity, and to adjust employment practices to Government requirements, as outlined in Executive Order No. 10925, is presenting a difficult problem for many industries.

In the hope of offering some help to employers confronted with this problem, I have undertaken an assignment with the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as an industrial consultant.

Having had approximately thirty years experience in industrial management, most of which have been in the textile industry, I am concentrating now on a study of the techniques and methods of employment integration which will be least disruptive and, most likely, to be ultimately advantageous to the industry affected.

At your convenience, during the comming week, I would like to discuss your situation with you. I can, no doubt, learn from your experience, and I may have some ideas and information which will be helpful to you.

Your cooperation can be of invaluable service in what seems to a major problem for industry.

Please advise when it will be convenient for you to discuss this matter.

Sincerely,

Julian M. Longley,
Industrial Consultant,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

JML/s.

August 2, 1961.

Mr. Arthur B. Hall,
General Personnel Director,
The American Thread Company
260 West Broadway,
New York 13, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hall:

During a visit with your Tallapoosa, Ga., plant manager, Mr. Wesley Littlefield, on Monday, July 31, he advised me that you would be in charge of administering your company's approach to problems encountered in adjusting to Executive Order No. 10925, and suggested that I contact you.

Having had approximately thirty years experience in industrial management, most of which have been in southern textile plants, I have undertaken an assignment with the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as an industrial consultant.

We are now concentrating on a study of methods and techniques of employment integration which will be least disruptive, and, most likely, advantageous to the industry affected.

In the belief that I may learn from your experience, and, at the same time, give you some information or ideas which may be helpful to you, I would like to have a discussion with you, in the South, at your earliest convenience.

Please convey my regards to your associates, with many of whom I recall a host of pleasant experiences.

Sincerely yours,

Julian M. Longley,
Industrial Consultant,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

JML/s.

August 4, 1961.

The J. P. Stevens Company, Inc.,
Dunean Mills
Greenville, S. C.

Attention: Mr. Joseph Jelks, Personnel Director.

Gentlemen:

Your Mr. Hugh Hurley, Manager, Exposition, Atlanta, gave me your name as the executive most likely to administer your company's policies with respect to equal employment opportunities as prescribed in Presidential Executive Order No. 10925.

For some industries, this is presenting difficult problems.

Following thirty years experience in industrial management, most of which were in textiles, I have undertaken to work with the Southern Regional Council as an industrial consultant. We are now making a study of techniques which may be employed in establishing integrated employment which will be least disruptive to each industry affected.

You may find that some of my observations and ideas can be of value to you. I am sure that I can learn from your wide experience in this matter also.

This seems to be a major problem for industry in which your cooperation can be most helpful.

Please advise when it will be convenient to have me visit you.

Sincerely yours,

Julian M. Longley,
Industrial Consultant,
Southern Regional Council.

JML/s.

Dr Dunbar. Copy

PA
PR
ML
SM-file

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY

AUGUST 5, 1961-WEEKENDING.

JULIAN M. LONGLEY.

MONDAY: ~~8/1/61~~ 7/31/61 ; Conference with Mr. Wesley Littlefield, Manager, Tallapoosa, Georgia Plant, The American Thread Company. This plant is one of five or six southern plants of this company. Tallapoosa employs approximately 700 people of which 5 are colored.... 2 waste balers and 83 janitors. Mr. Littlefield stated that the company traditionally complied with the law, but, as of that date he had no instructions for any change in employment practices. He stated that their Mr. Arthur B. Hall, General Personnel Director, in the home office, is the man to contact with respect to equal employment. Copy of letter to Mr. Hall is attached.

TUESDAY: ~~8/2/61~~ 8/1/61: Conference with Mr. James McGurn, Assistant Office Manager, Coats and Clark, Inc., Clarkdale, Georgia. This plant is one of several operated by Clark Thread in Georgia. It employs approximately 500 people of which 30 are colored, employed in maintenance, warehouse, preparation, and janitorial capacities. Mr. McGurn told me that any statement with respect to his company's plans in connection with order 10925 would have to come from their home office."We have an open mind on the matter, but, as yet no instructions to deviate from past practice." Told me to write their Mr. J. C. Weeks, Vice Pres. in charge of Administration. Letter to Mr. Weeks-copy attached.

WEDNESDAY: 8/2/61: Planned visit to Mr. Morris Bryan, President, Jefferson Mills, Jefferson, Ga., cancelled because could not interview Mr. Bryan. He stated in telephone conversation that his company did not do government business, had no interest in any, at this time, and that he would not discuss equal employment now. He is reviewing this matter with his labor relations attorney, Mr. Frank Constangy, Atlanta, now and stated that I should consult Mr. Constangy.

Talked via L. D. with Mr. Douglas Orr, Assistant General Legal Counsel, Burlington Industries, Greensboro, N. C., to whom I was referred by Burlington Vice President, Mr. J. E. Spears. Mr. Orr was preparing to leave for Europe to be gone three weeks. Suggested that I contact him upon his return.

WEDNESDAY: 8/3/61-Continued: Called Mr. E. R. Lehmann, Vice President, West Point Manufacturing Company, West Point, Georgia. Made appointment for a conference Thursday 8/4/61.

Called three other textile executives, all of whom were out of town.

Wrote letters per copies attached.

THURSDAY: 8/3/61: The West Point Manufacturing Company, headquartered at West Point, Ga., employs approximately 9000 people of whom approximately 1200 are colored. It operates mills at Lanett, Shawmut, Langdale, Fairfax, and Riverdale, Ala., and, in it subsidiaries located at Columbus, La Grange, and Dalton, Georgia; and in Anderson S. C. it employs approximately 4,000 people in addition to the above. In those plants its number of colored employees is approximately 300. Thus, it is now employing approximately 1500 colored people. Traditionally, it has never had to recruit any employees. It maintains a waiting list of applicants seeking employment.
My conference was with Mr. E. R. Lehmann, Vice President, in charge of Industrial and Public Relations, his assistant, Mr. T. A. (Tap) Hanson, Personnel Director, and Mr Morgan Canty, Secretary of the Company.
Mr. Lehmann opened the discussion by pointing out that his company recognized that integrated employment was progressively inevitable, and that they were now studying the problem both within the company and through their Labor Relations Counsel, Mr. Frank Constangy. They are proceeding cautiously, and, to some degree, are coaching their foremen to talk openly with their employees about the matter. He stated further that they would not yield to any outside pressure in any attempts to accelerate the rate at which they would proceed. In this connection, he stated that they averaged only about three to five percent as a ratio of Government business to total sales, and that they would forego taking Government business if it meant that they be forced to move faster than they deem best in approaching the matter of equal employment. Their annual sales range from 130 million to 140 million dollars.
He and I had a complete meeting of the minds regarding cautious approaches in areas where a high degree of compatibility now prevailed in departments using both races. They will begin soon trying to extend their use of colored people into such areas. This will be a cautious and slow beginning, but it is a beginning. In this respect, I feel that my trip was successful.
Our conference lasted from lunch until five o'clock at which time, I departed.

FRIDAY: 8/4/61: Conference with Mr. Max Feldman, Vice President, Puritan Chemical Company, Atlanta, and Messrs Glenn and Hurley, Exposition Cotton Mills, Atlanta.

PURITAN CHEMICAL COMPANY: This company manufactures a variety of chemical for the maintenance and janitorial trade. It is an old, well-established firm with enlightened management. Mr. Feldman stated that they employed approximately 70 colored people on their total complement of approximately 150 people. They use a colored chemist in their laboratory, in research and new product development, and in response to my question, stated that they will be glad to consider colored salesmen, if they can find those peoperly qualified. He will talk with his colored chemist about this. They have not, as yet, used any colored people in their office, but he will discuss it with his office manager and explore it fully.

EXPOSITION COTTON MILLS: Conferredwith Mr. Hugh Hurley, Plant Manager, and his assistant manager, Mr. George Glenn.This plant purchased recently by the J. P. Stevens Company, second largest textile company in the U. S. A. This plant employs approximately 750 people of which 30-40 are colored. The Stevens Company employs many thousand people in a vast interstate complex. Local management was not authorized to discuss company policy having to do with equal employment, and referred me to their executive officers located in Greenville, S. C., copies of letter to them is attached.

Two incidental items of interest concern Exposition Mills.
(1) It is the building in which the late Booker T. Washington gave his historic speech on racial relations, at the opening of the Atlanta, Cotton States, International Exposition, on September 18, 1895. It was a classic which commanded world-wide attention and acclaim.
(2) Mr. Glenn stated that he had seen an item in a current trade paper announcing the resignation of Mr. J. E. Spears, Vice President, Burlington Mills.

Mr. Hurley told me to contact their Greenville, S. C. office for any further discussion of the matter of equal employment. He named their Messrs Joseph Jelks, Personnel Director, and Mr. George McClenaghan, Executive Vice President, Cotton Goods Division, whose office are at the Dunean Mills, Greenville, S. C.

SATURDAY: 8/5/61: Writing this report and certain letters. Copies attached.

##########

Original to: Mr. Muse. To be conveyed in person, in Dalton, 8/8/61
Copy to: Mr. Leslie Dunbar. Mailed.

CHV
PRV
MCV
PAV
SM-file

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY

WEEK ENDING****AUGUST 11, 1961.

JULIAN M. LONGLEY.

Original to be held, as requested, for personal delivery to Mr. Benjamin Muse at our next scheduled meeting, at my home in Dalton, Georgia, Saturday afternoon, August 19, 1961.

Green, tissue copy to: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, via mail.

MONDAY, AUGUST 7: Inactive relative to actual field work.

TUESDAY, " 8: A. M. : Conferred, at length, with Mr. P. H. David, General Manager, Trion, Georgia Division, Riegel Textile Corporation, the headquarters for which is in New York City. This company also operates a large textile plant at Ware Shoals, South Carolina, at which Mr. W. F. Robertson is the General Manager. This company is a leader in the textile industry in that its local managers are given much broader responsibilities than is the case in most captive mills located in the South. They also have much broader authority, and exercise it in making decisions at the local level, rather than being "rubber-stamp" managers for the implementation of policies generated in the New York Office.
Trion Mill employs approximately 2750 people of which 50-60 are colored.

Beginning next week, upon Mr. David's return from New York, they are beginning a series of training classes for their foremen, as a preliminary educational effort to instruct and enlighten them regarding the commencement of broadening the areas of equal employment opportunity for Negroes. During the course of this training program, a talent inventory of their present colored employees will be made. This in response to my suggestion to Mr. David. Basic elements to be sought are, energy, native intelligence, and personal attitudes of the individuals. This is the "Knute Rockne" method which has proved most effective in the preliminary screening and selective process. I have used it, in fact, pioneered the use of this technique in textile mill selection for upgrading in personnel development.
Mr. David assured me that they will coach their foremen to discuss the problem of integrating employment freely and honestly with the rank and file employees. The purpose of this is, of course, to overcome the fear and prejudice psychology involved. This is a good beginning. This management has adopted an affirmative viewpoint and will proceed accordingly, though cautiously, They also liked my suggestion to possibly rename some job catagories.

TUESDAY CONTINUED: During the early afternoon, drove to my home in Dalton for meeting with Mr. Benjamin Muse at 4:00 P. M. Handed Mr. Muse my report of activity for the preceding week, discussed the same with him, and, at his request, made an appointment for him to meet with State Senator Erwin Mitchell, in Mr. Mitchell's Dalton office, the following morning. Mr. and Mrs Muse had dinner with Mrs Longley and me, at our home, Tuesday evening.

WEDNESDAY: 8/9/61: Brief visit and conference with Mr. A. G. Dunson, Manager, Summerville Manufacturing Company, Summerville, Ga., during which Mr. Dunson pointed out that his company had no Government business on its books at this time, nor any plans to proceed with any efforts in connection with Executive Order No. 10925, at this time. He did agree, however, to study the matter carefully looking toward ultimate compliance.
This company employs 500 people, of which only 3 are colored. Mr. Dunson stated that his plant would, of necessity, follow the leadership and example set by Riegel Textile Company, in its mill in the neighboring town of Trion, Ga., about which he seemed to know more, via rumor, than about his own plans. Mr. Dunson accepted my suggestion that he study the possibility of upgrading the three colored men he now employs, as an affirmative approach to his problem. One of these is a semi-skilled machinist, in the repair shop, now employed to do janitorial, material handling, and light repair work. Another has, by his own initiative, learned cotton grading, while working in the cotton storage warehouse. The third is a cotton trucker in the warehouse.

CELENESE FIBER COMPANY, INC., DIVISION OF CELENESE CORPORATION OF AMERICA. Plant located at Rome, Georgia.
Conference with Mr. W. Y. Brown, Manager of Industrial Relations, who is, in fact, assistant plant manager.
Plant employs 1570 people of whom approximately 90 are colored. This plant produces only raw synthetic textile fiber, all of which is shipped to other manufacturers for further processing into end-use products.
Mr. Brown is one of several men with whom I served, during the war, as members of the Northwest Georgia panel of War Manpower Commission. The attitude of his company now is to wait and see what others in the community do. In this respect, they are in agreement with Du Pont, in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and other similar plants throughout the Southeast. They have a plan, which he said he could not discuss at present, for implementing compliance with the Executive Order, just as soon as some other plant in his community, or within the group with which he is conferring, commences compliance. It is my opinion that they will "go along" just as soon as another plant in the Rome area takes affirmative action in this matter. To that end, my next move is to begin work immediately with the Lindale Division of Pepperell Manufacturing Company, ten miles across town from Celenese, with which I already have a degree of rapport.

WEDNESDAY CONTINUED: Southern Brighton Mills, Division, Burlington Industries, Inc., Shannon, Ga.
Conference with Mr. Howard Hart, Manager. This plant employs 1000-1200 people, depending on running schedules, of which 50-60 are colored. Mr. Hart and I agreed to withhold discussion of detailed plans, pending the return from Europe of Mr. Orr, Assistant General Counsel for Burlington Industries, who is to act as co-ordinator of all Burlington activities in the field of equal employment opportunities. Mr. Orr and I had already, had a telephone conversation to this effect prior to seeing Mr. Hart. During this conference, Mr. Hart informed me that Mr. J. E. Spears, formerly a Vice President of Burlington, resigned by request, August 1, because of a series of cumulative incompatibilities with Mr. Spencer Love, President of Burlington, chief among which was the seeming unsatisfactory manner in which Mr. Spears presented his subject matter on a recent Television program featuring the current textile import-export problem.

THURSDAY: 8/10/61: Following an unsuccessful effort to contact the proper executive of Fulton Industries, Atlanta, during the morning, I spent the major portion of the afternoon in conference with Mr. L. W. Jenkins, Industrial Relations Manager, Ford Motor Company assembly plant, 340 Central Avenue, Hapeville, Ga.
This plant employs 1550 people, but Mr. Jenkins advised that they have firm policy never to divulge any information relative to the number of whites and non-whites. It was somewhat of a surprise to have a man in Mr. Jenkins position say that he had not heard of Presidential Order No. 10925, on the strength of which I gave him a copy, along with a copy of the History and Aims of SRC.
He advised me that one of their chief obstacles in establishing a policy of non-discrimination in employment and up-grading was the presence within the local Union UAW of a sizable number of men who were known, or thought, to be members of a Klu Klux Klan, who never missed an opportunity to agitate on the subject of employing Negroes. We were able, however, to get Mr. Jenkins to agree heartily to encouraging all foremen and office management personnel to begin frank, open, discussion of the inevitable employment of Negroes, and to lead them in efforts to allay suspicions, fears, and resentment of what, to his employees, might seem to be compulsion to work with Negroes. Mr Jenkins advised further that his plant did not have any Government orders now; however, its seems incredible that The Ford Motor Company will not, if it isn't already, be doing Government work in large volume. Such a company might be more advantageously persuaded at the national level than at the local plant.

FRIDAY 8/11/61: Following a morning conference with Dr. Dunbar, and others, in The Atlanta office of SRC, I called on Rich's Inc., during which visit, I had a lengthy visit and conference with their Mr. Gordon Humphries, Personnel Director Emeritus, who, though now carries the title of Assistant Personnel Director, is, in fact, the power in that company as regards personnel practices. He assured me that he will be delighted to pursue the matter of broader employment opportunities just as soon as he and Mr. Kennedy, Official Personnel Director, solve their more immediate problem of desegregating their eating facilities.

mmb file

Atlantic Steel Company, Atlanta, Ga., employs approximately 1700 people of whom approximately 400 are colored. The latter group is covered by contract with United Steel Worker's Union and has equal privileges within its framework. Mr. Riley stated, "We will be plenty able to care for any problems arising within our company without any outside assistance." Never having heard of SRC, he wanted to know more about this organization and its personnel. Conference terminated on a friendly note. The letter below, original of which was mailed to Mr. Riley, is self explanatory.

August 17, 1961.

COPY

Mr. William O. Riley,
Manager of Industrial Relations
Atlantic Steel Company
P. O. Box 1714
Atlanta 1, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Riley:

Thank you for the courtesy accorded me in your office this afternoon.

In view of your expressed interest in knowing more about the Southern Regional Council, as evidenced by your noting the names of others than myself on my calling card, you may find the enclosed copy of the History and Aims of this organization informative.

Please continue to think about suggestions made to you that you explore the possibilities of extending the practice of equal employment opportunity to such catagories as clerical, stenographic, and administrative positions which may be outside the framework of the Union contract which governs plant people.

With continuing best regards to you and to Mr. Maynard, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Julian M. Longley
Industrial Consultant.

Encl: Copy of Origin and Aims SRC

JML/s.

10/13/61: Note to Mr. Paul Anthony, Assistant Director, SRC: The above is the comment covering my visit to Atlantic Steel. Although Messrs Riley and his assistant Mr Maynard were courteous, there was an air of restrained suspicion of the intent and motive of my visit. I mailed Mr. Riley a copy of the Origin and Aims of SRC along with original of above letter.

PRJ
ML ✓
PA ✓
JM
CHP
MMB- file

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY

WEEK ENDING----AUGUST 18, 1961.

JULIAN M. LONGLEY.

Original held, as requested, for personal delivery to Mr. Benjamin Muse at the scheduled meeting with him in Dalton, Ga., on Saturday, August 19.

Green, tissue copy to: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, via mail.

MONDAY, AUGUST 14, Called on the Chattanooga, Tenn., Nylon Plant, Textile Fibers Division, E. I. Du Pont-De Nemours Company, Inc. Conferred with Mr. G. W. Hammon, Personnel Supervisor for the local plant.

This plant employs approximately 2500 people of which approximately 150 are colored. Producing nylon fiber, it sells some as raw material to other processors. Some, it twists into nylon yarns for sale to the weaving and knitting industries.
It has openly stated that it, and the company of which it is a part, will comply affirmatively, not only with order 10925, but with any, and all, Federal regulations which apply to its operations. This, Mr. Hammon affirmed orally during our conference. At present, the colored people on its payroll are employed in a variety of occupations such as, fork-lift truch operators, baling press operators, maintenance, general plant laborers, janitors, and messengers.

Order 10925, along with the administrative regulations which govern its application are now under study by Du Pont's legal Department, in collaboration with its top administrative officers. As soon as those studies are complete, a general statement of company policy will be forthcoming with respect to methods and procedures to be followed in compliance.

Mr. Hammon invited me to contact him again, two or three weeks hence, for an additional conference with him and his immediate superior, Mr. R. R. Sherman, Personnel Superintendent. Then, they will be fully advised by their Wilmington headquarters just how to proceed. He suggested that I call on any days other than Mondays and Tuesdays since those days are routinely programed for conferences having to do with internal affairs. He very graciously excused himself from one such conference in order to talk with me about the Southern Regional Council and its services in assisting with problem solving.

Mr. Hammon liked my suggestion that a good point at which to begin is to inventory the talents represented by his present colored employees looking toward training for up-grading. He likewise expressed approval of the suggestion that all foremen be instructed, and trained, to discuss the matter of integrated employment fully with the rank and file of the employees as an effort to overcome prejudice, fear, and broaden understanding of this whole complex matter.

He expressed especial interest in the History and Aims of Southern Regional Council and the Lockheed Agreement, copies of each of which were left with him.

MONDAY, 8/14/61 Continued: COMBUSTION ENGINEERING COMPANY, INC., Chattanooga, Tenn. This is the southeastern division of a nation-wide company engaged in the manufacture of commercial and industrial steam boilers, boiler tubes and accessories, heat exchangers, super-heaters, power plant equipment (exclusive of generators) and nuclear reactors. Prominently displayed in their front occice is a certificate of merit awarded them by the American Association of Ordnance Manufacturers. This company has several large plants, at various locations, in the Chattanooga area. Tis main office, scene our conference with with Mr. Ben O. Gibbs, Manager of Industrial Relations, is at 911 West Main St. They employ approximately 3800 people of whom approximately 600-700 are colored.
Evidently Mr. Gibbs has been called on by others with respect to his company's policies and practices regarding colored employees. He seemed harassed and annoyed when I announced the purpose of my visit. He mentioned that he had already been called by a Mr. Smith whom he believed had announced himself as a representative of SRC. He then lectured me about the annoyance of outside agencies worrying him about a matter in which (in his own self-opinionated view) he and his company were excelling; namely their employment of, and equal treatment of Negroes. He stated that they made no discrimination between white and colored plant employees and that many colored people were now in skilled work as machine operators at rates of pay ranging from a minimum of $1.98 to $2.70 per hour. While his colored employees do seem to have equal opportunity as regards training, apprenticeship, and machine operator classifications, they have, evidently, never been accorded any opportunity as clerical, stenographic, or supervisory people. My question regarding such positions, seemed to be a kind of barb. Mr. Gibbs, at this point, refused to answer further questions, expressed resentment of my taking notes on our conversation, and lectured me further as to my possible reporting of the interview.

Then, I closed my brief case after accidently (on pupose) exposing the envelope bearing Vice President Johnson's Office return address, and announced that "Further continuation of my visit would merely serve to waste his time and mine". As I arose from the chair, he began talking, and gave me the information noted above. He also began outlining the lengths to which his company had gone in broadening opportunities for colored people, only to be confronted with demands for still further efforts.

Combustion Engineering Company is a good, sound, well-managed company with many years successful experience. They are tough, like the steel industry of which they are a fabricating component; however, throughout the duration of our conference, I sensed that Mr. Gibbs comments and manner reflected more of his own views than company policy. There was a noticable degree of frustration in his manner and attitude which was emphasized by his calling a subordinate into the conference, well after our conversation began. There was a manifestation of defense mechanism in this gesture which indicated that Mr. Gibbs was seeking additional self-assurance. Without further ado, I shook hands with him, and, after a hearty and friendly good-bye, took my departure. Memoranda on this conference wase completed after I left his office.

WEDNESDAY, 8/15/61: GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY, MEDIUM TRANSFORMER DIVISION, ROME, GA. Conferredwith Mr. Dayton E. Hardwick, Manager, Employee and Community Relations.
As one might have expected, this was one of the more enlightened conferences todate. In the initial stages of our conversation, Mr. Hardwick pointed out that he had already had a series of conferences with Mr. Robert Troutman, Jr., relative to Order No. 10925. He stated further that his company did an annual business "nearly a billion dollars" with the Government, and that insofar as General Electric was concerned, Order 10925 was just another customer request which they would honor fully. This was the third manufacturer to mention Mr. Troutman. At this plant, G. E. employs approximately 1000 people of whom approximately 60 are colored. Some time ago, all signs indicating segregated rest-room were quietly removed, and, by natural evolution, people commenced using them on a non-segregated basis. No incidents occurred then, nor in connection with the merging of cafeteria facilities which was cautiously done some time ago. The Union Contract between G. E. and the Electrical Worker's Union provides equality in seniority rights without regard to color. In two instances, when colored people were advanced to higher job classifications, crosses wee burned at the homes of the individuals, and some anonymous letters of threat were received by both the company and by individual employees. Todate, seniority has been employed solely for promotion, and there has not been an occasion to test reaction in the event that a lay-off might cause a colored man to roll, or displace, a white man. Some colored men, employed as skilled coil winder men, have seniority over some whites employed in this category. Only time and common sense applied to such a situation will tell the story. Mr. Hardwick, a native North Carolinian, is a graduate of N. C. State College, advised me that N. C. State is now desegregated and has begun enrolling Nogroes in various engineering courses, looking toward awarding them degrees. He was generally in accord with suggestions for talent inventorying, screening, and training colored people now employed, subject to local, Union Contract requirements. He asked that I visit him again, within the near future.

THE AMERICAN THREAD COMPANY
(incorporated)
260 West Broadway, New York 13, N. Y.
Walker 5-1000

August 14, 1961

Mr. Julian M. Longley
Industrial Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Longley:

Thank you for your letter of August 2, in which you suggested we get together during my trip South to discuss some of the ramifications of Executive Order No. 10925.

Unfortunately at the last minute I had to change my plans and did not get to visit Mr. Littlefield at Tallapoosa as I had hoped.

We have been working with our legal counsel on this matter and have developed a program which we feel will enable us to comply with the requirements of the order.

I am sorry not to have the opportunity of meeting with you, but perhaps we can get together at a later date.

Very Truly yours,

/s/ Arthur B. Hall
Arthur B. Hall
Director of Industrial Relations.

Note to Messrs Muse and Dunbar:
Mr. Frank Constangy, of Atlanta, normally handles all matters pertaining to labor relations for the above company, in the South.

JML/ 8/17/61

Atlantic Steel Company, Atlanta, Ga., employs approximately 1700 people of whom approximately 400 are colored. The latter group is covered by contract with United Steel Workers Union and has equal privileges within its framework. Mr. Riley stated, "We will be plenty able to care for any problems arising within our company without any outside assistance." Never having heard of SRC, he wanted to know more about this organization and its personnel. Conference terminated on a friendly note. The letter below, original of which was mailed to Mr. Riley, is self explanatory.

August 17, 1961.

Mr. William O. Riley,
Manager of Industrial Relations
Atlantic Steel Company
P. O. Box 1714
Atlanta 1, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Riley:

Thank you for the courtesy accorded me in your office this afternoon.

In view of your expressed interest in knowing more about the Southern Regional Council, as evidenced by your noting the names of others than myself on my calling card, you may find the enclosed copy of the History and Aims of this organization informative.

Please continue to think about suggestions made to you that you explore the possibilities of extending the practice of equal employment opportunity to such catagories as clerical, stenographic, and administrative positions which may be outside the framework of the Union Contract which governs plant people.

With continuing best regards to you and to Mr Maynard, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Julian M. Longley
Industrial Consultant.

Encl:

JML/s.

Memorandum to Messrs Muse and Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,

From Julian M. Longley.

Re: Commentary on Conferences to date having to do with Equal Employment Opportunities for Colored people.

There are certain elements which seem to be common to all conferences todate regarding our efforts in behalf of the subject matter.

(1): There is a general mixture of feeling regarding equality of employment on the part of employees in industry, consisting of fear, lest Negroes will displace white employees who have long been employed; and, prejudice against the whole matter of integrated employment which is traditional.

(2) Resentment on the part of both employees and employers against the compulsive features of order No. 10925.

(3) Feeling about this matter varies directly, in proportion to the attitudes of the several managements involved.

The more enlightened management opinion is:"Given time in which to adjust to this undertaking so that the problem may be approached with the degree of caution which it requires, we can gradually solve it in an orderly manner."
These are the ones who, taking an affirmative view, are proceeding to coach their foremen to engage in frank, open, educational discussion of the problem with their employees, in an effort to remove or reduce the intense feeling of fear toward it. Executives in establishments such as this seem glad to discuss it with your representative, and to exchange ideas concerning its orderly implementation. In most such companies, they are beginning to inventory talents and abilities of the colored people already on their pay-rolls, looking toward selection, training, and gradual re-assignment to positions better than those to which they have heretofore been confined.

Such an approach is, indeed, a sound, affirmative beginning.

A prevalent comment is, "It would be fool-hearted to rush into this thing, or to move too rapidly".

Others, more conservative, are approaching it from the legal point of view, referring the whole matter to their legal advisers for evaluation and recommendations.

In the final analysis, this is a management problem, solutions to which will test the judgement and skill of those men in industry who will administer and enforce it. It will not be an immediate solution, however, progress toward its ultimate resolution is beginning, slowly but surely.

PA
PR
MC
MHB-file
Jim

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY

WEEK ENDING----AUGUST 25, 1961.

JULIAN M. LONGLEY.

Original Mailed to Mr. Benjamin Muse, P. O. Box 312, Manassas, Va. Green tissue copy to Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, via mail to the Atlanta office.

SATURDAY, August 19, 1961: Met with Mr. Muse, in Dalton, Ga.
MONDAY: August 21, 1961 : ROME KRAFT COMPANY, AND ROME DIVISION INLAND CONTAINER CORPORATION: Both the above companies are subsidiaries of Mead Paper Corporation. They produce and sell heavy kraft paper and corrugated board for the production of corrugated paper shipping cartons. They employ approximately 800 people of whom approximately 100 are colored. Mr. J. A. Whelan, Plant Manager, was involved, inside the plant, supervising resumption of operations on one of their largest paper machine, which had been undergoing wxtensive repairs over the week-end. He was not available. Talked with Mr. R. A. Rock, Industrial Relations Manager, who advised that he was now preparing to open negotiations with his local Union, looking toward renewing their contract. These, he said, would most likely continue through the next two months. Colored employees who are members of the local Union, have equal rights with those accorded white employees who are covered by the Union contract. "A goodly Number" of them are employed in production operations, as machine tenders, at the regular rates of pay. Although this plant is not now subject to Executive Order 10925, Mr. Rock indicated assent to my suggestion that "perhaps his forthcoming negotiations might offer some opportunity for enlarging opportunities for colored people".

FOX MANUFACTURING COMPANY, ROME, GA. Mr. Charles Heyman, Plant Manager, and his son, Mr. Charles Heyman, Jr., plant superintendent and production manager. This operation, although not subject to the provisions of Executive Order 10925, represents a unique example of a management completely devoid of racial prejudice. During a long and bitter strike, last year, this management notified all its regular employees that, regardless of the strike, they would resume operations on a certain date. Those employees who reported for work, as notified, would be re-employed without discrimination: those who failed or refused to report as ordered who could not give a valid reason for such failure would be discharged, and replaced by new employees. Mr. Heyman consulted with some of the more moderate Negro leaders in the community, [illegible] replaced them with carefully selected colored people. These, he assigned to such positions as sander operators, gluers, and furniture finishers, and spring formers. Although, he and his

company were subjected to much abuse and derogatory literature, and some personal threats, he stood his ground. Now his operations are back to normal, and, outwardly, harmonious. He works all his productive employees in pairs, two white per pair and two colored per pair. Evidently there was much bitter feeling within the work force as a result of this management's action, however, it seems to have subsided now. It may be significant to point out that the Negro employees have not joined the local Union because of the initial bitterness and threats aimed at them. There was no attempt on the part of management to break the Union, however, it did insist that its decision be adhered to, insofar as replacing the strikers who failed to report to work when notified to do so. The Union remains as the representative of the members, a contract is in force, but operations are maintained on the full retention of management initiative and orders.
Mr. Heyman told me that, on several occasions, he has discussed the matter of employing colored people with colored leaders within the area. They are in accord with his views, but openly express their concern about job opportunities throughout the vicinity for colored boys and girls finishing high school. Mr Heyman stated that the educational level of his colored employees is higher than that of his white employees. Most of his colored people are high school graduates while only a few of the white people working with him have completed high school.

MONDAY AFTERNOON: Drove to ATCO, GA., (Near Cartersville) and called at the office of the Atco plant, Textile Division, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. Mr. H. A. McKew, Plant Manager, was involved, in the plant, with starting the first batch of material through a new process recently installed. He asked, via plant phone, that I call on him in a week or two, and to excuse him from an immediate conference because of his preoccupation. That I did, and departed for Atlanta.

TUESDAY: 8/22/61: DUNDEE MILLS, Inc., Griffin, Ga.
This company, in addition to the Dundee Mills properties, at Griffin, also operates The Rushton Mills, Griffin, Ga., and The Hartwell Mills, located at Hartwell, Ga., and at Toccoa, Ga. Mr. J. M. Cheatham serves as President for all of these several units. He is also the current President of The American Cotton Manufacturer's Institute.
Because of Mr. Cheatham's absence from the city, I conferred with Mr. John Newton, General Manager, who though restrained in his comment, expressed keen interest in hearing a review of observations made in other textile companies and in other industries relative to approaches to the problem of equal employment opportunities.

The Dundee and Rushton Mills, together, employ approximately 2000 people of whom slightly over 200 are colored. Griffin, Ga., is located in lower middle Georgia, an area in which the colored population is relatively larger, as a percentage of the total, than in cities and towns located in the northern section of the state. Thus, the matter of equalizing employment opportunity there is more complex than in cities numbering fewer colored people as a ratio of the totals.

Mr. Newton seemed quite interested in the studies and observations which SRC is making, and he liked the idea of screening present colored people for training in various positions which would

afford them broader opportunities. He likewise liked the ideas of coaching foremen, and encouraging them to talk openly with their employees about the matter, and to explain fully the company's policies having to do with it. This, he was quick to see, would tend to stimulate more confidence, on the part of the employees, in the leadership of management seeking to solve a difficult problem in which they are all concerned.

Never having heard of SRC, Mr. Newton expressed some doubts as to the propriety of a private organization concerning itself with problems which, to him, seemed strictly a concern between the company, its people, and the Federal authorities having to do with Executive Order 10925. It was promptly pointed out to Mr. Newton that the sole function of SRC in the matter was in the pursuit of its publicly stated aims.
Noting his stated reservations about being asked questions, we steered the interview away from his particular problem, asked no further questions, and presented him with a copy of the Origin and Aims of SRC, discussed briefly the Lockheed agreement, gave him a copy of same, shook hands, and departed after asking that he convey our regards to Mr. Cheatham, upon his return, and suggested that we would welcome an opportunity to discuss this matter, fully, with Mr. Cheatham, if he would like to have us visit him again.

Although it was not mentioned per se during this conference, a conclusion is growing in my mind, and was evident in parts of the discussionwith Mr. Newton, that the emphasis being put on the practice of making talent inventories of the colored employees, and seeking qualifications for training and up-grading is serving to make some managements more conscious of the need to do talent scouting throughout their entire labor forces for latent abilities which may be developed to the benefit of companies as well as employees involved.

As has been the case in other interviews, we were advised by Mr. Newton that his company is making a careful study of Order 10925, its administrative requirements, and under the guidance of legal counsel, will move cautiously in approaching full compliance.

THURSDAY: 8/24/61: LINDALE DIVISION, PERRERELL MANUFACTURING COMPANY, Lindale, Georgia: Mr. G. H. (Jack) Smith, Manager. The Pepperell Mills, in a slightly isolated location, is five miles outside Rome, Ga., which employs approximately 2500 people of whom approximately 5% are colored. Because of the nature of its products, and, because, within recent years industrial development within the Rome area has introduced several industries having higher wage scales, this plant although one of the oldest and best known in the Rome area, is now faced with the problem of being the lowest wage large industry there. It is having its problems retaining employees who are attracted to higher wages prevailing in other plants. During the late war, it tried, unsuccessfully, to use colored employees throughout its carding department. With no formal training direction and no regularly constituted personnel department, its employment and training were left, almost entirely, to the discretion and judgement of its departmental overseers. Thus, lacking the essential of management direction, its experiment with the

broadened use of colored employees, in the words of the manager, "just did not work out satisfactorily". At that time, the present manager was in a subordinate position. It was evident, during our discussion, that insufficient care was given to selecting the proper quality of intelligence among the Negroes employed during that trial period, and that many of those employed were of a very low intelligence. Considerable damage to expensive equipment was the result.

In spite of previous unsuccessful experience with their experiment in using colored people in productive operations, Mr. Smith is realistic enough to believe that his plant, because of its location and competition to retain employees, must enlarge its use of colored people. Two, years ago, he made a speech to the personnel section of the Georgia Textile Manufacturer's Association along this general line of thought. He, individually, is a student of personnel practices. He was reading an article in PERSONNEL, by Charles A. Myers, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, when I called on him. He seemed quite interested in having me tell about concern expressed by colored leaders in Rome having to do with finding job opportunities for the graduates of colored high schools there. He indicated that he would follow up on this matter and consult with them in an effort to secure more highly qualified candidates for potential employment in his plant.
Note: See previous comment on conference with Mr. Charles Heyman, President, Fox Manufacturing Company, Rome, Ga.
There seems reason to believe that our efforts in Rome may produce constructive beginnings for successful long-range improvement in job opportunities for colored high school graduates as a result of this conference with Mr. Smith, of Pepperell. It should be fully understood that neither Mr. Heyman nor his company was mentioned to Mr. Smith, nor has any employer ever been made known to another as one with whom I have conferred.
Mr. Smith voluntarily reviewed for me the manner in which he had resolved minor problems in the Lindale community in which Negroes were involved. He has demonstrated a broad and understanding viewpoint in such matters. An Auburn graduate, he is a native of western Alabama where his father was county superintendent of schools for a number of years, in Lamar County.

FRIDAY: 8/25/61: U. S. RUBBER COMPANY, STARK MILLS DIVISION, Hogansville, Ga., Mr. A/C. (Mike) Link, General Manager.
Mr. Link was involved in a conference of indeterminate duration at the time of my visit. He sent word by his secretary that he would like to have me return, to see him, Wednesday morning, 8/30/61, at 10:30 A. M. This I plan to do. The secretary was told, by me, that (1) We do not represent, noe are we associated with any Governmental agency. (2) The conference will be strictly informal. (3) We are working solely from the management viewpoint. (4) Our purpose is to assist management in its approach to the matter of equal employment opportunity.

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AUG 1961

Letters to the Editor

BEING A SOUTHERNER

Dear Sirs:

The July issue of ATLANTA is the best yet. You have added a new high to the superior quality of your magazine. Thank you for sending me one.

How right you are. Being a Southerner these days does, in fact, put a fellow to the test. Today, and tomorrow too, those of us who were born and bred as Chattahoochee River Southerners are facing a challenge which will, indeed, test our metal.

Challenge though it be, it is fraught with opportunity for creative accomplishment. Were it not for the problem, there would be no opportunity.

In the course of your honest-to-goodness soul search, see, if you will, the vast potential which awaits us only if we measure up to the responsibility of raising the economic, intellectual, civic, and moral values of those we seek to serve. In this endeavor we must, at every opportunity, encourage forthright, open-minded, and affirmative leadership in politics, business, and in our religious activities in order to give direction and purpose to our efforts at problem solving. See, if you will, our vast and dormant waste-lands of land and mind which are crying to us for development. Please realize, and encourage those around you to realize that we can never solve our problem so long as we maintain the present low level of average education. With an average of eighth grade education for our white people in Georgia, age twenty-five and over, and an average of 4.9 grades for our colored friends, we should take action now to elevate that level. Only by so doing can we hope to supply trained management people for an expanded industrial growth. See, too, if you will, the need for us to replace emotional hysteria with reason and agitation with truth. Then, and only then, can we expect to take action based on enlighted thinking. Let us seek the truth by rational appraisal of ideas and test it by open-minded discussion in the market place of ideas. Let us see that we cannot move forward or upward so long as we continue to look backward with wishful thinking and immature worship of a past that is dead and gone.

Let each of us ask ourselves, "Why am I afraid to face the issues of our day, and to speak out affirmatively and boldly in behalf of what I believe?"

Should we continue indefinitely to hide our faces from the light of day, with craven souls and fearful, or shall we meet the tests which come our way with resolute heart and cheerful?

The most sublime endeavor to which we, as Southerners, can commit ourselves is to concentrate our thinking, talking, direct our efforts toward resolving this unholy tumult that has lately arisen among us.

Only by the exercise of the democratic processes of honest inquiry, frank, open, and bold discussion may we hope to do so. In such an undertaking, let us be rereminded that,

"Great minds seek and discuss ideas.
Broad minds discuss events, and
Only narrow, closed minds discuss people."

Mr. William James said of Ralph Waldo Emerson, "... there ever shone from him the effulgence of the Universal Reason. The great Cosmic Intellect terminates and houses itself in mortal man and passing hours. *Each of us is an angle of its eternal vision.*"

Let each of us as Southerners ask ourselves, what is the scope of my angle of vision? How broadly do I reflect the divine intelligence with which my Creator endowed me? Or, am I neglecting to focus my intellect, reason, and action in the positive quadrant of our Southern life?

Carry on sir, for the Atlanta area and the Southland that she leads and serves. There is magic in believing and doing. And there is gold to be found in leading us on to the higher levels of human value in commerce, politics, industry, and ethics and intellect that only affirmative action can attain.

JULIAN M. LONGLEY
Industrial Consultant,
Southern Regional Council

Rec'd 9/6/61

MMB-file

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY

WEEK ENDING----SEPTEMBER 2, 1961

JULIAN M. LONGLEY

WEDNESDAY: 8/30/61: Visited the office of Mr. Wilton B. Hall,
ANDERSON, S. C. Publisher, The Anderson Independent, a long time family friend. Mrs Gaines, Secretary to Mr. Hall, advised that because of a recent illness, Mr. Hall was away from his office during the mornings. She suggested that I return at 2:00 P. M.

This is the man who was largely responsible for carrying South Carolina for Mr. Kennedy in the recent Presidential Election, in that he directed and lead Anderson County to cast 10,000 votes for the Democratic Ticket, whereas the state as a whole posted a margin of only 9,000 votes. To that extent, Mr. Hall is the South Carolina contemporary of Mr. Robert Troutman Jr., in Georgia.

During lunch at the Calhoun Hotel, in Anderson, while awaiting the appointed time to see Mr. Hall, I made the acquaintance of an attorney from Greenville. When told of my mission, he declined to give his name, and stated that under no circumstance would he be quoted with respect to compliance practices having to do with Executive Order 10925. He was thoroughly familiar with the order, and, during our conversation, he stated that a common practice among the employers whom he knew is to openly declare their good intentions to comply cautiously with the order, but when a Negro applies for employment, he is given a battery of personnel tests which "might be comparable to a university entrance examination". Thus, the employer can represent that he is accepting applications from and attempting to employ Negroes, and produce test results in support of such claim. However, todate, few, if any, Negroes have satisfactorily passed the employment tests. Hence, they are not qualified for employment. This man's statement serves to confirm some observations made at certain establishments already visited in the course of the current study.

Following lunch, I re-visited Mr. Hall's office and received a most cordial welcome. A close, local friend had just died, and he was to be in the office for a very brief stay, hence he could only see me for a few minutes.

Having read newspaper accounts of the Sangamo Electric Manufacturing Company's affirmative announcement that it would comply fully with the President's order, Mr. Hall and I discussed it briefly after which I departed.

WEDNESDAY: 8/30 Continued: Sangamo Electric Manufacturing Co., Pickens, S. C. Upon leaving Anderson, I drive to Pickens for a call at the office of subject plant. The plant manager was out of town. Mr. G. W. Middleton, Personnel Director invited me to return the following morning for a conference with him. He was already committed for the remainder of the afternoon.

THURSDAY, 8/31: Returned to Pickens for the scheduled visit with Mr. Middleton of Sangamo. This is a branch of the parent company which is headquartered at Springfield, Illinois. Its products are electrolytic capacitors for the electronics industry and a wide variety of precision meters for the electrical industry. Normally, it employs approximately 500 people, however, now it is running with a reduced force of 400 people. Of these, three are colored specialists as follows:

1-Chemist, college graduate, male.
1-I. B. M. Computor operator, college geaduate, female.
1-Clerk-typist, two years college plus commercial school.

Pickens, a small mountain town in the foot-hills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, has only a scattered few Negroes within its environs. The three above listed people were secured from the U. S. Employment Service, and by means of personal contact between Mr. Middleton and a colored leader in the nearby town of Easley, S. C., with whom he maintains a good working relationship. As futher evidence of this company's affirmative approach, one of the above colored employees came from Mississippi, one from Orangeburg, S. C., and one from Greenville, S. C. The company sub-contracts all janitorial and outside maintenance work hence it has no colored laborers.

It is significant to note that Mr. Middleton took the preliminary precaution to personally talk with many of his white employees, and he had his foremen talk to all of them in advance of actually beginning to employ colored people. This in order that everyone in the plant knew and understood, in advance, what was to be done, and why. At first, there was some petty grumbling, but, now, everyone is reconciled to the practice, and fully adjusted to it. The colored employees have equal access to the company cafeteria and rest rooms, and they are fully accepted and adjusted in routine fashion.

Within the next six months, this company will open an additional plant at Walhalla, S. C., in which the same policies will govern. As they have need to expand their labor force, additional Negroes will be employed, if available.

Mr. Middleton displayed a most enlightened and unprejudiced viewpoint. He is a graduate of Furman University, Greenville, S. C., and former student of the late Dr. A. T. ODell, a cousin-in-law of your reporter.

A SUGGESTED AMENDMENT.

MAKE EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925 AN INCENTIVE

INSTEAD OF A COMPULSION.

BY

JULIAN M. LONGLEY.

Traditionally, southern industry has accomplished whatever its managements dedicated themselves to do. Contrariwise, they have successfully avoided those things which they considered unwise, or which, for various reasons, they determined not to do. Almost invariably, they support those measures and requirements which offer some degree of profit to their respective companies. With equal vigor, they oppose those which, to them, seem to be harassment with no opportunity for gain.

An old adage among them is, "all improvements require changes in method and procedure, however, change, for change sake, does not within itself necessarily make for improvement". This is a perfectly natural, businesslike attitude. It is a common reaction to Executive Order 10925 having to do with creating Equal Employment Opportunity, which seeks more to compel than to encourage compliance. In seeking to create an equal degree of opportunity in employment, it establishes , as a condition for doing business with the Government, a compulsion to abandon traditional practices in employment, and, to institute changes which, from management's point of

view, are entirely sociological in nature. Thus the ideals set forth in the preamble of whereases in the order are completely obliterated by the sanctions and penalties outlined in subpart D.

The certificate of merit provided in subpart E is overshadowed in the mind of management by the punitive compulsions enumerated in the preceding section. There is general resentment among southern management people toward the order's compulsions. This may be intensified because it came about by Executive Order following their many years of successful political effort to prevent its legislative enactment. In some instances, this resentment is very bitter. In others, it is mild. In a minority of instances, broader minds and deeper thinkers have seen the inevitable necessity for action in this matter, and they are accepting it philosophically and approaching affirmative compliance. To this latter group, it seems that some recognition should be given now.

Just as scientific incentive, piece-work methods have encouraged almost miraculous increases in production per man hour at the production line level of industry, it is likely that the psychological effect of an incentive for management would go far toward accomplishing the goals which The President seeks to attain in the Equal Employment Opportunity Order.

There is considerable merit in thinking about a plan which will award the Certificate of Merit to those companies which, forthrightly, in the beginning,

proclaimed their intention to comply with the order, and proceeded to do so.

At the end of a reasonable time, those companies which attain a predetermined stage of compliance could be allowed Premium of Merit of one percent of the amount of their contract. When predetermined stage two is reached, an additional one percent might be granted. At stage three, another. When full compliance is achieved, another one percent could be granted. Thus, from earliest beginning to attaining full compliance, a company could, by its own effort, get the benefit of a four percent gain in income as a performance bonus, and all the country would be the better-off for its having done so.

We know that money talks louder than words. The over-all benefits to our national economy from having complete compliance with Executive Order 10925 will be a handsome return on the incentive expense in will intail. It will be a long-range investment in the growth of America.

Dollars are the best of tonics for relief of hysteria and prejudice. They serve to elevate our culture too.

COPY

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SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY

WEEK ENDING----SEPTEMBER 10, 1961.

JULIAN M. LONGLEY.

TUESDAY: 9/5/61: Visited with Mr. W. N. Banks, Grantville, Ga. This man, President, Grantville Cotton Mills, Grantville Knitting Mills, Moreland Knitting Mills, and Habersham Mills, has also served many years as a Director, Bibb Manufacturing Company, Macon, Ga.

It was immediately evident, upon entering Mr. Banks office that he was in an advanced stage of Parkinson's Disease, and that to discuss the subject of my mission would be highly out of order. Hence, our conversation was limited to a brief discussion of La Grange College, of which he is a Trustee, mutual friends, and his own physical condition.

In addition to his many industrial connections, this man is a patron of the Methodist Church in Georgia, with which La Grange College is affiliated. He is a life-long friend of Bishop Arthur Moore, one of the original organizers of the Southern Regional Council.

There being no opportunity to discuss the business at hand, I departed.

WEDNESDAY: 9/6/61: Because of a mild attack of Intestinal virus, I remained in Atlanta. During the day, visited the office of Owens-Illinois Glass Company's East Point, Ga., plant. The Manager was out of town. Mr. Edward Brinkley, Director of Industrial Relations was engaged in a series of conferences which were to continue throughout the day. He suggested that I see him next week.

THURSDAY: 9/7/61: The virus annoyance continued with abating fury during the morning. Stopped during the afternoon. During the late afternoon and early evening, drove to Clemson, S. C. for a conference, Friday, with Mr Ernest Defore, Manager, The Excelsior Mills Division, Deering-Milliken Company.

FRIDAY: 9/8/61: Excelsior Mills Division, Deering-Milliken Company, Clemson, S. C. Met with Mr. Ernest DeFore, Manager. This plant produces nylon tire cord, employs approximately 250 people of whom 15-20 are colored. Colored employment is, until now, confined to maintenance, janitorial, and warehouse classifications. Except for a few original employees who were hired at the time operations bagan, this plant employs only high school graduates or people with some college training. The educational level is high school or better.

The company of which it is a unit is generally considered to be the third largest textile operation in the country. It is one of the industry's most progressive companies.

Mr. DeFore stated that his company was not prejudiced against the practice of giving equal employment opportunity to prospective Negro employees, however, at the present time, they have many former employees laid-off because of curtailed operations. These being experienced, and having seniority, will be given preference as their recall is needed. The turn-over here is very light, and in most instances when an occasional vacancy does occur, an experienced former employee is available to fill it. They have no forseeable need, as a practical business consideration, to take on any additional employees. During summer vacation periods, students from the local college are used as spare, part-time employees. Thus, they have a constant reservoir of trained and experienced people on whom to call as occasion may require. Some of these students work regularly on second or third shift jobs while attending college during the day.

This company, a shadow of its President, Mr. Roger Milliken, is keenly aware of its community responsibilities, and does a constructive job in that field of endeavor.

In view of Dr. Dunbars instructions that Mr. Robert Troutman is personally working with top managements in some of the larger textile companies which are headquartered in New York City, I purposely avoided calling on plants such as Utica-Mohawk, and other units of the J. P. Stevens group which are located in the Clemson-Seneca, S. C. vicinity.

##########

File
Longley

September 19, 1961

Mr. Julian M. Longley
1559 Peachtree Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Longley:

On Saturday, Les Dunbar and I met with Ben Muse to discuss the planning of the final months of the Southern Leadership Project. Ben was in Atlanta only for the day, and Les is out of the city all this week. Therefore, they have asked me to convey to you our thinking on the employment-industrial consultant experiment.

Les will want to discuss this with you on his return to the office next week but we wanted, in the meantime, to share these decisions with you as quickly as possible.

It was our reluctant decision that quite obviously management in the South is not, at this point, willing to face the problems involved in merit employment. As with so many other areas of "public enlightenment" there will obviously come the time when this will change. At that time it is likely that the kind of industrial consultant services we have tried to offer during these past two and a half months will be valuable and welcomed. But until they are welcomed, the nature of the program and the methods of operation of the Council are such that we see no justifiable way to commit time and effort to these needs.

Reaching this decision on the outcome of the trial effort has not been easy. For, not only does the need exist but we are quite convinced that you have - in both your skills and commitment - a great deal to contribute. At some time in the future, hopefully the not-too-distant future, when conditions and changes warrant we would like to re-examine the situation. Until that time we simply, and most reluctantly

To: J. M. Longley
September 19, 1961

have to face the fact that people (or industries) who don't want to be helped cannot be helped.

Our three month exploratory period runs through October 11th; until that time feel free to conclude any trips or arrangements which seem to you to be of value.

Less will be in all of next week. At your convenience, would you please call him and arrange for a time when we may discuss this matter personally and in detail.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb
bcc: Ben Muse
LWD

10-10-61

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY

JULIAN M. LONGLEY

TERMINAL REPORT-COVERING THE PERIOD

SEPTEMBER 20, THROUGH OCTOBER 10, INCLUSIVE.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1961: WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC MANUFACTURING CORPORATION, ATHENS, GEORGIA PLANT.
Mr. J. D. Grewell, Director of Industrial Relations, is a native of Wheeling, West Virginia who did his graduate work in engineering and industrial psychology at The University of Pittsburg. He advised that Westinghouse had an openly announced policy of non-discrimination in employment, and in the use of rest-room and plant cafeteria facilities. At present, they are employing fifteen or twenty Negroes in a variety of job classifications ranging from production line to engineering. Plant, employee relations are harmoneous. They have not, as yet, had any applicants for clerical or office positions.

This plant manufactures a line of small to medium sized electrical transformers, the primary market for which is to supply domestic voltage current to residences and apartment buildings. Activity in the home building trade determines its sales and running schedules. Now, because of the low level of building activity, it is running at half its normal capacity with a proportionately reduced labor force.

GENERAL TIME CORPORATION, ATHENS, GEORGIA: Mr. Jack Graham, Plant Manager, is a native of Peterboro, Canada, (near Toronto) who has spent his entire working career with this company. Beginning his employment with them in a Canadian plant as a tool and die maker's apprentice at fifteen cents per hour# he rose through the ranks to become manager of the Athens plant. His initial trip to Georgia was during last February when he arrived in Athens co-incidental with the riots at the University which surrounded the entrance of the first two Negro students to the University.

Prior to his appointment as manager, in the Athens plant, it had been victimized by a series of strikes which resulted from an internal feud between Non-Union and Union employees. Recently, The National Labor Relations Board decertified the Union there as bargaining agent for the employees, and though still tense, labor relations are gradually returning to normal. Neither Mr. Graham nor his company hold any prejudice against Equal Employment Opportunity, however, they know that it would be folly to attempt to desegregate now in view of the already delicate situation with which they are faced.

GENERAL TIME CONTINUED: Mr. Graham has established a good understanding of the local Negro community in Athens through the Principal of the local Negro High School, a Mr. Payne who, during his spare time works as the head waiter for the Athens Country Club. In due course, this plant will commence to desegregate its employment when, in the judgement of its management people, it can do so without disrupting its now sensitive labor atmosphere.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 21: Drove to Chicopee, Georgia, just below Gainesville for a conference with Mr. Ray Swtenburg, Manager of Manufacturing for The Chicopee Manufacturing Company.

Just after I turned from the highway into the plant parking area, a spectacular automobile accident, on the highway in front of the mill office completely demoralized everyone in the office and yard. During the confusion that ensued and after the excitement had partially subsided, Mr. Swetenburg left for the day before I could talk with him. There being no one else available who could discuss such a matter, I departed.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27: Although banks and commercial establishments are not affected by Presidential Order 10925, they do afford a good potential opportunity for employment for qualified Negroes in the near future. It is my opinion that such institutions may be a more immediate opportunity than industrial establishments simply because of the degree of influence which local Negroes and Human Relations Councils may exert in the field of local economics and politics. This is not possible in industry. In order to exchange opinions on this thinking and to test reaction to the same, I visited:

THE FULTON NATIONAL BANK, ATLANTA: The personnel director, Mrs Alice Allen, a long time acquaintance, was engaged in a series of meetings and not available. In her absence, I talked briefly with her assistant. For sometime, this bank has, as occasion required, upgraded its best qualified janitorial employees to serve as bank messengers, although they are not formally designated as such, they are paid at a higher rate. There has been no stated policy established yet which will permit expanding the areas of employment for Negroes beyond this level.

J. J. NEWBERRY: Talked with their Personnel Director, Mrs Alma Peek, a long time acquaintance. This company now employs approximately fifty Negroes, many of whom are waitresses, bus boys, and food counter attendants. I was advised, on the very strictest of confidences of the impending desegregation of lunch counters, and that the company could not, at this time, discuss or consider Equal Employment Opportunity, until all problems having to do with the lunch counter matter were disposed of satisfactorily.

The two last noted visits had no bearing on compliance with Presidential Order 10925, however, they afforded good samples of opinion on probable future developments.

Summary: 9/20-10/10/61.
Julian Longley,
Terminal Report.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 2: RE-VISIT TO PEPPERELL MANUFACTURING CO.
Mr. Jack Smith, Plant Manager assured me that he had had a series of conferences and informal discussions covering the subject of our initial conference with him, and that he is accumulating data, information, and opinions now in preparation for an affirmative approach to the matter of desegregating his labor force. Such an approached, he emphasized, will, of necessity be cautious, gradual, and slow.
(Note to SRC: Refer to report dated W. E. 8/25/61 covering my initial visit to this company on Thursday, 8/24/61

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3, CHICOPEE MANUFACTURING COMPANY, CHICOPEE, GA.
Met with Mr. Ray Swetenburg, Southern Manager of Manufacturing. Of approximately 750 employees, this company is now working 12-15 Negroes, all of whom are employed in maintenance or janitorial capacities. Its total present production is now going into commercial and domestic consumption so that it is not now confronted with any problems having to do with the Presidential Executive Order 10925.

PACOLET MANUFACTURING COMPANY, NEW HOLLAND, GEORGIA:
This company, one of the larger components of the Deering-Milliken group is under the management of Mr. J. J. Norton, Treasurer and General Manager. He was out of town for the whole week and there was no one available with whom to discuss the purpose of my visit.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5: THOMASTON, GEORGIA:
THE THOMASTON MILLS: Mr. Julian Hightower, President, was involved in a Directors meeting, and not available for an interview. In his stead, I conferred with Mr. Lloyd K, Williams, Manager, Peerless Mill Division of Thomaston Mills, a long time friend. The entire production of this company, domestic sheeting, is now going into the linens and domestic markets, consequently, they have no problems associated with Executive Order 10925.

MARTHA MILLS DIVISION, B. F. GOODRICH TIRE & RIBBER COMPANY:
SILVERTOWN, GEORGIA. Mr. S. W. Hempstead, Plant Manager, advised that his entire production is currently going into the automobile tire industry, and such sale yarns as they produce are going to the weaving industry.
This is a captive mill having autonomous management authority. It has not, as yet, encountered any problems having to do with the Executive Order covering Equal Employment Opportunity, however, Mr. Hempstead assured me that should such problems arise, he will welcome our assistance in seeking solutions.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 9: SPARTANBURG, S. C.: DEERING-MILLIKEN RESEARCH CORPORATION: When I arrived, I was told that Mr. Russell Newton, President, a long time acquaintance, had been unexpectedly called out of town. I talked briefly with one of his research engineers, likewise a long time acquaintance,

but he could not express any opinion on a matter which involved company policy with which he was not familiar, except to say that they would not decline to talk seriously with any well qualified and experienced research engineer, regardless of race, provided he had a solid record of accomplishment in research, machinery development, and process development.

GREENVILLE, S. C. THE RALPH E. LOPER COMPANY, INDUSTRIAL ENGINEERS, SPECIALIZING IN TEXTILE ENGINEERING:

These people have a broader understanding, working knowledge, and intimate association with management problems than any other agency affiliated with the textile industry. From their vantage point of familiarity with the entire industry, they know that there is a slow, cautious, but limited approach being made throughout the industry toward compliance with Executive Order 10925. Todate, this has been confined to the preparatory processes of opening, picking, carding, and drawing.

Mr. Walter Simister, Vice President in charge of Engineering, seemed quite interested in hearing of the approach being made by by one of the companies visited during the first month of our study, in which they were considering changing the job title of cleaner, in the spinning room, to that of spinner's helper, and permitting long-time Negro (women) employees who have been sweeping around spinning frames to assist in this type work in order to learn how to spin.

In an informal exchange of opinions and discussion, the general conclusion prevails that in order to accomplish full compliance with Executive Order 10925, a great deal of patience, caution, and considerable time will be required, unless some national emergency should arise to cause an acute shortage of experienced labor. Because of the prevailing depressed condition of industrial activity, there is now a surplus of such labor readily available without the expense of training unskilled people.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10: PINE TREE DIVISION, JAMES LEES AND SONS, DAHLONEGA, GEORGIA: Mr. Charles Moore, Personnel Director: Upon arriving at the subject plant, the receptionist advised me that Mr. Moore would see me in about fifteen minutes, but after waiting an hour and a half, I was advised that he could not see me at all because of an unexpected series of meetings which were called for by the plant manager. Dahlonega, situated in the North Georgia mountains does not seem to have any Negro population. None is visible, nor were there any in evidence on the streets. Although the parent company may sell some carpeting to some agencies of the Government, this plant makes only the yarns from which carpets are made.

Paul –

Collingson
has finished
with these –

Marge

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Harold,

I am volunteering these editorial notes to The New Republic which may or may not be used.

Regards.

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

1/7/61

As President Kennedy undertakes to "care that the laws be faithfully executed," he faces a big and somewhat dangerous piece of unfinished business. It is that of bringing about compliance, in the face of rampant opposition in the South, with the Supreme Court rulings of 1954 and 1955 outlawing segregation in the public schools.

The business has to be handled without precipitating public turmoil, (although the new President inherits some turmoil, which his predecessor did nothing to prevent or to allay). The job has to be done without exasperating the South at a time when national unity is most imperative, and without alienating the Southern support necessary to the success of the President's legislative program.

Is it impossible? We don't know absolutely until it has been tried. It has not yet been tried, at the presidential level. It would be heartening to see an attempt made. The mere fact that the President wants, and is determined, to see the law obeyed, if expressed in unmistakable ways, could go a long way. The change from a President whose wishes in the matter have never been made known to a President who clearly wants the job done could itself could ~~change~~ alter the picture materially. It might work wonders. Southern moderates have not yet experienced the back-stiffening feeling of having a President of the United States on their side; the trumpeters of defiance have not been aware of incurring a President's displeasure.

If President Eisenhower had followed the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955 with appeals to the nation for orderly compliance ~~with those decrees~~, if he had used his influence publicly and privately with Southern leaders to this end, if the federal Office of Education

with those decrees; if he had sought, with sympathetic understanding of the difficulties, to show the inevitability of this social change; if he had used his influence publicly and privately with Southern leaders to this end; if the Federal Office of Education had assumed as obvious that the law of the land must be carried out and had extended advice and assistance to Southern school administrators in the task of adjustment; if the President had taken time out from golf at Augusta, Georgia, to deplore the defiance and race tension in a wide area surrounding that city-- The "Ifs" could be multiplied. We don't like "Ifs." They are pertinent here, however, not because of what might have been, but because of what still may be. There is positive encouragement in reviewing such Eisenhower omissions as these in this vastly important matter. They point up the fact that things need not be as bad as they are. They should suggest to the new President the broad outlines of an effective course of action.

Staff

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

August 3, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The campaign to bring out the vote in the South, under the coordination of the Southern Regional Council, seems to be on its way. If this is it, three cheers and may it be a resounding success. A mighty effort to bring Negroes into their rightful place in the electorate is a magnificent and inspiring initiative.

It may hamper or prevent the kind of friendly penetration that I had hoped to make during coming months in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. I don't think it will make any appreciable difference in Brewbaker's work, with which, by the way, I am increasingly pleased. (He paid me a long visit here Saturday.) It may not affect Longley's still problematical work. (I had a long session with him Friday and will confer with him again August 8 and 19 as I go through Dalton on other travels.) The effect of the vote campaign publicity upon my personal operations I shall be better able to judge after the movement begins to take shape.

If I may say so, I think the most urgent matter of business now is that of preparing the office at 5 Forsyth St. to cope with increased activity. I had intended to venture some of my thoughts on this problem, with or without the vote project.

The old system of completely open-house informality has advantages among a small group, but in a steadily expanding organization it is bound to reach a point of diminishing returns. I think officers need to be able to communicate and confer privately without having to greet visitors and join in conversation irrelevant to the business at hand. At present your time and attention are very much at the mercy of every caller who walks in.

Conferences between officers should be arranged by interoffice phone, so that A doesn't have to plunge into a conference with B's other visitors when he comes to confer with B.

I would suggest an inter-office telephone system, more closed doors, controlled appointments and a tactful, but firm, secretary to regulate the admission of visitors. Also a method of keeping check on matters of pending business other than petty routine, and assurance that every letter will be acknowledged promptly, even though full reply may be delayed. A messenger might make regular rounds of "out" baskets and "in" baskets from office to office.

I would suggest comfortable waiting room facilities in the space used for buffet at times of executive committee meetings, with a barrier of some kind before you get to the present coat rack. There should be several "customer" desks always available for visitors with paper work.

The whole system of office operation needs to be rigidly supervised by the executive assistant, to free you for the larger affairs for which you have all too little time.

These specific suggestions are not expected to be of much value except in pointing up the need for mechanical preparation for expanded activity -- which, I believe, is urgent. It is not a matter in which I have any expert knowledge and it is not my business, except in my desire to see you and the council successful in all your undertakings.

I do hope you got away from it all and had some fun at Nags Head.

Sincerely,

Ben

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Auburn 3-6764

File

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

JM

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 3, 1961

To: Dr. Dunbar

From: BM

Subject: RBF and regular SRC publication projects.

In re your memo of February 22, I think it will be difficult to draw a line between RBF and regular SRC publication projects. Budgetary considerations apparently counsel an increased use of RBF funds in this field. Under the circumstances I would approve RBF financing of the projected pamphlets on the problems of college desegregation. I would certainly find it useful in my work.

I like the idea of engaging McMillan when we appropriately can, rather than taking the risk of untried talent.

I have a general idea of the L-Reports and other research in prospect, but might we not adopt a definite plan which would be helpful to us both? What I suggest is a monthly progress and outlook sheet -- one copy for me. It would list projects in the mailing stage, in mechanical production, in the drafting process, scheduled for next attention, and under consideration for the indefinite future. The list would, of course, be subject to frequent change, but it would nevertheless be a useful basis for planning. What do you think of this idea?

I guess this would be a good idea

Ben

MF file

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

March 21, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I had a telephone call from Paul Rilling yesterday which underlines a problem that, perhaps, I should bring to your attention in this period of reorganization.

Paul requested that I call upon two members of the Virginia board of education and urge that the board rescind an order of some kind said to have been given to Dean Ross, of Longwood College, that Ross cease to express his views regarding the Prince Edward County school situation.

I plan to visit Dean Ross by way of refreshing myself on the Prince Edward County picture. Whether or not it would be helpful for me to get into a board of education controversy I can judge better when I know more about it. Surely there are hundreds of embattled moderates across the South whom we would like to help.

However, questions arise as to whether I should undertake to investigate cases and defend persecuted individuals, whether it would do any good, how it would affect my other work -- and whether or not Paul's "requests" are well thought out and cleared with you and Harold.

Paul does not ask my opinion on the advisability of my doing this or that. His "requests" are not take-it-or-leave-it suggestions such as I get from members of the board and others (which are most helpful). He wants the thing done, and I must be prepared for an argument if I object.

Paul wrote a very official-sounding letter to Brewbaker on December 22, saying, "Perhaps you can find it possible to work in some sort of Florida trip into your agenda sometime early in the new year" -- and suggesting three cities to be visited. I was not consulted, but I received a copy of the letter.

It happened that I had already approved a Florida itinerary for Brewbaker for January, including the cities in question. But had it not been so, Brew would be inclined to regard such a letter from Atlanta headquarters as an order, and to prepare for the trip forthwith.

I would like to be able to discuss the situation in various states with Paul, as I formerly did with Fred Routh, but the conversation invariably turns to comment on what I should or should not do, and ensuing argument.

Harold, whose advice I value in all things, has avoided giving me specific instructions, probably in the belief that the Southern Leadership Project could be developed best by letting me find my own way around. I am no doubt unduly inhospitable to advice, having been too much a lone wolf for too many years! I need advice and would certainly welcome some from you, particularly in this matter.

On the other hand, I do not think Paul Rilling fully appreciates the distinction between the Human Relations Council work, which is so important and which he handles so well, and the delicate strategy of trying to influence the thinking of Southern leadership. It may be desirable in some way to clarify the range of responsibilities of the Field Director. Maybe this can be done by a word here and a word there.

This is not quite a case of incompatibility, and there is no crisis impending. In any case, I feel that it is most important for you to have a congenial and smooth-functioning staff and I want to do everything I can at my end to see that you do.

Sincerely,

Ben

April 28, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

To partially fill in on some of the existing staff vacancies, Les has asked me to be something of a (bootleg) research man. In this regard, the copy of your letter of Appil 25 to Hero, and the Beauregard material have come to my attention. L-Report, or otherwise, what do you want do do with it?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony,
Executive Assistant

Pa/hs

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

4/26/61

Dear Les:

Your thermofax copies of Hero's material just arrived. Hero asked my help in bringing it out in connection with the Manassas re-enactment. I thought of its possible use in New South or as an L-Report.

Brooks Hays said Monday ~~kha~~ that he would "get to work right away" on the Wake Forest situation.

Regards

Ben

I had intended to forward the Hero material herewith!

April 25, 1961

Mr. Alfred O. Hero
Executive Secretary
World Peace Foundation
67 Larch Road
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Al:

I was very glad, indeed, to get your statement "to whom it may concern" and the 1873 address of General Beauregard.

I think the address should be given the fullest publicity, with and without your statement. When used with your statement perhaps your relationship to the general should be mentioned and I might suggest that your New Orleans address only be used.

The best coverage at the time of the re-enactment of the First Battle of Manassas would be in the Washington Post. I believe I can get my friends at the Post to do something about this.

The Southern Regional Council will no doubt wish to reprint and publicize this material otherwise. Do we have your authorization to do so?

In any case, I would appreciate it if you would kindly send me half a dozen additional copies of these mimeographs.

Your material is of particularly timely interest to us as we are setting up a committee to consider some statement in the light of the unfortunate turn which some of the centennial observances are taking.

No doubt you have been in touch with the National Centennial Commission. I may mention the fact that Dr. Bell I. Wylie, a member of the Commission and also a member of our board, is thoroughly in sympathy with your point of view.

I did see Zukoski in Birmingham and had a very fine talk with him -- thanks to your suggestion.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

This came in the morning mail. thought you might find interesting.

N.N. file

Spring, 1961

To Whom It May Concern:

Civil War Centennial Commissions have been extoling the contributions and ideals of Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, General, C.S.A., and I assume that he will receive increasing attention as the centennial of the First Bull Run approaches and the commemorations move into high gear. Since General Beauregard's thinking and character have already been misrepresented by at least several commemorations, I am circulating this brief note covering extracts of a public address by the late general on the South's most trying and pressing problem to vindicate his memory.

Contrary to some of the utterances at Civil War re-enactments, General Beauregard was not an ultra-traditionalist whose thinking was determined largely by some romanticized image of the plantation past. He was a strong critic of Southerners who focussed their energies on issues that were already decided at Appomattox and who were so preoccupied with the frustrations and sentimentalized "glories" of the past that they failed to think and act realistically and vigorously with respect to the trying problems of the present and future. Claims of "professional" Southerners notwithstanding, this Creole was not a great military strategist and tactician, but he was an individual of strong character who did not hesitate to speak out against majority opinion on even the most controversial matters.

The attached excerpts from his published address of July 1, 1873, as leader of the Unification Movement in Louisiana, for example, indicate that his views on race relations were very close to those of the much maligned Southern liberals of today. General Beauregard advocated enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the "carpetbagger" constitution and an alliance of thoughtful Negroes and Whites against racist demagogues. He was supported by a number of forward-looking planters, professional men, and other leaders of New Orleans and French Louisiana, but attacked violently by the predecessors of strong current segregationists in Anglo-Saxon, fundamentalist, north Louisiana and in the Bible Belt generally.

If alive today, General Beauregard would be vocally critical of the thoughts and acts of State Sovereignty Commissions, Citizens' Councils, and other provincial, backward-looking groups, and undoubtedly of many of the speeches being made under the auspices of Centennial Commissions. Instead, he would undoubtedly be active in the Southern Regional Council and other liberal groups, and would openly support the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. He would very probably be a fearless supporter of cosmopolitans in the Catholic Church in New Orleans, Mobile, and elsewhere in the South. Others of his utterances and correspondence indicate that this cosmopolitan Creole aristocrat of French culture would be equally critical of trends away from the historical internationalism of the South - he would be speaking out for close ties with the outside world, international ideas, and responsible, activist, American policies abroad.

The attached is only a sample of this Creole's views on the South's difficult, complex problems. I trust that it will help responsible Southerners in Keeping the record straight as General Beauregard's memory is portrayed.

Sincerely,

Alfred Olivier Hero, Jr.

Alfred Olivier Hero, Jr.
2233 St Charles Avenue, New Orleans, La
and
67 Larch Road, Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Mr Dunbar - I hope to look you up shortly - I am one of several social scientists involved in a systematic study of Southern reactions to world affairs. Moreover, I am working with the F.P.A. on a group papers and a small conference focused on programs of world affairs education in the South. The attached is an effort to assault the traditionalist with their own idols.

Alfred Hero, Jr.

"The Unification Question"
A Published Address
July 1, 1873
by
Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard

I have been made the subject of ungracious and illiberal observation here and elsewhere because of my report ... recommending a closer union of all the members of the permanent population of the state, to promote ... a wise and provident legislation. The ends proposed are not only unobjectionable, but patriotic and praiseworthy.

The complaint is of the means. Those means consist of a candid and frank acknowledgement of constitutional and legal facts which none can deny and the conforming of our conduct to those provisions of the constitution of the state of Louisiana which are as follows:

"Art. 13. All persons shall enjoy equal rights and privileges upon any conveyance of a public character; and all places of business or of public resort, or for which a license is required by either state, parish, or municipal authority, shall be opened to the accommodation and patronage of all persons, without distinction or discrimination on account of color.

"Art. 135. All children of this state between the ages of 6 and 21 shall be admitted to the public schools or other institutions of learning, sustained or established by the state, in common, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition."

... My proposition is, if possible, to unite these various conditions of men into a common effort to improve the conditions of the state, to remove, if it can be done, all questions that are special to any of these conditions, and to fix the hearts of all upon higher and more important aims.

The strife, hostility, and distrust, the estrangement that has followed from such questions has placed our state under the control of the depraved, dishonest, overreaching and corrupt. The reputation of the state has suffered, its credit blemished, its finances disordered, its honor stained, and public and private prosperity retarded under the influence of the strife and the use made of it by the artful and selfish adventurers, who have employed power to accomplish these disastrous results.

... We must... look only to ourselves for salvation, which can only be secured by making a firm alliance with all classes of our population to rid us of these vampires who are sucking the very life blood of our people white and black.... Throughout the years ... the denial by the native whites of the Negroes' constitutional right to enter their children in any public school, to travel on public conveyances, and to enter public places on non-segregated bases has been the means of arraying whites and blacks almost solidly in bitter political hostility against each other.

It has driven the blacks into an unnatural coalition with a horde of unscrupulous adventurers who have thus secured the political power of the commonwealth.... I may be mistaken in supposing that a frank and cordial concession of absolute and practical civil, as well as political equality between all citizens, without regard on account of race or color, as proposed in this movement, would remove the last barrier which opposes the political cooperation of good men, of whatever color, for the regeneration of this state; but I am earnest in my conviction that I am not mistaken. ... I am persuaded that the natural relation between the white and colored people is that of friendship. I am persuaded that our interests are identical; that their destinies in this state where the two races are equally divided are linked together; and that there is no prosperity for Louisiana which must not be the result of their cooperation.

I am equally convinced that the evils anticipated by some of the practical enforcement of equal rights are mostly imaginary, and that the relations of the races and the exercise of these rights will speedily adjust themselves to the satisfaction of all.

... Nothing but malice or stupidity could find anything either in the letter or spirit of the unification resolutions which contemplates any interference or dictation in the private social relations of the people... It would not be denied that, in traveling and at places of public resort, we often share these privileges in common with thieves, prostitutes, gamblers, and others who have worse sins to answer for than the accident of color; but no one ever supposes that we thereby assented to the social equality of these people with ourselves. I therefore say that participation in these public privileges involves no questions of social equality... By the enjoyment in common of such privileges, neither whites nor blacks assert, or assent to, social equality, either with each other or even between individuals of the same race....

Memo From Lincoln

I am not a Know-Nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people?

Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a Nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except Negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics."

When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy. — *Abraham Lincoln, letter to Joshua F. Speed, Aug. 24, 1855.*

Wash Post
9-12-60

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 1, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Acting Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am glad to see that the research spot is being so eminently, though temporarily, filled!

I received a reply from Hero today. He would be "very happy to have the material published, distributed, or otherwise made more generally available." He enclosed more copies of his material, of which another herewith for you.

Hero would prefer not to have his own relationship with General Beauregard mentioned, as some segregationist Beauregard descendants have already attacked him for "exploiting their ancestor." Under the circumstances I would leave both Hero and his "To Whom It May Concern" out of our publicity.

He suggests that some other Southern Civil War heroes might be quoted, and mentions William Mahone and Wade Hampton, together with "some of R. E. Lee's remarks and correspondence as President of Washington College." It seems that we have a layout here for a special issue of New South, devoted to remarks of Southern heroes, liberal on the race question or urging North-South reconciliation. Perhaps Dr. Wylie could suggest some heroes who should be quoted and help otherwise.

This looks like work for a depleted staff. If the idea is approved, please let me know what material you have ready at hand and what are present research capabilities. I might be able to be of some help.

Incidentally, I have desk work now to hold me here for another week. The matter of my book is requiring some attention. I have done one radio discussion of it and have another scheduled for Wednesday evening -- over a Richmond station. I have no idea about sales. Reviews have come to my attention in only Raleigh, Richmond, Norfolk, Washington, Louisville, Baltimore and New York papers.

If any other printed mention of my book comes your way, I would appreciate having a copy. (I hope you have received the additional 50 copies which I promptly ordered.)

I am told confidentially that two public schools in my county of Prince William will probably be desegregated next September. The policy is to keep it quiet for the present. I believe I can be of help in due course.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Spring, 1961

To Whom It May Concern:

Civil War Centennial Commissions have been extoling the contributions and ideals of Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, General, C.S.A., and I assume that he will receive increasing attention as the centennial of the First Bull Run approaches and the commemorations move into high gear. Since General Beauregard's thinking and character have already been misrepresented by at least several commemorations, I am circulating this brief note covering extracts of a public address by the late general on the South's most trying and pressing problem to vindicate his memory.

Contrary to some of the utterances at Civil War re-enactments, General Beauregard was not an ultra-traditionalist whose thinking was determined largely by some romanticized image of the plantation past. He was a strong critic of Southerners who focussed their energies on issues that were already decided at Appomattox and who were so preoccupied with the frustrations and sentimentalized "glories" of the past that they failed to think and act realistically and vigorously with respect to the trying problems of the present and future. Claims of "professional" Southerners notwithstanding, this Creole was not a great military strategist and tactician, but he was an individual of strong character who did not hesitate to speak out against majority opinion on even the most controversial matters.

The attached excerpts from his published address of July 1, 1873, as leader of the Unification Movement in Louisiana, for example, indicate that his views on race relations were very close to those of the much maligned Southern liberals of today. General Beauregard advocated enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the "carpetbagger" constitution and an alliance of thoughtful Negroes and Whites against racist demagogues. He was supported by a number of forward-looking planters, professional men, and other leaders of New Orleans and French Louisiana, but attacked violently by the predecessors of strong current segregationists in Anglo-Saxon, fundamentalist, north Louisiana and in the Bible Belt generally.

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PA

May 5, 1961

Colonel Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia.

Dear Col. Muse:

I have just investigated with a printer the possibilities of offset printing a number of copies of the original address by General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard of July 1, 1873. It is really only one sheet of paper, folded in the middle, and printed on all four sides. The printer will send 2000 copies of this bit of mischief to Leslie Dunbar at 63 Auburn Ave, Atlanta, 200 copies to you in Manassas, and 100 copies to a liberal Catholic friend of mine in New Orleans who promises to distribute them to certain Catholics of various views on race relations.

I will be very pleased if these copies could be mailed to the kind of audience the SRC has in mind. I would hope they could be distributed before the re-enactment of the First Battle of Manassas, on July 22, I understand. I trust it will be difficult to re-enact this battle without according considerable attention to the commanding general of the Confederate forces, General Beauregard. Certainly he received much attention in Charleston at the "celebration" of the firing on Fort Sumpter.

I believe the full address is a better vehicle for our purposes than my one-page extract. You will observe, for example, Beauregard's implied support for Negro boycotts and like economic pressure on white enterprises to gain real equality, and for Negro efforts to gain entry into segregated schools, conveyances, etc., by use of courts. He continues that there is little doubt in his mind but that fair courts would be obliged to support the Negroes against the segregationists.

As I mentioned on the 'phone, this address was no isolated action by the General. He was the main driving force behind the Unification Movement for Negro equality. He was also a harsh critic of Louisiana and other Southern leaders who didn't realize that Appomattox settled many of the issues they seemed to be still fighting. A talk he made in the late 1880's to a bunch around the Louisiana Club (an upper class establishment), as my grandfather described it to me some time ago, told these people they ought to shed their provincial habits of mind and action and lead their state toward progress and effective collaboration with the rest of the US. He also had some pretty critical things to say about the money-chasing business class who liked to call themselves leaders but in fact were devoid of useful, original ideas and tended merely to support things as they were.

Let me know if you can use any more of these copies. If you have a good number left after distributing them, the extras might be sent to me for future use.

I hope we can exert some influence on these centennial affairs to keep them from trending in the unfortunate direction indicated by the Fort Sumpter "affair". I was suspicious that that "moonlight and magnolias" crowd would gain one more platform for four years, and I hope still that such will not be the case.

Hec

cc: Leslie Dunbar

MEMORANDUM July 17, 1961

To: Ben Muse

From: Les Dunbar

I saw Burke Marshall in Washington Wednesday and in the course of our conversation he gave me the names of two persons in Memphis whom he said he would like for you to talk with when you ~~come~~ COULD. He has had discussions with both of them. One is Lucius Birch, whom I later learned is an old friend of the Council's, though I do not know him. The other is E. William Henry, a prominent attorney and civic leader and according to Marsh, a friend of Robert Kennedy's.

LWD/sm

file -SLP

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

August 1, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Among items of unfinished business, I understand that you have on hand several thousand copies of General Beauregard's address of July 1, 1873. Les mentioned it the other day, but in the flood of heavier business no action was taken.

I suggest that we mimeograph a transmittal slip reading about as follows:

> In connection with the current public interest in heroes of the War Between the States, we think it is timely to call attention to the attached address of a beloved and admired Southern leader, General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard. It will be noted that General Beauregard took a liberal view of the race question and presented cogent arguments against discrimination and segregation.

I think this should be mailed as far as they go to Categories 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 of our L list and possibly some of the New South list.

Mr. Hero wrote me May 5 that he was sending 2,000 copies to our Atlanta office. He hoped they would be distributed about the time of the re-enactment of the First Battle of Manassas.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

August 5, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am leaving tomorrow on a trip southwest. I enclose outline of itinerary. If there is mail for me, it had best be addressed c/o Hotel Peabody, Memphis through August 14.

With regard to the question of insurance, etc., for me, I think it will be better to avoid these complications and take whatever is due me in cash.

I also enclose copies of correspondence with Saul Silverman, who would like to get into race relations work. You might bear this in mind and bring it to Les' attention.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

August 9, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
% Peabody Hotel
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Ben:

I think the only difference of thought between you and me is that you are keenly and rightfully mindful of the risks, and I think they can be managed. We have not committed ourselves yet to anything except an interest. If the developments of the next few weeks raise sufficient storm signals, or render our ability to manage the risks dubious, we are free to and shall step aside.

Of course, neither I, nor I infer, the members of the Executive Committee, would want to tackle the risks at all if we did not believe that there was a service to be performed here which perhaps no other organization can do.

The suggestions which you make about office management are sound ones. I think you are right that we shall have to move in this direction of tighter procedures.

I am glad to get your comments about Brew's work, which I share. Mr. Longley sent in a report on his activities, which by this time you should have also. I am glad that he has gotten into the work. His letters strike me still as rather too evangelical and forbidding, but he at least seems to have been able to stimulate discussion. I am not sure, however, but that we shall need to review this whole arrangement closely.

It probably is not too early for you and me to talk about a date for a long, uninterrupted discussion of whether we shall ask for a RBF renewal, and how we shall outline the future program. You will recall that a proposal for renewal would have to get up to Freeman in early October. I would like to have a day with you, if I could, with a minimum of distraction, for talk, either here

or some place else. Will you be in Atlanta any time in September? Another possibility is that I have to be in New York September 21 - 22. I could not stop off on the way up, but perhaps I could on September 23 on my return.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

File SRC Muse

August 16, 1961

Ben Muse

Leslie Dunbar

Dear Ben:

Saturday, September, the 16th, it is. We can get together either at my house or downtown. There is no executive committee meeting planned until the morning of November 8, prior to the opening of the annual meeting at noon.

Incidentally, you will recall that we discussed at the last meeting the invitation of a guest speaker to address the annual banquet. If you have any names to suggest I would like to have them; I shall have to get to work on this almost immediately. The inclination here is to try first Robert Weaver. Other names have been tossed about - those of Justices Douglas and Black, and Chester Bowles. All the discussion we have had has been in terms of political figures, though I don't know why this should be exclusively so; Harry Ashmore, McGill, or Mark Etheridge might be appropriate.

Of course, you have my agreement for annual leave during the Labor Day week, and I shall mention this to Mrs. Alexander. I think, however, you do not need to take leave in order to prepare your Virginia State College address. Even though you will not be speaking in specific reference to racial relations, I assume you will be introduced as a staff member of the Council. I think the principle is worth stressing that SRC is not confined to an exclusive preoccupation with racial relations, and that staff members can appropriately speak on other subjects within their competence.

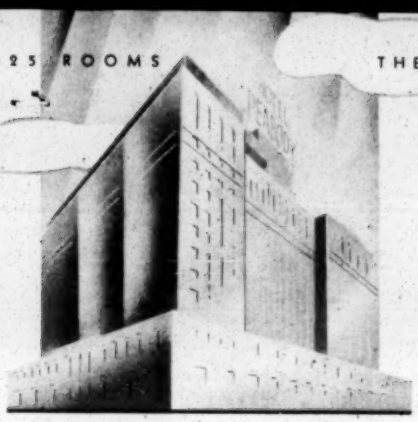
Also, we still follow the rule which Harold established; if an honorarium comes with the speech, the individual may pocket all over and above whatever traveling expenses SRC may incur.

I am deeply distressed at the intimation in the last paragraph of your letter of August 13th.

LD:mb

625 ROOMS

THE SOUTH'S FINEST • ONE OF AMERICA'S BEST



File (1)

HOTEL PEABODY

(AN ALSONETT HOTEL)

MEMPHIS 1, TENNESSEE

August 13, 1961

Dear Les,

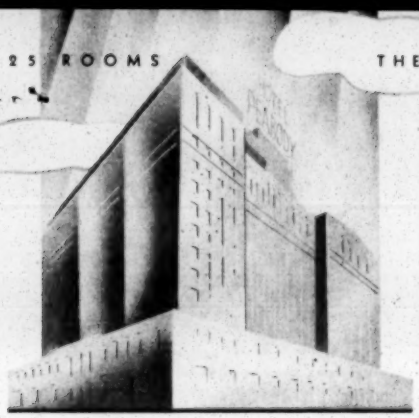
I plan to head south again in the middle of September. We could fix a date for our talk at your convenience after September 14 and before September 20. I don't know how you feel about Saturday conferences, but Saturday is a good day to avoid interruptions. I am reminded that Harold first broached the SLP to me on a Saturday!

Is there an executive committee meeting in the offing for September?

The month ahead is shaping up for me about like this: Ashmanskas is giving me some work in addition to attending the August 24-25 conference in Detroit. He wants me to write a paper for the guidance of parochial school administrators in desegregating, and I have promised to do this during the week after my return.

Your Trip Across America — All Paved — Memphis Hotel Peabody

625 ROOMS THE SOUTH'S FINEST • ONE OF AMERICA'S BEST



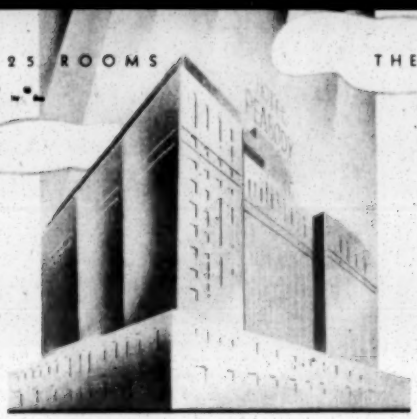
2

HOTEL PEABODY
(AN ALSONETT HOTEL)
MEMPHIS 1, TENNESSEE

The week of Labor Day I would like to call, with your approval, additional vacation. (I believe this will take up four days of my remaining leave.) I may find time for some puttering around my place, but I want the week mainly for the preparation of a lecture. I have accepted an invitation to address the faculty of Virginia State College September 9 on general problems of our time. As there is no reference to race relations in the proposal, and a fee is offered, I do not regard this as an SLP activity.

On the question of extending the Southern Leadership Project beyond the current program year my thoughts are now taking a negative turn. There is, of course, much to talk about. Brewbaker is filling a manifest and growing need. For some years to come I

625 ROOMS THE SOUTH'S FINEST • ONE OF AMERICA'S BEST



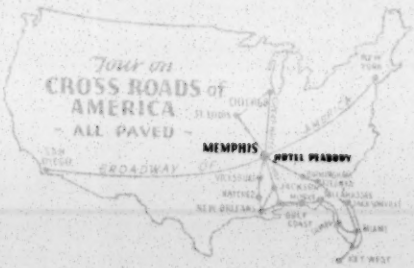
3

HOTEL PEABODY
(AN ALSONETT HOTEL)
MEMPHIS 1, TENNESSEE

think his work of consultation with Southern school administrators can be a major public service. We might wish to continue a consultation service in the field of equal employment opportunities. These activities, however, could be administered from the Atlanta office. As for my personal work, I think it can be rounded out during the remaining months, and, as fascinating as I find it, I am afraid this will not be a satisfactory way of life for the long term.

Sincerely,

Ben



S.R.C.
Southern Leadership Project

August 21, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Mr. Julian M. Longley began his service with us July 12.

I would like to let him know not later than September 12 whether we shall renew his appointment.

I wonder what your recommendation is?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

note: white copy destroyed.

PA ✓
MMB-file

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

August 28, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

At the banquet Saturday evening of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in Detroit the principle speaker was Secretary Goldberg and we heard a telegram of greeting from President Kennedy.

Why can we not get similar Administration endorsement for our farreaching activity?

I discussed speakers for the annual meeting banquet of SRC with Fred Routh. We agreed in a lack of enthusiasm for having Robert Weaver. The fact of Weaver's holding high office and being apparently in line for a cabinet position is in itself of tremendous value to the cause of equal treatment of the Negro, but his appearance at our banquet, or anything that he might say there, in my opinion, would be of little value. Weaver's approval of efforts on behalf of the Negro is taken for granted. His remarks would be noted mainly as a test of the restraint which his position has placed upon him.

Fred Routh thinks we ought to shoot at Lyndon Johnson, Bob Kennedy or Adlai Stevenson. I would certainly add Arthur Goldberg. Burke Marshall would give us a nice Administration link. More diffidently I would suggest Ribicoff, or Assistant Secretary of HEW Quigley.

Outside of the Administration, a number of names will suggest themselves. The three you mentioned seem fine. I would add Lenoir Chambers, editor of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and biographer of Stonewall Jackson.

Sincerely,

Ben

Ben Muse

September 1, 1961

THE PROBLEM OF INTEGRATING

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH

The discussion of the parochial school integration problem offered here is based upon considerable observation of public school desegregation and the general state of race relations in the South, but upon very limited personal knowledge of the parochial school systems. This experience, however, and this perspective, may lend some value to the observations submitted below. It is earnestly hoped that they may be helpful in some measure to those bearing the difficult responsibility of administering Catholic parochial schools.

Two major differences between the parochial schools and the public schools in relation to the integration problem strike us at once. First, the public schools (except in the Archdiocese of New Orleans) serve a vastly greater number of pupils than the parochial schools; and, second, Negroes represent a much higher percentage of the total enrollment in public than in parochial schools. The massive dimensions of the public school problem have in themselves a bearing upon procedures which would have to be followed even with good will (which rarely exists). The problem of a few closely knit parochial schools is obviously simpler.

The large element of Negroes in the total public school enrollment, a majority in some counties, leads to inordinate fear on the part of many white Southerners of "mass" integration. I donot think a massive influx of Negroes into mixed schools is in prospect under any circumstances in the foreseeable future. For legally correct and morally proper reasons I do not expect Negroes to rush, or swarm, in this sense, to schools with white children. But the fear of "mass" integration is there, and it is a major obstacle to compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings. This is an aspect which is of relatively little concern to the parochial schools with their tiny minorities of Negro pupils, although some fears of "mass" integration might have to be allayed in New Orleans.

There are other factors aiding the parochial school administrator which are denied to the administrator of public schools. One is the relative freedom of parochial schools from political scrutiny, controversy and interference.

Much of the public agitation and race feeling which has impeded public school integration has been incited by politicians. The parochial school, under diocesan control, is able to encourage tolerance and interracial understanding in a manner which is forbidden in most public schools. In many areas a public school teacher who would dare to teach integration or interracial brotherhood, or even to urge orderly acceptance of the law of the land, would be in danger of public reprimand or dismissal. The close relationship between the church and the parochial school is another favorable circumstance. The priest speaks directly to the parents and children affected both at Mass and in his visitations.

I stress the advantages of the parochial school administrator over the public school administrator in the face of this challenge, because there are grave reasons why the adjustment should take place in Catholic parochial schools, not later than or even simultaneously with, but before the action is taken by public schools. To announce that parochial schools will be desegregated "not later than the desegregation of the public schools" is an abdication not without a tinge of shame. It makes a step dictated by conscience and Christian doctrine contingent upon an act of governmental compulsion.

From the standpoint of the public interest, parochial school integration in the South would be beneficial in its effect upon attitudes toward public school desegregation. The integration of parochial schools illuminates the moral principle and can serve to some extent as a pilot operation for the public schools which follow them. It can help in smoothing the broad path of a great and inevitable social change. Catholics can take pride in the record of the Diocese of Richmond, which announced parochial school desegregation before the Supreme Court decision in 1954 and put it into effect the following September. This demonstration of orderly adjustment in parochial schools helped condition the public for Virginia's later abandonment of massive resistance to public school desegregation.

In their piecemeal integration such public school districts as have acted have followed a variety of plans: one-grade-a-year from the bottom up; one-grade-a-year from the top down; several grades at a time, or the admission of a small number of Negroes to formerly all white schools without any overall plan. Even when the desegregation of an entire grade is announced the number of Negro applicants for transfer is generally scaled down to a ludicrous minimum through a series of screening devices.

In some instances of extensive integration, notably in Louisville and Nashville, the transition has been softened by an arrangement by which pupils of the minority race in a school are permitted to transfer to another school.

In Nashville which is beginning the fifth year in its one-grade-a-year plan practically all white children transfer when they find themselves assigned to a school which is predominantly Negro; many Negro pupils have also opted for transfer to predominantly Negro schools. In Louisville, where the school board followed a plan of desegregation everywhere at once, with sensational success, the parents of 45 per cent of the Negro children assigned to what had been white schools and the parents of 85 per cent of the white children assigned to what had been Negro schools requested transfer. The purpose of this arrangement is to permit compliance with the wishes of school patrons as far as is compatible with good faith desegregation. This system of positive assignment with later adjustment by voluntary transfer has the advantage of making desegregation effective without forcing the Negro pupil to take the onerous initiative of applying for admission in each case, while at the same time permitting those Negroes who prefer a predominantly Negro school to stay in one.

This transfer arrangement would probably have little value in most parochial school situations. Parochial school administrators are better able to determine informally what Negroes might prefer to stay in predominantly Negro schools. In dealing with white pupils in parochial schools it might be a mistake, starting a train of difficulties, to cater to prejudice by allowing any white pupil to transfer from a school merely because of the presence of Negro pupils in it. At the same time it would seem to be a measure of justifiable prudence to avoid as far as practicable placing only a handful of white pupils in a predominantly Negro school.

The point which the transfer system emphasizes is that many Negroes at this stage do not want to attend school with whites. I think many whites who fear "mass" integration miss this point, which is an important factor militating against wholesale integration. I think practically all Negroes want the right to be assigned to schools without regard to race, and many, vastly more than are now being admitted to white schools, would ask for this privilege now. But I do not think there is any moral or legal duty to place a Negro in an integrated school against his will.

This applies, of course, to the parochial school problem, and, I think, lightens it. In situations where the status quo is sincerely preferred by Negro pupils, no wrong is done by leaving them undisturbed. It is, nevertheless, necessary to abolish the criterion of race and accord Negro children precisely the same privilege as white children, similarly situated and similarly qualified, to attend the parochial schools which they prefer.

This brings us, incidentally, to the question of the pupil's qualifications to attend the school of his choice. Half a dozen states and some public school districts have set up pupil placement plans ostensibly to test the qualifications of the student applying for admission or transfer, (though intended in most cases to prevent Negroes from entering white schools). The principle of examining prospective pupils to determine their qualifications, of course, is sound, and has been upheld by Federal courts -- provided the same tests are applied to white children. The average of Negro scholastic achievement in most Southern states is several years behind that of white pupils of the same age, though the few Negro pupils applying for admission to white schools are generally well above the average. Sweeping integration would involve serious problems of adjustment apart from the question of race prejudice.

An argument in favor of the one-grade-a-year desegregation plan, beginning with the first grade, is that when Negro children and white children start together on the first rung of the education ladder and advance together with the same facilities, instruction and classroom environment, differences in scholastic achievement are unlikely to develop along racial lines. Whatever schedule of integration is followed, this should not be a permanent problem.

The District of Columbia met the problem of differences in scholastic achievement by adopting its somewhat famous "four-track plan." Under this plan pupils are divided into four separate "tracks" according to talent and achievement. Though the plan was adopted in the first instance to cope with the sudden amalgamation of relatively retarded Negro pupils with more advanced white pupils, it provides a mechanism for adjusting to inevitable differences in pupil capabilities regardless of race. Some Negro pupils were found qualified for the highest tracks and some white pupils were relegated to the lowest.

Discussing the "track" system, the principal of a Southern high school once said to me: "We have always had a 'track' system. We just don't call it that." He meant merely that his teachers found ways informally to separate the backward students from the more promising and see that the latter were not held back by the former.

Similarly it would seem that informal means can be found for dealing with a small minority of initially retarded Negro children in a predominantly white parochial school. In the rare instances where Negroes might form a majority, or a substantial part of the student body, something like the "track" system might be indicated. In a few years the differences, insofar as they are identified with race, could be expected to disappear.

Two questions are raised in the matter of timing desegregation. One is: Should integration be gradual, that is, for instance, one grade at a time, or one school at a time? The other is: How much time should be allowed for preparation before integration begins?

Gradualness has a widespread, but I think, deceptive, appeal in this context. We are dealing here with a very unusual social phenomenon. From a purely practical point of view, early desegregation being inevitable, there is little to be gained by delay either for the sake of a gradual schedule or to permit a period of so-called preparation.

A grade-by-grade plan has the disadvantage in some cases of separating brothers and sisters. Often a fourth grade girl is in the habit of accompanying her first-grade younger brother to school. If the first-grader is integrated ahead of her the necessity for getting the little brother to school may impose a certain hardship; it may also require an extra stop for a school bus. If anything in the way of disorderly segregationist protest is feared, dispersal of the operation over the entire school system is preferable to singling out a single school around which the disgruntled might congregate. In any case, I believe there is less likelihood of serious protest in a parish if all schools are integrated simultaneously; then the white patrons of one school are not able to ask: "Why are we obliged to have integration when others are not?"

The idea of following a long program of preparing children and parents for school integration has also a specious appeal. Surely the doctrine of Christian brotherhood as it applies to people of different races should be preached often in Southern parishes and taught in parochial schools. The fallacy of the theory of innate Negro inferiority and the cruel injustices which it causes should be pointed out. The blasphemous myth that God has condemned the Negro race to a condition of servitude should be demolished wherever a vestige of it is still found. We should endeavor to remove race prejudice from the hearts of men. But that is a duty which will remain with us for long years to come.

Segregation must go much sooner than that. If segregation is a result of race prejudice, it is even more a cause of race prejudice. All the intellectual preparation that can be given is not equal to actual association with attractive Negroes as an antidote to prejudice. The presence of a few Negroes in white schools does more to explode myths and allay fear and hysteria than any possible program of indoctrination.

Experience in public schools has proven abundantly that the best way to desegregate is <u>to desegregate</u>. A degree of bold resolution in this area is actually the course of prudence.

Actual desegregation marks more often the end than the beginning of serious trouble. The aftermath of desegregation is always anti-climactic. The presence of a few Negroes in formerly all-white schools soon ceases to attract attention. Opposition simmers down.

I do not think parochial schools should move surreptitiously. A dignified public announcement of coming desegregation should be made. But care should be taken otherwise to keep publicity to a minimum. Elaborate "preparation" may cause harmful publicity. It tends to magnify the difficulty, and may even be taken as a kind of challenge to hostile elements in and out of the church.

Some quiet preparation is in order, of a kind which the school administrator will know best how to make. Private conversation with some dissident parishioners will doubtless help. But as far as possible integration should be anticipated and carried out in a spirit of matter-of-fact routine.

Benjamin Muse

September 1, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

It has just occurred to us that you may have taken my memo to the board, concerning suggestions for new members, as merely a matter of information. To the contrary, we are hopeful that you will send along some good suggestions at your convenience.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb

Benjamin Muse
P.O.Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

It has just occured to us that you may have taken my memo to the board, concerning suggestions for new members, asmerely a matter of information. To the contrary, we are hopeful that you will send along some good suggestions at your convenience.

Best, paul anthony

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

U.S. Civil Rights Div

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Auburn 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

File

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 2, 1961

To: Dr. Dunbar From: BM

Subject: Letter from Burke Marshall

I enclose a letter from Burke Marshall. You may wish to make a copy for RBF.

returned by LAD

Please return either the letter, or a copy, in due course.

(-- Which reminds me of my letter to you of July 6, enclosing a copy of a letter from Y. Dabney and requesting its eventual return. --?)

Harold Fleming writes:

"Among the things I have missed greatly since leaving Atlanta are your field reports. I don't know what questions of protocol might be involved, but if they are not prohibitive and the clerical burden would not be too great, I would be grateful for any that you might send me."

Without objection, when they appear to be of interest, I propose to send copies of my reports routinely to Burke Marshall and Harold Fleming.

Regards.

Ben

August 29, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you very much for sending me copies of your reports on Memphis and the University of Mississippi. I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of the work being done by you and the Council and my appreciation at your willingness to let me share some of the major fruits of that work.

With my best regards,

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

September 19, 1961

Ben Muse

Paul Antony

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is a copy of the memo on the voting project. Also, a copy of the painful letter to Longly.

Ivan Allen headquarters inform us that the Little Rock/New Orleans economic report was prepared for Allen by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce while he was president of that organization. I see no reason why you can't mention that fact when presenting it though any reprint of it should probably go no further into source than the material in the report.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb

Enclosures: cc Longley letter
Last (mimographed) memo from LWD to participating agencies on voter registration project.

September 19, 1961

Mr. Julian M. Longley
1559 Peachtree Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Longley:

On Saturday, Les Dunbar and I met with Ben Muse to discuss the planning of the final months of the Southern Leadership Project. Ben was in Atlanta only for the day, and Les is out of the city all this week. Therefore, they have asked me to convey to you our thinking on the employment-industrial consultant experiment.

Les will want to discuss this with you on his return to the office next week but we wanted, in the meantime, to share these decisions with you as quickly as possible.

It was our reluctant decision that quite obviously management in the South is not, at this point, willing to face the problems involved in merit employment. As with so many other areas of "public enlightenment" there will obviously come the time when this will change. At that time it is likely that the kind of industrial consultant services we have tried to offer during these past two and a half months will be valuable and welcomed. But until they are welcomed, the nature of the program and the methods of operation of the Council are such that we see no justifiable way to commit time and effort to these needs.

Reaching this decision on the outcome of the trial effort has not been easy. For, not only does the need exist but we are quite convinced that you have - in both your skills and commitment - a great deal to contribute. At some time in the future, hopefully the not-too-distant future, when conditions and changes warrant we would like to re-examine the situation. Until that time we simply, and most reluctantly

To: J. M. Longley
September 19, 1961

have to face the fact that people (or industries) who don't want to be helped cannot be helped.

Our three month exploratory period runs through October 11th; until that time feel free to conclude any trips or arrangements which seem to you to be of value.

Less will be in all of next week. At your convenience, would you please call him and arrange for a time when we may discuss this matter personally and in detail.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb
bcc: Ben Muse
LWD

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Les —

These will be of interest for several reasons.

Regards

Ben

PR ✓
PA ✓
MBB - pls return for our files + return original to BM

BUICK
SALES-SERVICE

BREWBAKER MOTORS, INC.
235 LEE STREET PHONE AMHERST 2-0551
MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

OPEL
SALES-SERVICE

October 4, 1961

Return to

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P.O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you very much for sending me your fine book, "Virginia's Massive Resistance".

Not only have I enjoyed reading it but many of my friends have also enjoyed it.

Virginia is to be congratulated upon having the fine leadership which she enjoys in you and your associates.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

W. S. Brewbaker

W. S. Brewbaker

WSB/g

WHEN BETTER AUTOMOBILES ARE BUILT BUICK WILL BUILD THEM

DE BLIEUX, WILSON & GUIDRY
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
105 COURTHOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
233 ST. FERDINAND STREET
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

J. D. DE BLIEUX
BILLY ORAN WILSON
CARL A. GUIDRY

TELEPHONE DI 4-2686

Please return to Benjamin Muse

October 3, 1961

Honorable Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Senator Muse:

I finished the last page of your book Sunday evening. It was most interesting from the first page to the last. I commend you most highly for the excellent manner in which you have handled the subject matter.

Your comments, on pages 174 and 175 pertaining to the New Orleans situation were most accurate. I am hoping that all of those who are concerned with the problem will read your book. If they do, a lot less mistakes will be made.

If the book is re-printed, and I am sure it will be, may I call your attention to what I believe is a slight error or mis-print. On page 122 you spoke of Governor and Mrs. Almond being hosts to the Justices of the State Supreme Court of Appeals on "Sunday evening, January 18," On page 126 the statement was made "that the Governor would speak over a state-wide television-radio hook-up Wednesday evening, January 20, at 7:30 o'clock." If the speech was made on Wednesday, I believe this would be January 21, presuming this was 1959. If the speech was made on the 20th, I believe it would be Tuesday.

I say again, I enjoyed the book immensely and I am going to try to get everyone I possibly can to read it. I enjoyed meeting and talking to you and extend to you, and your love ones, my very best wishes for God's blessings upon you.

Sincerely yours,

J. D. De Blieux

J. D. De BLIEUX

JDD/sac

Holiday Inns® OF GREENSBORO

HOLIDAY INN NORTH
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TELEPHONE 275-5371
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HOLIDAY INN SOUTH
U.S. 29-70-220, AND
INTERSTATE 40 & 85
P. O. BOX 6293
GREENSBORO, N. C.
TELEPHONE 273-5592
TELETYPE GN-58

TA file
MBB file

Oct. 7, 1961

To Les Dunbar —

Some Motoring Afterthoughts

In the negotiation with the Mayor this would seem an appropriate order of steps: I will get into the mail, probably to the mayor, Tuesday, a letter amplifying and further explaining my proposal, with a copy to you. That will complete my initial approach and might be the signal for you as Greensboro Director to express gratification at the prospect, etc.

See the letter to RBT —

If you are going to list governors, etc. seen, I don't recall if you mentioned Orval Faubus. There are also former governors McMath (Arkansas), Darden (Virginia) and Arnall (Georgia). My efforts generally have been more effective at a lower level. One way to deal with this would be to say that I have conferred with a dozen governors, former governors and candidates for governor and with numerous politicians at the mayor and state legislator level. The score of editors seen should

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now be "over 60."

Have you thought of Frank Graham as a banquet speaker?

It was good to see you yesterday. The matter of the mayor may bring me back before long.

Regards.

Ben

November 17, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

We had a good meeting except for your absence. I substituted for you on the program as well as I could and Brew was also on hand to deliver some recommendations. Bert Cartwright voiced the objections which he had expressed also last year and I was gratified by the support which my reply to him seemed generally to get.

Mr. Dabbs gave us one of his best efforts in the presidential address, a little classic, I think. We shall be printing it in the New South.

Give my regards to Beatrice, and to her also the thanks of all of us for making you obey the doctor.

Ruth and I will figure out the leave business.

Don't you think you should get off another letter to the mayor?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

November 5, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Many thanks for your good letter.

My doctor today ordered one month's complete rest and vetoed any traveling next week.

Beatriz immediately installed a TV set to complete my demoralization.

I am keeping intact an engagement to speak to the Charlottesville CHR November 30. Will make that the signal for return to duty and move on south from there.

My salary check October 31 generously took no note of my incapacity during the latter part of that month. I hope to be able to turn to some correspondence in coming weeks, but I must be on leave without pay for November.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Leo:

This side-trip did not seem to justify a separate memorandum, but this much might be filed with memoranda to complete the record.

Ben

November 30, 1961

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I was taken ill soon after my return from a southern tour in October and have been under doctor's orders not to return to work before the end of November.

I have appreciated the copies of memos received and would very much like to continue to get any reports available on your findings in the South.

My visit to Baton Rouge in September was merely a week-end excursion during a more thorough penetration of Mississippi.

I saw Mrs. Margaret Dickson, editor of the Morning Advocate, partly to thank her for the pointedly conspicuous review which the Advocate gave to my Virginia's Massive Resistance. She is a remarkable lady and seemed very much of our point of view. Incidentally she had observed a change in Jimmie Davis since his interview with President Kennedy in August. She found much improvement in the Baton Rouge atmosphere, said that parents would not tolerate school-closing.

I called on Administrative Assistant Chris Faser to leave a copy of my book for Governor Davis. Faser is affable, but not a liberal.

I also called on former State Senator J. D. De Blieux, whose law office is at 233 St. Ferdinand St. He is also chairman of the Louisiana advisory committee to the Civil Rights Commission and an ardent liberal. He plans to run for the State Senate again and thinks he has a chance. You may know him. He is a remarkable fellow and a fine contact in Baton Rouge.

Best regards. I hope we may get together in the not too distant future.

Sincerely,

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

December 15, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have been thinking hard about Albany since your phone call.

I was tempted to get a plane reservation for this week-end, but I see no possibility of my being able to do anything which would affect the course of events there during the next ten days. I have generally avoided visits as a stranger in near-riot situations, when embattled officials have little time for an outsider without official status or obvious business or new information. My routine is usually one of developing contacts quietly, with some ingenuity and appearance of casualness and trying to catch leaders with leisure and in a mood for thoughtful discussion.

It would seem that the Albany situation may reach a public order crisis within the next few days. The mass arrests in Rock Hill, Orangeburg, etc. in February, 1960, suggest a possible pattern. Albany could also be much worse. I am surprised that the Department of Justice hasn't sent someone to the area. I know it wants to avoid the appearance of intervention, but it must want to keep fully informed and to be prepared to dispatch marshals if necessary.

Information seems the most urgent need, and an accurate report will probably be the greatest service we can render from the long-term point of view. When we have a man there doing the research job, we will also have a contact for news of current developments. So I hope it will be possible to get someone to start on the Albany story soon; he might go down for a preliminary investigation now and make a second trip later for the final round-up.

I am planning to fly to Albany Tuesday evening after Christmas, December 26. It would be fine if Eric Lincoln could be there at the same time. My plan would be to fly back to Atlanta at the end of the week to exchange notes with you and then continue home before the New Year. We will see how this latter fits into your own schedule.

You were kind enough to say that you are sending me some information. I hope I may get more from you before Christmas. I would particularly like to get some leads as to moderate citizens of prominence in Albany who might cooperate with me, if you learn of such.

Let us keep in touch.

And, by the way, Merry Christmas!

Sincerely,

Ben

Ben Moore

Itinerary, August 6-21

Leave Sunday, 6, 11 A.M. Spend night anywhere south of Roanoke.

Monday, 7: Proceed Blue Ridge Parkway, via Ashville, to point west of Cleveland on 64, or turn off toward Blue Ridge and Cartersville (411) spending night near intersection.

Tuesday, 8: Address Cartersville Lions Club, 12 noon. Drive north to Dalton to meet Longley, 4 P.M. Spend night near Chattanooga.

Wednesday, 9: Proceed to Gadsden, Ala., or Nashville. (Two-day schedule flexible.)

Thursday, 10: Spend night Nashville.

Friday, 11: Speak to students, 10-12 A.M. Spend night Nashville. (Forward no mail, but if urgently necessary, contact me through Harland Randolph, Southern Student Leadership Seminar, Fisk University. AL pine 4-6466)

Saturday, 12: Proceed to Memphis, Peabody Hotel.

Sunday, 13, Monday 14, Tuesday, 15, Wednesday, 16, Memphis. Check out Wednesday and proceed to Oxford, Mississippi (75 miles).

Wednesday, 16: Spend night Oxford. Alumni House, Prof Jas. Silver phone no. 966-J.

Thursday, 17: Spend night Oxford.

Friday, 18: Set out after lunch, driving east.

Saturday, 19: See Longley in Dalton and spend night there.

Sunday, 20: Start north toward home.

Monday, 21: Continue journey to Manassas.

Mahone

I have stood upon Cemetery Hill and looked down on the scene of the great crater fight, and wondered in my heart if God could have any forgiveness for those men who led the South into that awful war, and are answerable for the blood, the misery, the ruin that followed. Yet under their teaching I was one of the most bitter and irreconcilable of all who flew to arms in the cause of the State and the Confederacy, and I never learned my wretched error, the awful blunder of the South, the curse of her institution of slavery and her traditions until I sat in the United States Senate, and day by day had borne in upon me the amazing significance of our form of government, what it meant, on what basis it was founded, how great and grand it was above any previous human effort, what it meant for humanity, and how much greater the nation was than any State.

William Mahone of Virginia, Blake.

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

1 PA ✓

MA

LWD

MM

EW

SM

2 PR ✓

JC

LEC

3 MET ✓

BC

4 RHA ✓

PP

WF

5 MF

6 FILE

Section IV — Editorials, Books, Articles, Radio, Amusements

Richmond Times-Dispatch

OUR TIMES — Section IV

Richmond, Virginia, Sunday, September 28, 1941

Ben Muse Blends Color With Philosophy

By Delmege Tr

IT WAS the thirteenth inning a was still 0-0. . . . That's whe cal light came to Benjamin Muse.

Oh, he'd had plenty of opportunit the year and seven days he was i in a German prison camp during War I to develop a passion for peace for all the concomitants of a democra system of government. But it was durin that championship baseball game in Nica ragua between the rival cities of Managu and Grenada that the governmental ideals of the current Republican aspirant for Virginia's governorship took definite form.

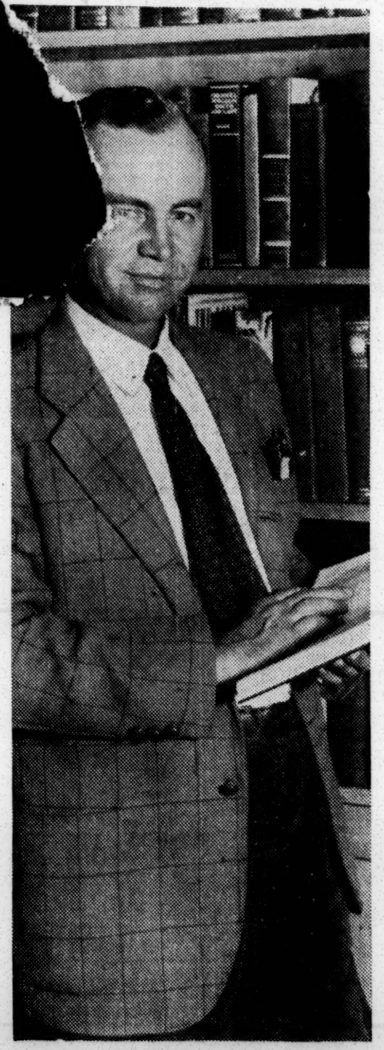
Nicaragua has gotten other things from the United States beside Marines, and its love of baseball is genuine. That's why the president of Nicaragua and his cabinet and the first and second officers in command of Fort Luna, up on the hill above Managua, were present at that ball game back in 1922 when Mr. Muse was third secretary of the American legation and acting in charge. And with every one who amounted to anything present at the game, the suppressed opposition seized on the opportunity to bribe the third officer at Fort Luna and start a revolution. The Nicaraguan president's brother-in-law sidled over during that thirteenth inning to break the news to Muse.

Back to the legation rushed Muse. And in half an hour, the president, the brother-in-law, the cabinet, wives and children were clamoring for admittance. Whether to grant them sanctuary represented a question in diplomatic etiquette. But they were admitted and while they huddled in the overcrowded building, Secretary Muse sent a Marine officer under a white flag up to Fort Luna.

In brief, the rebels were told that in the name of humanity, etc., prompt mediation was necessary or the United States would be gravely concerned. That the United States would be obliged to take action for defense of life and property—or, in baldest terms, the Marines would open fire. Shooting already was going on between the rebels up in the fort and loyalists on the outside, and here and there bodies could be seen.

Fists and a Cruiser

The rebels were agreeable enough to discuss the matter if they could have three delegates instead of two. Thre was an odd



Benjamin Muse goes to the library in his home for a volume of "R. E. Lee."

government of, for and by the people Matter of fact, he hopes that the tone of the campaign will be such as to attract "more and more Democrats who believe in principle" with him.

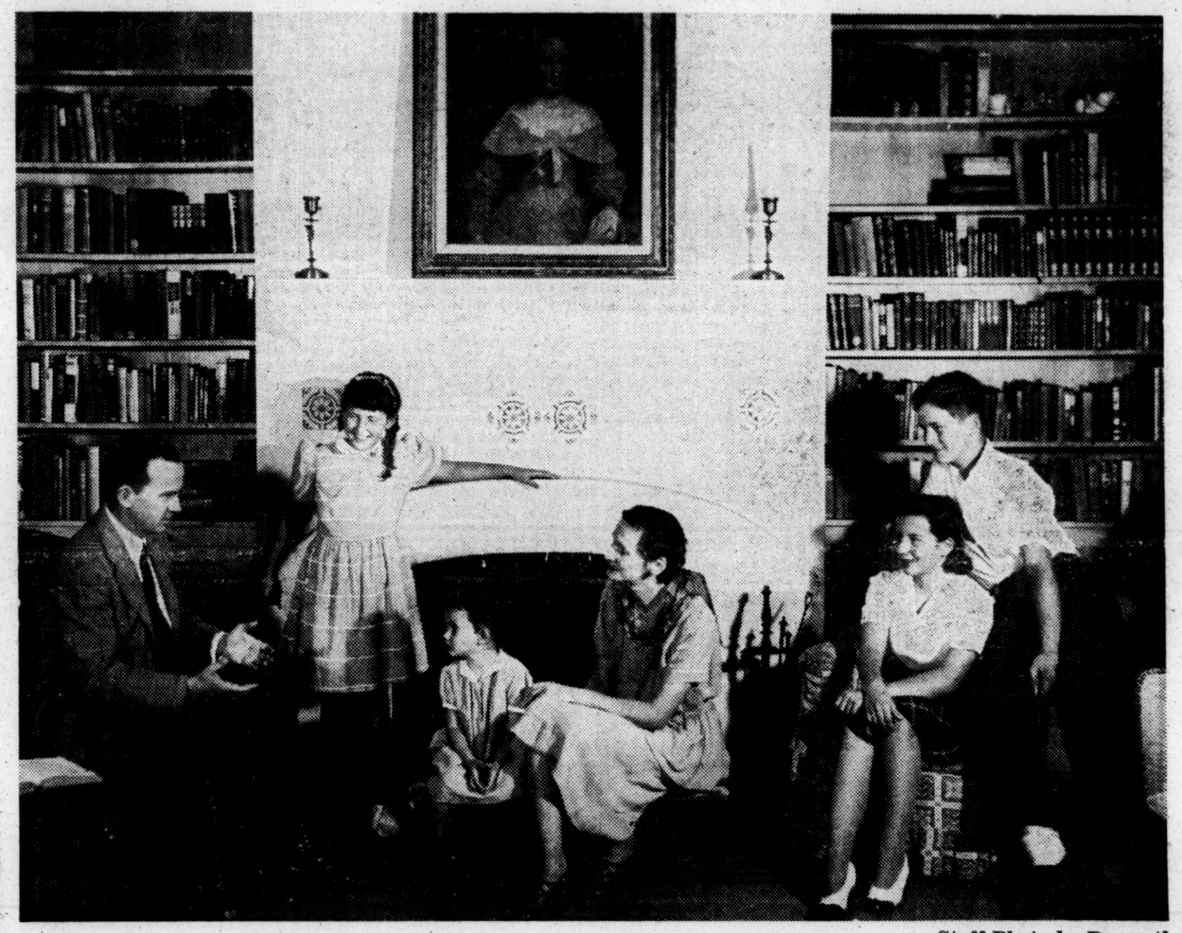
'Advantages of Opposition'

"VIRGINIA," he went on to say in advance of similar remarks made that night in a speech at a rally in Richmond, "now has the advantages of an opposition party. Obviously, it wouldn't be democracy for the Democrats to slip in with a tenth of the State's votes. I mean to see to it that Virginia is given the opportunity to have a choice of government; see democracy function with an examination and discussion of State problems that can come only through the competition of two great parties. The world crisis does not lessen the importance of this, but increases it. Democracy is fighting with its back to the wall and we must make sure that democracy is sound and whole, performing its proper functions.

"This is a peculiarly fitting time to examine the machinery of government in Virginia—starting with the elections this fall. . . . The election machinery is badly in need of repair. The poll tax requirement not only is excluding many citizens from franchise, but is fostering thousands of instances of minor corruption. Many of our citizens would be shocked to know the vast scale on which candidates are paying poll taxes for their constituents. . . . The absent voter's law is another festering sore in our democratic system which calls for immediate and drastic attention. Better to have no absentee voters than the present status with its abundant misuse.

"The two-party system is a very vital feature of American democracy—in fact, in practice, it is the very foundation of that democracy. The sure safeguard for our democracy against the storms and shocks to come will lie in the existence of two vigilant and effective political parties."

That's no mere political verbiage for party consumption. Muse is in deadly earnest in what he has to say about the proper functions of government. One has only to recall that the courage of his convictions were such that—as Democratic State senator from Petersburg and Dinwiddie County—he cast his ballot for Alf M. Landon in the 1936 presidential election, because, he said, he could not conscientiously vote for Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal. He re-



—Staff Photo by Dementi.

Mr. Muse tries out a speech on the family. They are (left to right) Philippa, aged 9; Carlotta, 3; Mrs. Muse; Katherine, 13, and Benjamin Jr., 14. Paul, 11, was away at school at Linton Hall when the picture was taken.

British soldier in World War I, saw Caranza's fight in Mexico, the Irish in action when De Valera was released, the Paraguay-Bolivian war and the Oberlin-L'Huerta row also in Mexico.

Mr. Muse gained much of his observation of wars through service in the diplomatic corps which he entered under President Wilson as third secretary of the United States legation in Denmark on June 14, 1920. Two years later, he was transferred to Nicaragua, where he saw the scoreless tie called in the thirteenth inning. A few months later, he was assigned to Mexico City and promoted to the rank of second secretary to the embassy. After approximately two years there, he was made charge d'affaires at San Salvador. On January 10, 1925, he was appointed second secretary of the American Embassy in Paris, where he was killed. Looking back on it, Muse decides that being a prisoner of war was not so bad. Spent most of the time in Mecklenburg as an interpreter and then as a farm laborer. And it gave him a chance to polish up on his languages.

War as It Affects State

AS FOR the present war. . . . Well, that calls for study of the relation of the defense program and later the postwar problems of how Virginia agriculture and industry will be affected, says Muse. Briefly, this entails State co-operation with the Federal Government in defense projects, the subsequent transition from peak activities to only too probable unemployment and the handling of the problems both with and without Federal support. For the immediate future, upward price trends are a dominant aspect.

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Muse met his future wife—nee Beatriz de Regie, born in France of a Mexican father and an English mother—during his first year in the Paris Embassy and they were married in London during September, 1925. And through their marriage, there has been an interesting wedding of the culture of Old Mexico and the antebellum South at Dunedin. From her grandmother, who was a lady-in-waiting at the court of the Empress Carlotta of Mexico, and a grandfather, Pedro de Regie, who was court chamberlain to Maximilian, Mrs. Muse has inherited interesting objects d'art associated with the tragic regime of the ill-fated emperor. Within the walls of a manor house

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

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Fists and a Cruiser

The rebels were agreeable enough to discuss the matter if they could have three delegates instead of two. Thre was an odd rebel leader who thought he was entitled to a place on the commission, too. So the three rebel delegates and the president's representatives sat down to much wrangling at the American legation. Wearied at long last by the noisy debate that only too apparently was getting no where, a burly Marine major, who hadn't understood a word of what was being said, jumped to his feet and banged the conference table with both fists. During the startled silence that immediately ensued, Secretary Muse took the floor to persuade the revolutionists of the necessity of backing down. As an added inducement, he truthfully stated that an American cruiser was speeding from Panama. He didn't add, however, that the imminent presence of the cruiser represented merely a fortuitous courtesy visit.

The upshot of it all was that Secretary Muse wrote a peace treaty that was signed by 10 o'clock that night. And the rebellion was over. Under the terms, arms were to be turned over to the Marines and the United States legation would undertake to see that the rebels would not be punished too severely. For this demonstration of ability to act in crisis, Muse was commended by Secretary of State Hughes.

"And as much of a comique opera as that revolution may have been," said Mr. Muse, who currently is preaching a gospel against

Benjamin Muse goes to the library in his home for a volume of "R. E. Lee."

what he terms the one-party complex in Virginia, "the very fact that it took place is an indication of the fallacy of the system of government under which the dictates of a free electorate are not the first consideration."

Willing to concede the "bare possibility" of not being elected on November 4—Virginia hasn't had a Republican Governor in over half a century—Mr. Muse attaches importance to other things in the campaign than merely being elected. Perhaps his mind was running over some of the instances of one-party dominance those candid, blue eyes of his had stared at from under shaggy brows when he said the other day:

"We've got to break down the prejudice against the G. O. P. in Virginia, the only basis for which belongs to history of the nineteenth century and has nothing whatever to do with the problems of today."

The remark was not to be translated so literally as to mean that the Democratic sway in this State is analagous to totalitarian mastery of the European Continent. For all his mild appearance, it is simply that this man of medium build and thinning, sandy hair has looked on so much violence that he is fired with his conceptions about

ginia—starting with the elections this fall. . . . The election machinery is badly in need of repair. The poll tax requirement not only is excluding many citizens from franchise, but is fostering thousands of instances of minor corruption. Many of our citizens would be shocked to know the vast scale on which candidates are paying poll taxes for their constituents. . . . The absent voter's law is another festering sore in our democratic system which calls for immediate and drastic attention. Better to have no absentee voters than the present status with its abundant misuse.

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Opinion in his own bailiwick, as voiced by the Petersburg Progress-Index, was:

"No obligation rested upon Senator Muse to resign his seat in the State Senate because of his refusal to support the national Democratic ticket this year. True, he was elected last year as a Democrat. . . . Not for years, at least, have city and Dinwiddie County been more satisfactorily represented in either house of the General Assembly. The fact that Mr. Muse has changed his politics cannot have the slightest effect in diminishing his ability and readiness to serve his constituents as a member of Virginia's lawmaking body."

He's Seen a Lot of Wars

As for that matter of looking at violence, Mr. Muse probably has sat in on as many wars as any man you will find in a hundred counties. Of course, Colgate Darden, the Democrats' standard bearer, and Hilliard Bernstein, the Socialist candidate for Governor, have been in the thick of battles. But Muse, in addition to imprisonment as a

—Staff Photo by Dementi.

Mr. Muse tries out a speech on the family. They are (left to right) Philippa, aged 9; Carlotta, 3; Mrs. Muse; Katherine, 13, and Benjamin Jr., 14. Paul, 11, was away at school at Linton Hall when the picture was taken.

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Odd thing about Muse's capture in World War I was that a letter from Secretary of War Baker authorizing his being transferred from the King's Royal Rifles to the A. E. F. arrived only a day or so after he was taken prisoner at the offset of November, 1917. He was a volunteer, of course, in His Majesty's service, probably all fired with ideals about saving the world for democracy. And when he was taken prisoner because of Bing's fiasco at Cambrai, he was only a kid of 19. But it wasn't that mess that affected him most, it was the third battle at Ypres—"Wipers," the Tommies called it—where only a third of the battalion came out and every man whose name he knew was killed. Looking back on it, Muse decides that being a prisoner of war was not so bad. Spent most of the time in Mecklenburg as an interpreter and then as a farm laborer. And it gave him a chance to polish up on his languages.

War as It Affects State

AS FOR the present war. . . . Well, that calls for study of the relation of the defense program and later the postwar problems of how Virginia agriculture and industry will be affected, says Muse. Briefly, this entails State co-operation with the Federal Government in defense projects, the subsequent transition from peak activities to only too probable unemployment and the handling of the problems both with and without Federal support. For the immediate future, upward price trends are a dominant aspect.

"The financial hardship of Virginia school teachers," says Mr. Muse, probably cocking a politically wise eye at a powerful bloc, "already has been accentuated by the rising cost of living, and it is entirely possible that relief may have to be extended to other State employees within the coming year."

Every politician, and certainly if he's a Southern Republican waiting for another Hoover miracle, has got to be a j'iner. Mr. Muse is a member of the Elks, Woodmen, Kiwanis, Ruritan and Grange. He also is a member of the Catholic Church. He is a member of Kappa Alpha social fraternity which he joined at Trinity College, now Duke University. Subsequently, he studied at George Washington University. Matriculation at Trinity was the most natural thing in view of the fact that he was born at Durham, N. C., on April 17, 1898. His family moved to Petersburg in 1916, where his father, W. H. Muse, a widower, married Mrs. Laura Witherspoon. From there on, the younger Muse spent most of his time abroad until his retirement from the diplomatic service in 1933, when he returned to settle at Dunedin, on the outskirts of Petersburg, where he has been carrying on experiments in self-sufficient agriculture.

It's equally important for a political aspirant to have a family, and the bigger the better. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. Muse, there are five children. Two boys, three girls.

Muse met his future wife—nee Beatriz de Regie, born in France of a Mexican father and an English mother—during his first year in the Paris Embassy and they were married in London during September, 1925. And through their marriage, there has been an interesting wedding of the culture of Old Mexico and the antebellum South at Dunedin. From her grandmother, who was a lady-in-waiting at the court of the Empress Carlotta of Mexico, and a grandfather, Pedro de Regie, who was court chamberlain to Maximilian, Mrs. Muse has inherited interesting objects d'art associated with the tragic regime of the ill-fated emperor. Within the walls of a manor house competently stuccoed and adequately surrounded by a large oak grove are a chest of drawers exquisitely inlaid in tortoise shell, a red-lacquered secretary brought from China to Mexico, a chocolate set which was a gift from the Empress Carlotta, a wall shrine of glass from Colombia, parts of a royal dinner set with the crest and the royal initials MIM.

Dunedin is a story in itself. To begin with, there were 125 acres and 18 souls. Most of the souls—Sanchez, the faithful butler; wife, Calixta, and the five children, etc.—were from below the Rio Grande and the consternation that might be expected to be thrown by their importation into a Southern town was thrown into Petersburg. Today, there are about three dozen citizens, most of them local residents, associated with Dunedin which has doubled its acreage. But the principal behind it all remains the same: Most of their necessities and many luxuries are obtained at a lower cost under this antebellum plantation system of self-sufficiency than could be obtained in any other way. One man concentrates on milk cattle, another on fruit, a third on bees, but they all pitch in on hay or harvesting of grains when mass efforts are needed.

As for Ben Muse himself—win, lose or draw—Muse is always good news.

Rear view of the spacious home at Dunedin in Dinwiddie County, set in a grove of great oaks, is shown at left. Mr. Muse is seen leaving the door to his study. Self-sufficiency is the basic principle on which the 250-acre farm is operated. And at the right, Farmer Muse supervises the harvesting. Fertilizer and agricultural science have brought to the fields a fertility such as to make Dunedin one of the model farms of Virginia.

9-17-41

—Staff Photo.

G. O. P. CANDIDATES LAUNCH STATE CAMPAIGN—Julian Hickman, left, Commonwealth's attorney of Bath County and candidate for attorney-general; Benjamin Muse of Dinwiddie, gubernatorial nominee, center, and Dr. I. C. Wagner of Covington, candidate for lieutenant-governor, made their campaign bows here last night at a banquet sponsored by the Republican Club of Virginia.

Republican Sees Vote Fraud, Asks Abolition of Poll Tax

(Continued from First Page)

sought personal publicity. But I do assert that many thousands of Virginians not only had no part in choosing him, but do not know the name today of the Democratic nominee for Governor.

"Four candidates (Democratic) set out on the race, but when early indication was given that a choice had been made by the managers of 'the organization,' one of the candidates withdrew from the contest," he said. "The other two remained to the end and received only a paltry handful of votes.

"In vain was Mr. Dovell's long career at the center of public life in Virginia. In vain were the energetic efforts of Senator Page and the thoughtful appeal of Senator Cary. In vain was the platform of reform espoused more or less in common by the three unfavored candidates. 'The organization' had chosen, and the election was considered only a dull formality."

He asserted only one out of 10 Virginians of voting age participated in the primary and only one out of four of those who had paid the poll tax.

No Longer Joke

"We can no longer take these things lightly," he continued. "We have joked about them for years, knowing all the while that they were wrong, but we can no longer afford to do that. Democracy throughout the world is fighting with its back to the wall. We must make sure that Virginia democracy is sound and whole.

"I ask you to join me in the fight to fortify our democracy, for that is the essence of the campaign in which we are now engaged. We can build the Republican Party here and now into a vigorous and powerful instrument of two-party government at the service of this Commonwealth, and, in doing so, we can place Virginia's democracy on a firm foundation, ready to meet any shocks and storms which the future may have in store.

"Every vote for the Republican ticket in Virginia strengthens the sinews of democracy."

In urging surveys now by an enlarged planning board to "cushion" the effect of a shift from a war to a peace economy, Senator Muse said:

Wide Study Sought

"Every manufacturing establishment in Virginia should be studied and its prospects examined under both war and postwar conditions. We must determine what kind of goods will be needed after the war and what Virginia industries are equipped to produce them.

"As these surveys get under way, we shall be better able to gauge the number of our people who will be thrown out of work by the cessation of defense activities, and how many can be given work again by the expanding industries of reconstruction.

"We need not ride blindly into the future. Our whole transition from a war to a peace economy might be cushioned and regulated by careful planning along these lines."

Inflation "Inevitable"

At the outset Mr. Muse spoke of the inflation inevitable from the nation's huge defense spending program, and said it would have a serious effect on low-salaried school teachers and State employees who are barely able to "make both ends meet" now.

"I say in all earnestness," he added, "that the plight of our school teachers will be nothing less than desperate during the coming biennium unless provision is made for sweeping salary increases, with a liberal allowance for the rising cost of living.

"Similar problems will also arise in connection with the salaries of certain other State employees and, in a very acute form, in connection with the purchase of supplies and equipment for administrative departments."

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Mulberry 3-6764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 17, 1961

To: Mr. John Constable From: BM

Subject: L-List Addresses

You need send me no more addresses except as they come on cards, as you suggest. If you will send me cards in convenient packages, my secretary can arrange them in my file -- even if they come after my departure. I expect to leave here the middle of next week and will have February 1 with you in Atlanta before the executive committee meeting.

I see no reason to remove any judges from the list, except Judge Timmerman and Judge Hutcheson (Virginia), who has retired. I will give you the name of his successor in due course.

I have written Harold for approval of your running off envelopes for the Indiana University Press. Both L-list and New South list should be used. If this is all right, I would appreciate your writing John P. Dessauer, Sales Manager, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana -- to save time.

Regards. Ben

cc: Mr. Irving

January 12, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is a card which we intend to use for the L-Report list.

Also enclosed is a list of the judges of the federal districts in Southern states. Would you delete any names which you deem should not receive the L-Reports.

As to the list of new recipients of L-Reports since your 1959 list, since the card file will be done rapidly, I wonder if it would not be better for you just to compile any list you need from the cards as we send them. It will really not take long to develop a complete card file since, as Miss Cummings, my secretary, pointed out all we need to do is to run two sets of gummed tapes and paste the names on cards and number them as to category. This will, of course, save a great deal of typing and will make the list available much quicker.

We do not have a list of New South addressees, but when a mailing of the type you propose is approved then we either run off envelops for the organization with them supplying cost of the material or we run off tapes which can be pasted on by the organization wishing to reach our mailing list.

I am holding up the mail to the judges until I receive the list back indicating if you desire others than Judge Timmerman be deleted.

Back to the publicity for your book, it would probably be more convenient for us to run tapes from the L-list too if this seems desirable to you and to Harold. This would seem easier thann supplying them with lists of names.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encls.

via air mail January 23, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

My correspondence seems to get in worse and worse shape. I apologize for this delay in answering your two latest letters.

As for the sale department of the Indiana University Press by all means write them that we will be happy to address the envelopes. I will raise with Paul Anthony the question of any cost involved; in any case, that will be a minor item. As I have told you, we will feel justified in any reasonable effort to promote the sale of your book, since its program significance, from our point of view, is considerable. In all honesty, however, I should warn both you and the Press that promotion mailings to our list in the past have not been very productive. Maybe this would be a heartening exception.

Next, with regard to your suggestion about mailings to state legislators, I have some serious misgivings. My observation of the Georgia Legislature through the years leads me to feel that such mailings from such a group as ours are not very helpful and often serve to alert the bigots against our facts and arguments.

The unregrettable provincialism of this and other deep South legislatures argues for the infusion of our material into local channels that can be less easily attacked.

Les suggests a compromise plan which I think has merit -- namely, that we distribute L-22 and later selected materials to the Virginia Legislature as a pilot project. When we have determined the reactions, if any are measurable, we can discuss the extension to other legislatures, possibly those in the more moderate states. Let us know if this has your agreement, and we willpproceed.

I appreciated very much your letter so generously assessing my qualifications to advise the new Administration. I doubt that I am that well equipped. In any case, we will as a team do everything we can to inject our ideas into the thinking of the Executive Branch. We may even conclude later on that our influence as an independent and respected agency has been greater than infiltration by appointment would have been.

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

January 9, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I get at least two letters a week from the sales department of the Indiana University Press, (which is quite unlike the editorial department!) It has an insatiable appetite for mailing lists.

In reply to my suggestion that the SRC mailing list might be available, I received the following in a letter today:

"As for the Southern Regional Council list, I imagine that because of its size it probably already exists on addressing plates. If we could have your good offices to obtain the Council's consent to address envelopes for us from their plates, we shall be happy to make detailed arrangements directly with the person at the Council whose responsibility these addressings might be."

Elsewhere the letter states that Indiana is "of course prepared to accept the cost" of such operations.

Can we do this, and send them a bill?

Sincerely,

Ben

(To be routed in order numbered)
Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

→ LWD

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

MF

FILE

What do you think? I have some misgivings.

H.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1961

January 6, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have made a number of L-Report distribution suggestions to John Constable. I would like to submit this one to you for consideration.

It is that he compile a list of members of 10 state legislatures, ignoring for the present that of Mississippi. This can be gotten at in booklet form by addressing the division of printing at the state capitol, or with the assistance of a local member of our board or human relations council director. I enclose the Virginia list. In Georgia, of course, it would be easy. The lists should be kept separately by state.

To the Virginia list I would suggest sending now only L-22 (the Fowler Commission memorandum), together with the sheet, which I proposed, introducing ourselves and indicating other available reports.

To the Georgia list I would suggest sending a number of reports at one-week intervals -- individual addresses to be discontinued as soon as we get a snort. They might go in this order: L-22, L-21, L-19, L-8, L-16, L-17 and L-18.

If this seems a good idea, I would have other schedules to suggest in the case of other states.

Sincerely,

Ben

The House of Delegates

Honorable Howard H. Adams
Eastville, Va.

Honorable George E. Allen, Jr.
P.O. Box 6855
Richmond, Va.

Honorable Howard P. Anderson
Halifax, Va.

Honorable Matt G. Anderson
Oilville, Va.

Honorable T. Coleman Andrews, Jr.
American Bldg.
Richmond, Va.

Honorable Earle M. Brown
Peoples Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Lynchburg, Va.

Honorable Fred C. Buck
Abingdon, Va.

Honorable Harold M. Burrows, Jr.
Charlottesville, Va.

Honorable J. L. Camblos
Big Stone Gap, Virginia

Honorable Orby L. Cantrell
Pound, Va.

Honorable E. Tucker Carlton
206 E. Cary St.
Richmond, Va.

Honorable Russell M. Carneal
Box 805
Williamsburg, Va.

Honorable Calvin H. Childress
Western Union Bldg.
Norfolk, Va.

Honorable Robert L. Clark
Stuart, Va.

Honorable C. William Cleaton
South Hill, Va.

Honorable George M. Cochran
Staunton, Va.

Honorable Willis E. Cohoon
National Bank of Suffolk Bldg.
Suffolk, Va.

Honorable E. C. Compton
Stanardsville, Van.

Honorable John Warren Cooke
Mathews, Va.

Honorable R. Edward Coyle, Sr.
Haysi, Va.

Honorable Charles B. Cross, Jr.
Law Bldg.
Portsmouth, Va.

Honorable Grady W. Dalton
Richlands, Va.

Honorable John H. Daniel
Charlotte C. H.
Virginia

Honorable W. C. Daniel
Danville, Va.

Honorable Delamater Davis
Bank of Commerce Bldg.
Norfolk, Va.

Honorable Harold H. Dervishian
516 American Bldg.
Richmond, Va.

Honorable Felix E. Edmunds
Waynesboro, Va.

Honorable W. Howard Ellifrits
108 High Street
Strasburg, Va.

Honorable W. C. Elliott
Lebanon, Va.

Honorable Walther B. Fidler
Sharps, Va.

Honorable Tom Frost
Warrenton, Va.

Honorable James B. Fugate
Gate City, Va.

Honorable Charlotte C. Giesen
Radford, Va.

(House of Del. - Cont'd)

Honorable Thomas R. Glass
Lynchburg, Va.

Honorable Francis B. Gouldman
Fredericksburg, Va.

Honorable Charles E. Green, Jr.
Bedford, Va.

Honorable Kossen Gregory
Box 41
Roanoke, Va.

Honorable Robert R. Gwathmey, III
Hanover, Va.

Honorable R. Crockett Gwyn, Jr.
Marion, Va.

Honorable Lyman C. Harrell, Jr.
Emporia, Va.

Honorable George H. Hill
900 River Road
Newport News, Va.

Honorable Shirley T. Holland
Windsor, Va.

Honorable Lawrence H. Hoover
Harrisonburg, Va.

Honorable Henry E. Howell, Jr.
702 Royster Bldg.
Norfolk, Va.

Honorable Edward M. Hudgins
704 First Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Richmond, Va.

Honorable Charles K. Hutchens
P.O. Box 512
Newport News, Va.

Honorable Nathan B. Hutcherson, Jr.
Rocky Mount, Va.

Honorable Llewellyn H. Irby
Blackstone, Va.

Honorable E. Ralph James
Hampton, Va.

Honorable J. J. Jewett
Midlothian, Va.

Honorable Edward E. Lane
718 E. Franklin St.
Richmond, Va.

Honorable Paris I. Leadbetter
Hopewell, Va.

Honorable W. T. Leary
5 Morris St.
Portsmouth, Va.

Honorable Baldwin G. Locher
Lexington, Va.

Honorable Dorothy S. McDiarmid
Box 357, Route 4
Vienna, Va.

Honorable Lewis A. McMurran, Jr.
5912 Huntington Ave.
Newport News, Va.

Honorable Harrison Mann
1818 S. Arlington Ridge Road
Arlington, Va.

Honorable Paul W. Manns
Bowling Green, Va.

Honorable Willard J. Moody
704 Professional Bldg.
Portsmouth, Va.

Honorable E. Blackburn Moore
Berryville, Va.

Honorable Garnett S. Moore
Pulaski, Va.

Honorable Joseph C. Moxley
Independence, Va.

Honorable M. C. Newton, Sr.
Narrows, Va.

Honorable Robert S. Orr
Rt. 1, Dryden, Va.

Honorable Stanley A. Owens
Manassas, Va.

(House of Del. - Cont'd)

Honorable John M. Peck, Jr.
Rt. 1
Fincastle, Va.

Honorable Nat. W. Pendleton
Wytheville, Va.

Honorable William A. Pennington
Buckingham, Va.

Honorable Lucas D. Phillips
Leesburg, Va.

Honorable Albert L. Philpott
Bassett, Va.

Honorable Theodore C. Pilcher
402 Equitable Bldg.
Corner of Boush St. & College Place
Norfolk, Va.

Honorable Joseph H. Poff
Floyd, Va.

Honorable Fred G. Pollard
1001 E. Main St.
Richmond, Va.

Honorable Samuel E. Pope
Drewryville, Va.

Honorable C. D. Price
Stanley, Va.

Honorable Randall O. Reynolds
Chatham, Va.

Honorable Arthur H. Richardson
Dinwiddie, Va.

Honorable Bradley Roberts
Bristol, Va.

Honorable James W. Roberts
6435 Tidewater Drive
Norfolk, Va.

Honorable Julian H. Rutherfoord, Jr.
141 Campbell Ave., S.W.
Roanoke, Va.

Honorable Donald H. Sandie, Sr.
710 Professional Bldg.
Portsmouth, Va.

Honorable David E. Satterfield, III
500 Travelers Bldg.
Richmond, Va.

Honorable Toy D. Savage, Jr.
National Bank of Commerce Bldg.
Norfolk, Va.

Honorable Melvin L. Shreves
Bloxom, Va.

Honorable D. French Slaughter, Jr.
Culpeper, Va.

Honorable R. Maclin Smith
Kenbridge, Va.

Honorable Vernon C. Smith
Grundy, Va.

Honorable W. Roy Smith
2022 S. Sycamore St.
P.O. Box 706
Petersburg, Va.

Honorable Kathryn H. Stone
1051 26th Rd.S.
Arlington, Va.

Honorable Lawrence R. Thompson
Rustburg, Va.

Honorable W. Carrington Thompson
Chatham, Va.

Honorable James M. Thomson
Box 817
Alexandria, Va.

Honorable Nelson R. Thurman
Vinton, Va.

Honorable Charles W. Wampler, Jr.
Harrisonburg, Va.

Honorable John C. Webb
Fairfax, Va.

(House of Del. - Cont'd)

Honorable H. Ray Webber
Low Moor, Va.

Honorable Pressley B. White
106 66th. St.
Virginia Beach, Va.

Honorable Robert Whitehead
Lovingston, Va.

Honorable Joseph J. Williams, Jr.
Sandston, Va.

Honorable William L. Winston
1437 N. Courthouse Rd.
Arlington, Va.

VIRGINIA

The Senate

Senator George S. Aldhizer, II
Broadway, Va.

Senator E. Almer Ames, Jr.
Onancock, Va.

Senator Robert F. Baldwin
116 Brooke Ave.
Norfolk, Va.

Senator Fred W. Bateman
217 Office Plaza Bldg.
311 Main St., Newport News, Va.

Senator FitzGerald Bemiss
P.O. Box 1156, Richmond, Va.

Senator D. Woodrow Bird
Bland, Va.

Senator Lloyd C. Bird
8847 Riverside Dr., Richmond 25, Va.

Senator Thomas H. Blanton
Bowling Green, Va.

Senator Armistead L. Boothe
505 King St., Alexandria, Va.

Senator Edward L. Breeden, Jr.
Bank of Commerce Bldg.
Norfolk, Va.

Senator Robert Y. Button
Culpeper, Va.

Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
Winchester, Va.

Senator Curry Carter
Staunton, Va.

Senator Hale Collins
Covington, Va.

Senator John A. K. Donovan
106 Little Falls St., Falls Church, Va.

Senator Charles R. Fenwick
6733 Lee Highway, Arlington, Va.

Senator Mills E. Godwin, Jr.
Suffolk, Va.

Senator Garland Gray
Waverly, Va.

Senator Edward E. Haddock
1133 W. Franklin St.
Richmond, Va.

Senator J. D. Hagood
Clover, Va.

Senator Wm. B. Hopkins
Boxley Bldg.
Roanoke, Va.

Senator Joseph C. Hutcheson
Lawrenceville, Va.

Senator S. Floyd Landreth
Galax, Va.

Senator M. M. Long
St. Paul, Va.

Senator Gordon F. Marsh
Law Bldg., Portsmouth, Va.

Senator Edward O. McCue, Jr.
Charlottesville, Va.

Senator Charles T. Moses
Appomattox, Va.

Senator Blake T. Newton
Hague, Va.

Senator Mosby G. Perrow, Jr.
First Colony Life Ins. Bldg.
Lynchburg, Va.

Senator Thos. C. Phillips
188 E. Main St., Abingdon, Va.

Senator Harold H. Purcell
Louisa, Va.

Senator William B. Spong, Jr.
203 Court St.
Portsmouth, Va.

Senator William F. Stone
Box 1432, Martinsville, Va.

Senator Harry C. Stuart
Elk Garden, Va.

(Senate - cont'd)

Senator John H. Temple
P.O. Box 829
Petersburg, Va.

Senator James C. Turk
Radford, Va.

Senator J. Hubert Wheeler
Ewing, Va.

Senator Edward E. Willey
1205 Bellevue Ave.
Richmond, Va.

Senator Victor P. Wilson
111 N. King St.
Hampton, Va.

Senator Landon R. Wyatt
Danville, Va.

Heart of Columbia
MOTEL & RESTAURANT
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
1011 ASSEMBLY STREET TELEPHONE AL 2-3393

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1961

Thursday

Dear Harold,

If you have time for a chat when you come up March 3, give me your schedule; I will be glad to meet you at the airport and drive you where you want to go — preferably to my place in the country.

Regards.

Ben

March 9, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is the requested statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the Southern Leadership Project to March 1.

This would seem to indicate that the Project will have about $20,000 at the end of the fiscal year and total expenditures of about $40,000 for the full year.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

* * * *

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
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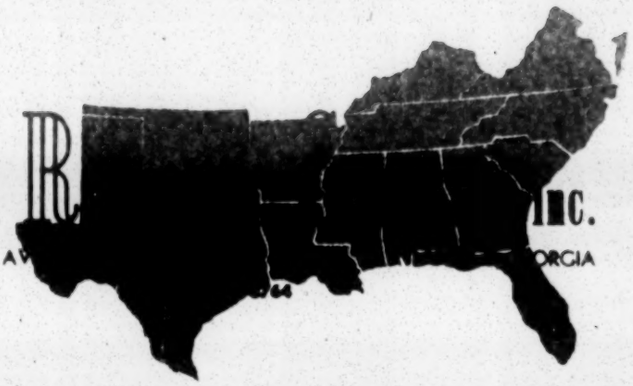
SECRETARY-TREASURER



Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 6, 1961

To: PA From: RHA

Subject: Financial Status of Southern Leadership Project, March 1, 1961

Balance, January 1, 1961		$ 31,366.55

Disbursements

Salaries	$ 1,416.68	
Travel and Communication	805.60	
Office Expense	378.62	
Consultant Fees	1,200.00	
Consultant Travel	916.22	
Printing and Distribution	1,032.84	
Total Disbursements		5,749.96
Balance, March 1, 1961		$ 25,616.59

March 13, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thanks for sending us the cards. We have them straightened out now.

Copy for April NEW SOUTH is already at the printers and so your editorial could probably be used in the May issue. I should like a copy around the first of April for this issue if possible. Could you give me some indication of a subject you had in mind.

Your book has come and it looks quite impressive, but I have not had a chance to read it yet. We will of course review it in an upcoming issue of NEW SOUTH.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
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PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Mulberry 9-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 4, 1961

To: John Constable From: BM

Subject: L-Report mailing list

I am returning cards of Secretaries of Interior, Labor and Welfare and Attorney General -- together with those of Harris Wofford and Brooks Hays, for correction.

May I suggest also that you go through the file and see that all cabinet and sub-cabinet officers, all state officials and legislators, all mayors, etc. are given the title of "Honorable"?

What is the deadline for copy for New South? Harold suggested that I write a short editorial. I don't know whether it should be for the April issue or the May.

Regards. Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

March 20, 1961

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I find that my last SLP annual report was as of April 1, submitted April 22, 1960. Possibly there is some advantage in timing it ahead of the renewal of the grant?

I am enclosing what I have on the Richmond Times Dispatch survey of the Washington schools; also an interesting Kilpatrick editorial of March 16, and a very precious clipping of his original reaction in a News Leader editorial of May 18, 1954.

I would like to have this material back in due course for my files.

Sincerely,

Ben

Returned 4/14/61

MF. file
Mark Eric Stern
Kennedy Center

COPY

March 23, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

We are making a study of the L-Report mailing lists from the cards which you have sent us. I assume that they are all here now, with the exception of Categories 4 and 6, and recent entries.

From your labels I gather that addresses are now divided into the following categories:

1.	Chambers of commerce	8.	All-purpose
2.	School superintendents	9.	Mass media
3.	Inter-agency	10.	Government agencies
4.	(Board of directors)	11.	Educational Associations
5.	Labor	12.	Libraries
6.	(State groups)	13.	Blue Ribbon
7.	Research		

Of the above 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10 and 12 are clear to me. I assume No. 7, "Research" refers to the academic group. I am not quite sure of what "all-purpose" refers to. "Blue Ribbon", I believe, is a list of corporation executives.

No. 11, "Educational Associations," is the biggest puzzle to me. This group, for instance includes many Virginia legislators, and a Norfolk and Western vice-president. Under B, in "Educational Associations", I find such a variety as three state senators, one newspaper editor, a member of the Cincinnati Friendly Relations Commission, a Unitarian minister and Sarah Patton Boyle. There may have been some confusion in transposing names from the stencil tape.

I would appreciate more information as to what classes of addresses categories 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13 are intended to include.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

March 24, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

In answer to your letter of March 23, there evidently has been some confusion in transposing names from the stencil list. Category 11, is made up of state educational associations along with other educational groups. Our stencils in this category include only organizations of this type. Our card file also lists the name you mentioned, Mrs. Boyle, in category 8, where she rightly belongs. If you would like to mail us back the cards for this particular category we will straighten them out for you. It will be difficult without your cards since ours are now filed alphabetically for all thirteen categories.

In explaining the categories, category 6, includes the state human relations organizations; category 7, includes names from Les Dunbar, or are particular contacts of the research department; category 8, is the category for friends, donors of the Council and for other persons who do not logically fall in any other category; category 11, is explained above; and category 13, is the list of directors of large corporations living in the South. This list was drawn up by Les Dunbar and the research department.

Hope this clears up the confusion.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

March 23, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

We are making a study of the L-Report mailing lists from the cards which you have sent us. I assume that they are all here now, with the exception of Categories 4 and 6, and recent entries.

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3.	Inter-agency	10.	Government agencies
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6.	(State groups)	13.	Blue Ribbon
7.	Research		

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I would appreciate more information as to what classes of addresses categories 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13 are intended to include.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

3/24/61

John -

When BM was here last week, he expressed again his doubt that he was receiving everything we release. I told him I was sure he was. But would you please double-check. Ben, Brewbaker, Hope, & Parish ought to get everything routinely.

You might also take this up with PR: should he receive copies of his news-letter.

Takes care of — LWD

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

March 27, 1961

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mildred:

Some copies of my book, "Virginia's Massive Resistance," will be arriving there addressed to me.

I would appreciate it if you would kindly open them, and sell to any members of the staff or board or other friends at the dealers' discount price (waiving the pennies) of $2.40 per copy. I mean this as an accommodation, so don't push it -- and I hope this will not be too much trouble.

Please take a copy for yourself with my compliments.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

COPY

March 31, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here is briefly the story of my adventures in the affair of Dean Gordon Moss:

I phoned Moss to arrange to see him in Farmville Friday. Moss said he could save me the trip as he expected to be in Washington the following Monday-Tuesday. He accepted an invitation to dine at my home Monday evening and I agreed to meet him at the Mayflower Hotel at 4:30 P. M.

Saturday I received a telegram from him saying: "Will not be able to see you Monday. Letter follows."

Without waiting for the letter, I phoned him to make other arrangements. Moss now said he understood that I intended to see some members of the state board of education on his behalf, and he did not want me to do that. He had talked to Dr. Lankford (president of Longwood) and they had decided that Moss had better talk to the members of the board of education himself.

I said that I had no plans for intervening in the board of education affair but would like to talk over the situation in Prince Edward with him. On that basis the dinner engagement for Monday evening was reinstated.

Monday afternoon I called at the Mayflower and waited from 4:30 to 5:30. Moss did not appear and I returned home.

At about 8:30 P. M. I received a telegram from Moss (no Washington address) saying: "Sorry I missed appointment. Involved in minor traffic violation."

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

April 3, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Mr. Fillmore tells me that he mailed you a number of copies of L-24 A on Thursday of last week. We had put through a request for the usual number of L-reports for you; but now we find that since you had discussed distribution of this with Les Dunbar, the research department had made out an order for you and only one was sent with the regular order.

If you have not received the additional copies now, please write either Les or me.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

April 1,1961

Dear John:

I was glad to receive this morning a single copy of L-24 A.

I hope my usual 5 copies are in the mail, as I have use for them.

In any case I would like a total of 10 copies of this report, and will appreciate your putting more in the mail for me.

Thanks.

Ben Muse

April 3, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Two possibilities on the Atlanta papers are Bruce Galphin, who covers racial news for the Constitution, and Gordon Roberts, an able reporter for the Journal. Either one of them, I believe, could be counted on to do a competent job for the Star.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

March 25,1961

Dear Harold:

The Washington Evening Star would like to have the name of a likely staffer of the Journal or Constitution to do a piece in due course on Atlanta school desegregation. Preferably, a couple of names.

They are in no hurry, but Itold them I would recommend somebody in due course. Can you suggest a couple of names?

Regards.

Ben

RECEIVED
MAR 27 1961

MA ✓
HF ✓
TA ✓
TR ✓
JC
MF file

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

April 8, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am starting south Monday. Will reach Atlanta Thursday evening, April 13, and spend Friday with you, before continuing to Tallahassee.

Can someone kindly reserve a room for my wife and me at the Atlantan for April 13 and 14? Thanks.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Ben

Ja. 4-6461
Reservation for
Double made
Apr 10
WF

NEWS RELEASE

For Release:
APR 10 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JAckson 2-8764

The Southern Regional Council announced today that Leslie W. Dunbar, presently its director of research, will succeed Harold C. Fleming as executive director of the organization.

The announcement was made by the Council's president, James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, S. C., through the Atlanta headquarters of the organization.

Mr. Fleming is resigning his post with the Council to become the executive vice-president of the Potomac Institute of Washington, D. C., a newly established private agency for the study of constitutional issues. He has been a staff member of the Council since August 1947, serving successively as director of information, assistant director, and for the past four years executive director.

Mr. Dunbar has been director of research of the Council since February 1959. Prior to that time, he had taught at Emory University and Mount Holyoke College, and had been on the staff of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission at its Aiken, S. C., plant. He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1954-55. He received his Ph.D. in political science from Cornell University in 1948.

The staff change will be effective within a few weeks.

Mr. Dabbs said, "I regret very much losing Harold Fleming, but Leslie Dunbar is equally capable of leading the organization in the widening fields of service that are opening before us."

The Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners which has as its aim "the achievement of equal opportunity for all the South's people."

- END -

JAMES P. COLEMAN
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ACKERMAN, MISSISSIPPI

TELEPHONE AT 5-3071

April 11, 1961

PERSONAL

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I certainly appreciated the material received this morning. It is a pleasure to advise that I had already purchased your new book, and read it with much interest. I was particularly interested in the material concerning my good, warm personal friend, Governor J. Lindsey Almond.

When back in this section, be sure to come to see me.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. P. Coleman

J. P. Coleman

JPC/nc

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM April 14, 1961

To: Members of the Council
and
Cooperating Agencies

From: Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant, SRC

On April 19, Indiana University Press will release the book Virginia's Massive Resistance by Colonel Benjamin Muse. As you know, Colonel Muse is currently the Director of the Southern Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Virginia's Massive Resistance is an excellent study of the events in Virginia from May 17, 1954 through 1960; a unique accounting of the political manipulations and results which actually encompass all of the alternatives of Southern reaction to public school desegregation. The book is particularly useful in the deep South as a guide to "save-the-schools" movements now that the conflict begins to reach into that area.

The book will sell for $3.95. Members of the Council and the Interagency group may order copies, through SRC, at the trade discount price of $2.50

- : -

April 21, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

The orders for Virginia's Massive Resistance are trickling in rather steadily. I think we had better go ahead and order an additional fifty (50) copies. Would you take care of this as we discussed this week? You might ask the publisher to mark the shipment for "special handling."

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mf

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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and
Cooperating Agencies

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May 4, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
c/o Dinkler Andrew Jackson Hotel
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Ben:

I am enclosing Mr. Henson's letter. Please reply directly to him.

I am also enclosing an announcement of the Center for Southern Education Studies. It is not only a rather handy little book, but it occurred to me that you might want to consider dropping in to get acquainted sometime when you are in Nashville. My contact there is Sam Wiggins whom I have known slightly for some years. Sam visited us to learn more about our work while preparing this book.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf
Enclosures - 2.

May 8, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

It was agreed when we first talked about card files that the state groups and board of directors would not be included since we do keep them in NEW SOUTH files. We do not include these categories in our card file; but if you wish to have them for your file we will be glad to send them. In regard to the two categories, we find it easier to refer to our typed list here rather than to our card file; but it will be little trouble to prepare these two lists. Please let me know.

We are mailing the two copies of the Executive report under separate cover.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 4, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

It appears that we have never yet received here the cards for Category 4 (Board of Directors) and Category 6 (State Groups).

Have these been sent?

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

P.S. Will you kindly send me 2 more copies of Federal Executive and Civil Rights? Thanks. muse 5/8/61

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 11, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter of May 8. Mr. Muse is away at this time, but should be back by the 20th. I shall bring you letter to his attention on his return.

Yours truly,

Philippa Millard

Philippa Millard
Secretary

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Auburn 3-6764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 5/19/61

To: Les From: Ben

Subject:

Harold says the Atlanta Constitution did in fact carry a review of my book. I hope you got comfortably back to the Fairfax last night!

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

file

May 20, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I would like to make formal application for leave of absence for two weeks, from July 10 through July 22.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 22, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Referring to your letter of May 8, I am sorry to have overlooked an earlier understanding regarding lists of state groups and board of directors.

However, I do need to have these addresses in some form, especially those of board members. Can you help me in this with either cards or revised lists?

For the present I am looking around for the latest address of Rev. Duncan Hunter. Can you give me this?

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Muse 5/24/61

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Ben Muse **May 25, 1961**

FROM: L.W. Dunbar

Some how we missed the review in the Constitution of your book. We were unable to get a back copy and have had to copy the review from the paper; enclosed.

I am very glad that you will take some much deserved vacation from July 10 - 22.

I spent a most pleasant evening at your home. Please give my regards to Mrs. Muse and my compliments for a marvelous dinner.

Enclosed is my memorandum to the Executive Committee regarding the foreign visitor center.

LWD/mf

May 26, 1961

MEMO

TO: BM

FROM: LWD

I talked with Dave Freeman today. He has read your latest report regarding the possibility of providing consultant services in the labor and management field. He is most interested. I'll be calling on him in New York June 7th. It would be very fine to have something more on this matter to discuss with him then. If you have any chance to go into it more deeply before then, I should be ~~gxxxkifxx~~ grateful.

June 12, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

The copies of "The Southern Regional Council Reports the Changing South" are being mailed separately.

We have several persons with USIA on our mailing list and I received a request from Mr. Gausmann last week, and in corresponding I indicated I would be glad to place him on our mailing list which we now have done.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 8, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Kindly send me 10 copies, if available, of our brochure of reproductions from the press, entitled, "The Southern Regional Council Reports the Changing South." mailed 6-12-61

The USIA would like to have the fullest information service from us. Please note all Special Reports, pamphlets and L-Reports to be sent regularly to:

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Labor and Minorities Advisor
United States Information Service
1776 Pennsylvania Ave., N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Regards

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Review and Summary

The Southern Leadership Project

1958 - 1961

The Southern Leadership Project, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, is now in its third year. The best review of the interests, activities, and effectiveness of this program can be had from reading the reports and memoranda of the Project Director, Benjamin Muse. Copies have been forwarded to the Fund. To supplement these there follows a brief summary of the program to date.

The Project has been conducted separately from the Council's general program, but in close relationship to it.

The emphasis and field activities of the Project have been largely planned by its Director. Mr. Muse has brought particular skills to this effort. Within the ranks of political leadership, for instance, he has been able to consult with Governor Hodges of North Carolina and more recently with Governor Sanford of that state; in Virginia with Governor Almond, former Governor Darden, and frequently with Attorney General Albertis Harrison, the Democratic nominee to succeed Mr. Almond; in Tennessee with Governor Buford Ellington; in Mississippi with J.P. Coleman, former governor and probable candidate for election again; with Governor Carvel of Delaware; Governor Faubus of Arkansas and former Governor McMath; in Georgia with former Congressman Erwin Mitchell, a likely candidate for governor in 1962, and ex-Governor Arnall; in Alabama with former Governor and present candidate for governor Jim Folsom; and in Florida with Governor Collins during his term of office. These conferences ranged from advising Governor Carvel on establishing a Delaware commission against discrimination to urging the use of a "law and order" theme with Mr.Folsom. In Florida, Mr. Muse spent considerable time with Governor Collins and his staff on that administration's approach to race relations. As an outgrowth of this, the Council was able to work closely with the Fowler Commission on Race Relations, established by the governor.

Mr. Muse's book, Virginia Massive Resistance, provided both a valuable program document and an added means of gaining access to Southern leaders. For instance, former governor Coleman of Mississippi, whom Mr. Muse had previously visited, wrote the author a complimentary letter on the book, of which he had purchased an early copy, and invited him to visit again.

In addition to its natural distribution, the book has been placed in the hands of several hundred leaders in the Deep South.

Of particular importance has been Mr. Muse's work with southern editors and publishers. To date he has conferred with over sixty. In his words, "I try to correct mis-information and misconceptions and promote at least acceptance of the inevitability of desegregation. To those who are liberal on the issue, of whom I find many among editors, I try to bring encouragement. To some who are standing up for the good cause in trying circumstances this appears to be particularly helpful."

A valuable part-time assistant is Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, who was engaged as a consultant on school desegregation by the Project upon his retirement as Norfolk superintendent of schools. Mr. Brewbaker had steered Norfolk schools through a sensationally difficult desegregation crisis, and from this experience as well as from his observations elsewhere is admirably qualified to advise with other superintendents. He has also cordial personal relationship with public school administrators throughout the South. He has visited with many of them in the course of this work, and he makes a point of conferring with school authorities in cities where school desegregation is imminent. In the Deep South, to his colleagues he quietly carries the message of the inevitability of desegregation and the need for planning, and is constant witness to the skeptical and timorous that it can be done. He advises on administrative and scholastic problems of desegregation. He has, we believe, contributed to the ease with which a growing number of Virginia school districts are desegregating; he has been a helpful adviser to school administrators in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida; and has worked at length in the difficult situations of New Orleans and Atlanta. We are particularly pleased that Mr. Brewbaker's services are increasingly being requested by superintendents and school boards, including even a few requests from the states of Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina.

The use of other, occasional consultants has been successful in most instances. Among those who have worked in this capacity are:

Business:

Mr. Boyd Ridgeway, Executive Director, Little Rock Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Everette Tucker, Jr. Chairman, Little Rock Board of Education

Mr. Julian Longley, retired textile manufacturer.

Education:

Dr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools, Louisville, Kentucky. (deceased)
Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C.
Dr. John F. Fischer, Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore, Maryland (now at Columbia University)
Mr. William M. Lightsey, Executive Secretary, Virginia Committee for Public Schools

Research:

Mrs. Margaret Price, former Associated Press Reporter, now with Potomac Institute
Mr. George McMillan, free-lance writer
Dr. Clarence H. Patrick, Wake Forest College
Dr. Kenneth Moreland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College

One of the greatest obstacles to peaceful progress in race relations in the South is the prevalence of misconceptions and the wide currency of mis-information on the subject of race. This has been as true with leaders as with the general population. Research and information have, therefore, received considerable attention and this has been an area of fruitful cooperation between the Project staff and the other Council staff. "L (Leadership) Reports", brief and factual, have been issued at about three to six week intervals. Special mailing lists for these were prepared, built around Chambers of Commerce, selected business men, school superintendents, and the press, and supplemented with many other individual names. A list of all "L Reports" to date is attached.

More detailed Special Reports and publications have been prepared to meet specific needs. For instance, at a time when information was needed on the sit-in movement the Project arranged to have two studies documenting the methods and ingredients of successful solutions. In the crucial area of law enforcement and the control of violence, a study by Mr. George McMillan has been commissioned. Mr. McMillan, who has written on this subject for both Look and Life magazines, was the author of oru pamphlet, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, published in 1960. This widely distributed study has been incorporated into the training courses of several southern police departments. In Atlanta, the Chief of Police had each of the department's 800 policemen read the study and submit a written report on it to him. Mr. McMillan's current study for us, unlike the first, is being carried out under the Leadership Project.

Attached also is a list of all publications financed by the Project.

In summary: With few exceptions the program has fulfilled expectations. This is in no small part due to the unique skills and abilities of the Director. It is due also

in part to the quiet and confidential manner by which these services have been offered. The need has existed for these services even more than might have been imagined; too, there is a considerably higher degree of receptivity than anyone might have hoped for.

Mr. Muse is finding an increasing number of moderate leaders in the Deep South - in business, journalism, and politics - who are actually eager to discuss their problems with him and who appear to receive encouragement from his visits.

It is our judgment that the Southern Leadership Project has been one of the most valuable parts of the Council's program during the past two and one-half years.

LEADERSHIP REPORTS

REPORT NO.		TITLE
L-1	-	The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Aims.
L-2	-	Excerpts from Speech of John P. Fishwick, Vice-President, Norfolk and Western Railway, to Rockingham Development Corporation, April 6, 1959.
L-3	-	How Could Shut Schools Affect State Economy?
L-4	-	Public Schools and Southern Industrial Progress: Statements from Leaders in Business and Industry.
L-5	-	Public Schools and the Economy of Virginia.
L-6	-	The "Davis Report" and the Truth about the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C.
L-7	-	Governor Almond (Virginia) on the Importance of Public Schools.
L-8	-	Race and Intelligence.
L-8A	-	IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED . . . A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan.
L-9	-	THE PRIVATE SCHOOL ANSWER TO THE DESEGREGATION CRISIS. The Virginia Experience.
L-10	-	Education and Income.
L-11	-	LITTLE ROCK REPORT. . . . What Has Happened since the School Crisis?
L-12	-	Voluntary Desegregation.
L-13	-	"Did you find that there was much Difference in the Ability of Negro Children to receive and profit by Instruction?"
L-14	-	A Report from Virginia.
L-15	-	Types of Desegregation Plans.
L-16	-	Atlanta and Washington - Racial Differences in Academic Achievement.

REPORT NO.		TITLE
L-17	-	Desegregation and Academic Achievement.
L-18	-	Negro Buying Power.
L-19	-	What Price Tag for 'Massive Resistance'?
L-20	-	Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees.
L-21	-	Public Schools and Community Development.
L-22	-	To Florida Leaders in Civic, Religious, and Business Affairs.
L-23	-	Desegregation in Higher Education.
L-23A	-	Desegregation in Higher Education. (Revised.)
L-24	-	Excerpts from addresses by Malcolm Bryan, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta; Councilman Fred J. Cassibry of the New Orleans City Council; and, the year-end report of New Orleans's Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison.
L-24A	-	New School Laws in Georgia.
L-25	-	New Census Look at Cities and Race.
L-26	-	Excerpts from an address by General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Company, Inc., delivered before the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce in Atlanta, May 22, 1961.
L-27	-	The Hard or the Easy Way?

PUBLICATIONS

of the

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

as of

October, 1961

W. M. Lightsey, Organizing to Save Public Schools (under imprint of Virginia Committee for Public Schools)

C. C. Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension

LeRoy Collins, The South and the Nation

Kenneth Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas (mimeographed)

Margaret Price, Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy (mimeographed)

L-Reports 1-15,17,18,20,21,23,24A,26,27 (mimeographed)

L-Reports 16,19,22,25 (printed)

Note: Project funds used also to assist publications of H.O.P.E., Inc. in Atlanta.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 4, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Recommendations for Southern Leadership Program, 1963

According to your and Paul Anthony's figures there was as of June 30 a surplus in the Leadership Project fund of $20,341. An additional annual allocation of $40,000 was received recently. It would seem to me that there is available $60,341, with another annual grant of $40,000 anticipated in June of 1963.

We can assume that the following sums will be expended during the 1963 fiscal year, based on past experience and present plans:

1.	Ben Muse	
	Salary	$11,000
	Travel & Communications	1,500
2.	School consultant	
	Fees	6,000
	Travel	3,200
3.	Grant, National Council of Churches	7,500
4.	SRC overhead	4,000
5.	Printing & distribution	5,000
6.	Project office expenses	1,000
7.	Miscellaneous	500

Total earmarked: $39,700
Not earmarked and available: $20,300.

I suggest that the following allocations be considered under the Leadership program:

1. A grant to the Friendly World Broadcasting Company of $6,500 for the fiscal year 1963. Ed has been spending at the rate of approximately $1,000 per quarter and has been running somewhat in the red on the Alabama project. I would suggest that $6,500 would be a reasonable annual allotment and would enable him to maximize the potential of his program in Alabama.

2. The use of up to $9,000 for a labor consultant who would spend some time consulting with labor leadership across the South and strengthening our liaison and that of the state councils with labor. If George Barrett is available, I would recommend his use on a status similar to that of Brewbaker. If George is not available, the plan may not prove feasible.

If these two allocations were carried through we would still have $4,800 remaining in the Leadership funds and it should be noted that these expenditures are contemplated for the 1963 fiscal year and would be committed out of funds presently available, regardless of the fact that we can anticipate another $40,000 during the 1963 fiscal year.

year ends 5/31

surplus
6/30/62 - 20,341

40 000 - 62/63
40 000 - 63/64

less 8 000 - SPC overhead

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS - SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

Surplus, June 1, '62 (estimated) - - - - - - - -	$ 22,000.00
Grant, 1962-63 - RBF - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	40,000.00
Total on Hand - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 62,000.00

Estimated Expense:

Project Director-	
Salary - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 11,000.00
Travel and Communications - - - - -	$ 4,800.00
School Consultant -	
Fees - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 6,000.00
Travel - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 3,200.00
Grant - Nat'l Council of Churches - - - - - - - -	$ 7,500.00
SRC Overhead - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 4,000.00
Printing and Distribution - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 5,000.00
Project Office Expense - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 1,500 .00
Other -	$ 500.00
	$ 43,500.00

Balance $18,500

Falon
Randell
Fowler

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Southern Leadership Project

REGARDING:

"Summary Report of the Southern Leadership Project for the Year June 1962 - May 1963"

DATE

June 4, 1963

(SEE)
NAME ~~OR~~ OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - Rockefeller Brothers Fund
(Ltr. addressed to David F. Freeman of June 4, 1963)

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

FOUNDED 1946

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS 1953

P. O. Box 172, Rockville, Maryland

"Liberty is not necessarily our permanent possession. Both external and internal pressures constantly assail it. Every generation, to keep its freedom, must earn it through understanding of the past, vigilance in the present and determination for the future."

EARL WARREN

Chief Justice of the United States
Honorary Chairman of the
National Conference on Citizenship
(From Address, Washington University,
St. Louis, Mo., February 19, 1955.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

PURPOSES To Support and Strengthen the Efforts of the People in Maintaining the Blessings of Freedom and Justice and in Protecting and Perpetuating the Principles and Ideals upon which this Nation is Founded; to Develop a More Thorough Knowledge of Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities; to Inspire a Deeper Devotion to Citizenship Obligations; to Encourage Ever More Effective Participation in Citizenship Activities and to Promote a Spirit of Cooperation on the Part of all Citizens—to these High Purposes, the National Conference on Citizenship is Dedicated.

ORIGIN

The National Conference on Citizenship was founded in 1946, when a small group of men, women and youth met in Philadelphia to consider how the spirit of cooperation that had bound together all citizens of the United States during World War II could be conserved for the future. They sought a means to maintain this spirit so that, in peacetime as in wartime, all citizens might dedicate themselves to upholding continuously our concept of government and the democratic way of life.

★ GROWTH

The Conference is unique in that it brings together the most comprehensive cross-section of organizations and agencies to be found in any single National meeting. Since 1946, more than 1,200 organizations and agencies have participated. Through their memberships and activities these touch nearly every wholesome aspect of our life and reach most of the population of our Nation.

Included are all levels of government—national, state and local; schools, colleges and universities; major religious faiths; professional associations; veterans' and related organizations; labor, business, industry and finance; farm and civic groups; and youth organizations.

The Honorary Chairmen of the Conference have been the late Harlan F. Stone and the late Charles Evans Hughes, former Chief Justices of the United States; the late Alben W. Barkley, former Vice President of the United States; and Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, who is the present Honorary Chairman.

★ CONGRESSIONAL CHARTER

The National Conference on Citizenship now has the distinction of operating under a Federal Charter. From 1946 to 1954, the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association sponsored the Conference. The two agencies lent their support until the Conference could function as an independent entity.

A Bill to incorporate the Conference passed both Houses of the Congress by unanimous consent and was signed by the President on August 13, 1953. Under the provisions of the Charter, the officers and Board of Directors are elected by the delegates at the annual meeting of the Conference.

★ THE FUTURE

The Congressional Charter empowers the National Conference on Citizenship to translate its ideals and objectives into realities. Plans for the future include both long-range and immediate projects and activities. The Conference will initiate and conduct some of these activities directly. Others, it will encourage and assist organizations and agencies in States and communities to initiate and carry on. Proposed projects and activities include the following:

1. **Annual Meetings of the National Conference** at which participants will consider the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, discuss major problems facing the Nation, and ways in which the ideas inspired by the National Meeting can be carried out in their home States and communities.

2. **Regional, State, and Local Conferences on Citizenship** which will have purposes similar to those of the National Conference, with organization and procedures adapted to State and community situations.

3. **"Citizenship Day" Observances** which will commemorate the signing of the Constitution, recognize the native youth reaching voting age and the foreign born receiving citizenship through naturalization, and afford all citizens opportunity for rededication to the ideals and principles of the Constitution.

4. **A "New Voter" Program** which, carried on through cooperating groups and other organizations and agencies, will stress responsible exercise of suffrage by all, and emphasize greater recognition of youth in civic affairs and their better preparation for the assumption of citizenship responsibilities.

5. **Naturalization Ceremonies** in which the Conference, through its participating organizations and agencies, will assist Federal and State courts with inspirational court induction ceremonies that stimulate in new citizens appreciation of American traditions and ways of living.

6. **Integration of Foreign-born Citizens** through State and local programs in which the native and foreign born may achieve mutual understanding by working together and those of foreign birth may become more effective citizens.

7. **A Magazine and Other Publicity Materials** which will provide current, pertinent information for the press, radio and television, for those carrying on projects and programs to promote good citizenship, and for those planning conferences and patriotic observances.

8. **Citizenship Programs in Schools and Colleges** for which the Conference, in cooperation with educational authorities, will assemble and make available information about significant developments in methods and materials for citizenship education.

9. **Information on Legal Aspects of Citizenship** which will be assembled and made available to Conference members and other participating organizations and agencies.

10. **An Information Center** which will collect, compile, catalog, exchange and disseminate information and materials on matters relating to citizenship.

OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

WALTER M. BASTIAN, President

Circuit Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit; Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, 1950-54; Past President and Treasurer, District of Columbia Bar Association; American Bar Association, Member, House of Delegates, 1936-53, 56—, Treasurer 1945-50, Member, Board of Governors 1950-53, Chairman, Committee on American Citizenship 1956; Trustee, George Washington University; President, Board of Trustees, Swartzell Methodist Home for Children.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

EARLE T. HAWKINS, First Vice President

President, Maryland State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland; Chairman, National Education Association Citizenship Committee, 1944-49; helped to initiate the National Conference on Citizenship in 1946, Conference Chairman, 1946-49; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; former Chairman, Maryland Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Towson, Maryland.

SAMUEL I. PARKER, Second Vice President

Lieutenant Colonel, USA, Ret. Has held various positions in business, 1919-56, including Assistant Superintendent, Cone Mills, Greensboro, N. C. and Vice President, Ciba Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.; Secretary-Treasurer, Congressional Medal of Honor Society of the United States of America, 1956—; appointed by Governor Luther H. Hodges, North Carolina, to State Committee for Improved Courts, 1958.

Residence, Concord, North Carolina.

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN, Third Vice President

A manager, New York State Reformatory for Women, 1906-18; only woman Member, Federal Industrial Relations Commission, 1913-16; Chairman, Committee on Women in Industry of Council for National Defense; Colonel, Red Cross Motor Corps, 1917-18; U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Norway, 1937-41; Member, National Institute of Social Sciences; Co-Chairman, Washington Home Rule Committee, Inc.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

LEE R. PENNINGTON, JR., Treasurer

Approximately 25 years with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, retiring 1953 to become Director, National Americanism Commission of the American Legion; Member for 20 years, Board of Directors, Metropolitan Y.M.C.A.; President for five years, G.A.R. Memorial Day Corporation, which has charge of Memorial Day Service and decoration of graves of veterans in Arlington, Virginia.

Residence, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

LAWRENCE A. OXLEY, Secretary

Former Organization and Methods Examiner, Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor; has held various positions in Department of Labor for 25 years; after World War I, served as special investigator for War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities; teacher Social Sciences, St. Augustine College, Raleigh, N. C.; 10 years State Director, Division of Negro Welfare, N. C. State Board of Public Welfare. Residence, Washington, D. C.

CARL B. HYATT, Executive Director

Former Assistant Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service; planned and initiated Nationwide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; Chairman, Federal Bar Association Citizenship Committee, 1942—; Director, Attorney General's Citizenship Program, 1946-55; helped to initiate and direct the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Rockville, Maryland.

ROBERT N. ANDERSON, General Counsel

Past President, Federal Bar Association; Chairman, Organizing Committee of the International Bar Association; helped to initiate Nationwide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; President of the Arlington (Va.) Historical Society.

Residence, Arlington, Virginia.

ALVIN M. BENTLEY

Member, U. S. Congress since 1953; House Foreign Affairs Committee and House Select Committee on Communist Aggression; U. S. Foreign Service, 1941-50; seriously wounded in House Chamber when shot by Puerto Rico Nationalist fanatics on March 1, 1954. Later made a good will trip to Puerto Rico which strengthened relations between Puerto Rico and the mainland.

Residence, Owosso, Michigan.

MAURICE BISGYER

Executive Vice President, B'nai B'rith; former Member, Attorney General's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency; former President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers; Member, National Advisory Committee on Education, appointed by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt; Secretary-General, Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations—Consultant to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

MRS. MONTGOMERY BLAIR

President, Junior League of Washington, D. C., 1940-42; Chairman, Volunteer Special Services, Red Cross, Palm Springs, Calif., 1942-44; Coordinator Arts and Skills Program, Fort McArthur, Calif., 1944-45; Board of Trustees, Washington Home Rule Committee, 1953—; Board of Federal City Council, 1954-56; Chapter National Cathedral, 1950-56.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

BOYD CAMPBELL

President, Mississippi School Supply Co.; Director, First National Bank, Jackson, Mississippi, Mississippi Power and Light Co., and the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad; President, Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. A., 1955; started Mississippi's first Scout Troop, Member, National Council of Boy Scouts of America; Treasurer, Board of Trustees, Millsaps College, Mississippi.

Residence, Jackson, Mississippi.

THOMAS F. CLEAR

Principal, Katherine T. Murphy School, Stamford, Connecticut; Vice President, National Education Association, 1949-50, and Member, Citizenship Committee, 1950-53; President, Connecticut State Teachers Association, Classroom Teachers 1949-50; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Director of Exhibits for the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Springdale, Connecticut.

WILLARD E. GIVENS

Director of Education, Scottish Rite Masons, Southern and Western States; former Executive Secretary, National Education Association; Past President, California Teachers Association; Member, American Youth Commission of American Council on Education; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Senior Citizens of America; helped to initiate the National Conference on Citizenship; as Secretary of National Education Association, approved Bill introduced in Congress to charter the Conference and give it independent status.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

BROOKS HAYS

Member of U. S. Congress 1942-58; House Foreign Affairs Committee; Assistant Attorney General of Arkansas, 1925-27; President, Arkansas Conference of Social Work, 1932-34; Member, Board of Trustees George Peabody College for Teachers and of George Washington University; Commission on Intergovernmental Relations; U. S. Delegation to United Nations General Assembly, 1955.

Residence, Little Rock, Arkansas.

RICHARD B. KENNAN

Secretary, Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, National Education Association; Consultant, National Education Association Committee on Citizenship; helped to initiate and direct the National Conference on Citizenship; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Deputy Executive Director for the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

J. ALBERT WOLL

General Counsel, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Special Assistant to Attorney General of the United States, 1934; Head, Fraud Section, U. S. Department of Justice, 1939-40; United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois, 1940-47; Member, Executive Board, Chicago Council, Boy Scouts of America, and Member, National Council.

Residence, Chicago, Illinois.

For possible communication I will be at the following addresses on the dates given:

c/o Rabbi Charles Mantinband (Feb. 8)
808 Main St.
Hattiesburg, Miss.

Heidelberg Hotel
Jackson, Miss (Feb. 15)

They will hold mail.

Ben Musser

EFFECTIVE SERVICES RENDERED BY SRC

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Information on the Virginia experience supplied to Governor Collins and his staff before the 1959 session of the Florida Legislature was helpful in preventing massive resistance legislation in that state. They were quite eager for this help and I spent several days with them.

Advice and assistance was rendered again in the setting up of the Florida (Fowler) Commission on Race Relations in March 1960. I spent two strenuous days in helping and coaching the Commission staff. Our organization cooperated closely with the Commission during the remainder of the year.

I know of no more striking case of the SRC stepping in to fill an urgent need than our work during the early months of the "sit-in" and lunch-counter desegregation movements. We moved quickly to investigate the first "sit-in" and sent a professor of sociology to study the circumstances and techniques employed in the first cities which achieved an orderly solution of the problem. For some time, the SRC was the only source of comprehensive and reliable information on the subject. This information was in great demand among mayors, city managers, and other officials and interracial committees which were set up in many cities to deal with the problem. I conferred personally with officials and community leaders in half a dozen of the affected cities.

I confer continuously with officials and community leaders in various sections of the South, having visited all Southern states except Texas and Mississippi. I am now on my way to Mississippi. I have conferred with five Southern governors and some 40 Southern editors. I try to correct mis-informations and misconceptions and promote at least acceptance of the inevitability of desegregation.To those who are liberal on the issue, of whom I find many among editors, I try to bring encouragement. To some who are standing up for the good cause in trying circumstances this appears to be particularly helpful.

My movements and impressions are reported comprehensively to our Atlanta office, particularly for guidance in our research and production of informative reports. I report the questions which are being asked and the kind of information needed to allay fears and prepare communities for acceptance of desegregation.

A valuable part-time assistant is J. J. Brewbaker, who was engaged by us upon his retirement as Norfolk superintendent of schools, as a consultant on school desegregation. Mr. Brewbaker had steered Norfolk schools through a sensationally difficult desegregation crisis, and from that experience as well as from his observations elsewhere is admirably qualified to advise with other superintendents. He has also a very cordial personal relationship with public school administrators throughout the South. He has visited with many of them in the course of this work, and he makes a point of conferring with school authorities in cities where school desegregation is imminent. He discusses the techniques of desegregation and, most effectively, is constant witness to the fact that desegregation is possible. I am sure that he contributed substantially to the order and tranquility in which five more school districts were desegregated in Virginia this year and was helpful also in the orderly extention of desegregation in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida. He has rendered valuable aid also in the difficult situations of New Orleans and Atlanta.

One of the greatest obstacles to peaceful progress in race relations in the South is the prevalence of misconceptions and the wide currency of mis-information on the subject of race. The production of accurate information, therefore, on the fallacy of race as an index to human ability and worth, the progress of the Negro in many fields and his educational capabilities, the harmlessness of integration in practice, many practical problems of desegregation and the economic penalties of race discrimination -- this is a major service of the Southern Regional Council.

file

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM June 13, 1958

From: HCF

Re: Summary of HCF's Conversation with George Goodwin on June 11, 1958

Goodwin offered the following suggestions:

(1) Philip Weltner, executive director of the Woodruff Foundation and former president of Oglethorpe University, would be an ideal person to consult on this whole project. He is a liberal who has specialized for many years in working with "power-structured" figures in Atlanta, Georgia.

(2) George feels that Laurence and David Rockefeller have a tremendous amount of influence among Southern economic leaders. If they would intervene directly with some of their Southern friends, he feels that many important doors would be opened to us.

(3) While Goodwin agrees that the project would need a full-time coordinator of the sort we would hope to employ, he also feels that we must, in some way, get the services of businessmen whom we could not conceiveably hope to employ. Specifically, he feels that a direct approach through the Rockefellers might lead to our borrowing, for temporary periods, rising young executives whose superiors are concerned about avoiding the disruption threatened by present extremist policy.

My own view is that all of this is extremely unlikely, but certainly we should explore Goodwin's suggestions and at least consider what less ambitious techniques they might suggest.

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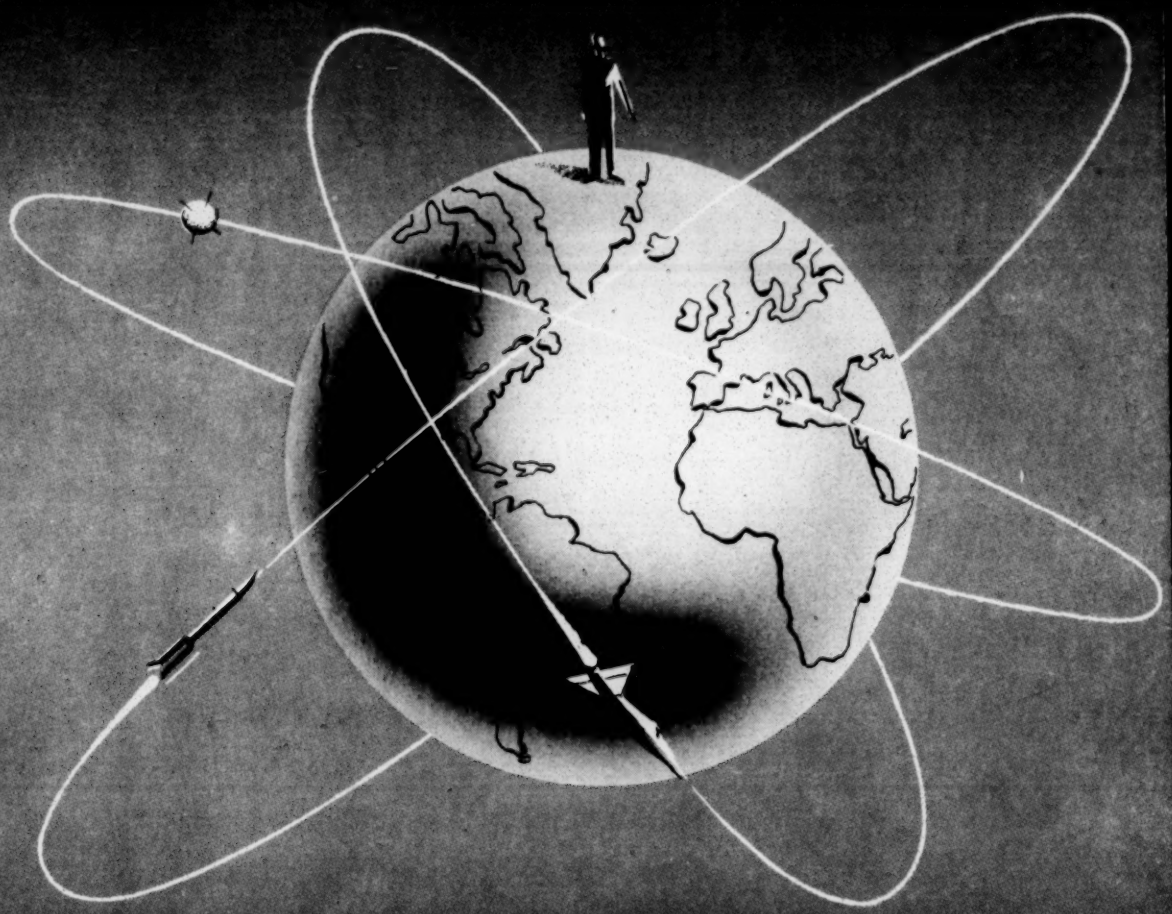
THE 13th NATIONAL CONFERENCE

ON CITIZENSHIP



"Citizenship in a Changing World"

National Conference on Citizenship

PURPOSES To Support and Strengthen the Efforts of the People in Maintaining the Blessings of Freedom and Justice and in Protecting and Perpetuating the Principles and Ideals upon which this Nation is Founded; to Develop a More Thorough Knowledge of Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities; to Inspire a Deeper Devotion to Citizenship Obligations; to Encourage Ever More Effective Participation in Citizenship Activities and to Promote a Spirit of Cooperation on the Part of All Citizens—to these High Purposes, the National Conference on Citizenship is Dedicated.

Cover designed by Ivan X. Spear, Artist, Kaufmann Printing, Inc.

THE THIRTEENTH

National Conference on Citizenship

Honorary Chairman

THE HONORABLE EARL WARREN

Chief Justice of the United States

Statler Hotel—Washington, D. C.

September 16-19, 1958

THEME OF THE CONFERENCE

Citizenship in a Changing World

The National Conference on Citizenship holds steadfast to the principle of Freedom of Thought and Freedom of Expression.

Opinions expressed by the Speakers and Participants are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Conference on Citizenship.

ALL MEETINGS AT THE STATLER HOTEL
UNLESS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED

Conference Headquarters: Second Floor Upper Lobby

Press Office: New York Room

Exhibits: Congressional Room and Capitol Terrace

Youth Lounge: South American Room

(Open September 16, 17, 18. For hours, see Bulletin Board.)

The Conference Plan

The program of the Thirteenth National Conference on Citizenship has been developed with the cooperation of a planning committee and other committees whose membership totals more than a hundred people, representing almost as many organizations.

The Thirteenth Conference does not deviate much from the pattern of past conferences. Speaking at general sessions are people chosen to stimulate their audiences to serious and constructive thinking; and in the small discussion groups that follow, as in the larger meetings, all delegates will explore questions that arise out of the Conference Theme, "CITIZENSHIP IN A CHANGING WORLD." Both meetings of the discussion groups will deal entirely with the Conference Theme and its implications.

Again the Conference puts a great deal of emphasis on work-group discussions. An effort has been made to have many varied viewpoints in each group—to have each group, in effect, a little community in itself. THEREFORE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT EACH DELEGATE PARTICIPATE IN BOTH MEETINGS OF THE DISCUSSION GROUP TO WHICH HE HAS BEEN ASSIGNED. SEE DELEGATE BADGE FOR DISCUSSION GROUP ASSIGNMENT. SEE NOTATION BELOW FOR GROUP MEETING PLACE.

You will want to see the exhibits in both the Congressional Room and the Capitol Terrace, as well as meet your friends in the pleasant coffee hours that are scheduled for Wednesday morning, 8:30 A.M. to 9:30 A.M. and Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 8:45 A.M.

Meeting Places for Discussion Groups

Group	*Room*	*Group*	*Room*
1	Pan American Room	5	Continental
2	Congressional Room	6	Michigan Room
3	South American Room	7	California Room
4	Ohio Room	8	Massachusetts Room
	9-20	See Bulletin Board*	

* Note: Since groups 9-20 will meet in parlors of the Statler Hotel, room numbers cannot be posted until late Wednesday afternoon, September 17. At that time, they will will be listed on the bulletin board near the Conference Information Desk.

Program

Tuesday, September 16

REGISTRATION

2:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M.

Upper Lobby

MEETING—Discussion Leaders and Reporters Only
10:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.

New York Room

CHAIRMAN: Mr. John T. Cheney, *Chief, Literature Division, Public Libraries of the District of Columbia*
WORKSHOP LEADER: Dr. John B. Holden, *Specialist in General Adult Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare*
ASSISTANTS: Dr. Robert A. Luke, *Executive Secretary, National Association of Public School Educators;* and Dr. Everett C. Preston, *Director, Division of Adult Education, New Jersey State Department of Education*

LUNCHEON—Discussion Leaders and Reporters Only
12:30 P.M.

California Room

8:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M.

INFORMAL GET-TOGETHER FOR DELEGATES ARRIVING EARLY

YOUTH DELEGATES: South American Room
ADULT DELEGATES: Pan American Room

Wednesday, September 17

REGISTRATION
8:00 A.M. to 9:30 A.M.

Upper Lobby

COFFEE HOUR
8:30 A.M. to 9:30 A.M.

Congressional Room

(Admission by Badge)

HOSTESSES: Mrs. W. O. Burtner, *Chairman;* Mrs. George R. Ellison, *Co-Chairman;* Mrs. Robert Nelson Anderson, Mrs. Alvin M. Bentley, Mrs. Maurice Bisgyer, Mrs. Montgomery Blair, Mrs. Boyd Campbell, Mrs. Wyman H. Chadwick, Mrs. Justice M. Chambers, Mrs. Ralph W. Hardy, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. Earle T. Hawkins, Mrs. Brooks Hays, Mrs. Carl B. Hyatt, Mrs. Richard B. Kennan, Miss Alice O'Donnell, Mrs. Lawrence A. Oxley, Mrs. Lee R. Pennington, Jr., Mrs. B. W. Reeves, Mrs. J. Albert Woll.

Wednesday, September 17 (continued)

FIRST GENERAL SESSION

MUSIC

9:30 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.

Presidential Ballroom

United States Marine Band
Lt. James B. King, *Assistant Director*

FORMAL OPENING OF CONFERENCE

10:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon

Presidential Ballroom

PRESIDING: Dr. Earle T. Hawkins, *First Vice President, National Conference on Citizenship*

INVOCATION: The Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, *Chaplain of the United States Senate*

ADVANCEMENT OF STATE AND TERRITORIAL FLAGS: Lt. Col. Louis H. Wilson, Jr., U.S.M.C., Congressional Medal of Honor Recipient, assisted by Lt. Bobbie G. Overcash, U.S.M.C., and 54 members, United States Marine Corps.

ADVANCEMENT OF THE COLORS: American Legion National Guard of Honor—Major John R. Le Foe, *Leader*

NATIONAL ANTHEM: United States Marine Band

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE FLAG: Lt. Col. Louis H. Wilson, Jr., U.S.M.C.

INTRODUCTION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES:

The Honorable Robert N. Anderson, *Member, Board of Directors, National Conference on Citizenship*

Delaware—Dr. George R. Miller, Jr.
Pennsylvania—Mr. V. I. Mandich
New Jersey—Dr. Everett C. Preston
Georgia—Mr. Turner L. Smith
Connecticut—Mr. Thomas F. Clear
Massachusetts—Mrs. Ann Creighton
Maryland—Mr. Wayne David Eig
South Carolina—Dr. Jesse T. Anderson
New Hampshire—
Virginia—Dr. Fred O. Wygal
New York—Mrs. India Edwards
North Carolina—Mr. I. Paul Ingle
Rhode Island—Mr. James H. Duffy

KEYNOTE ADDRESS—"CITIZENSHIP IN A CHANGING WORLD": Dr. Erwin D. Canham, *Editor, The Christian Science Monitor*

Wednesday, September 17 (continued)

CITIZENSHIP DAY CEREMONY*

3:00 P.M.

WASHINGTON MONUMENT GROUNDS

Sponsored jointly by the District of Columbia Citizenship Day Committee, Colonel Waldron E. Leonard, Chairman, and the National Conference on Citizenship

Prelude—Band Concert

Advancement of the Colors

Invocation

Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag

Citizenship Day Proclamation of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia

Address:

Laying of Wreaths by the Representatives of the Thirteen Original States in Honor of the Signers of the Constitution

National Anthem

Retirement of the Colors

Benediction

SECOND GENERAL SESSION

ANNUAL DINNER (Informal)

6:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M.

Presidential Ballroom

PRESIDING: The Honorable Carl B. Hyatt, *Executive Director, National Conference on Citizenship*

INVOCATION: Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, *Minister of the Washington Hebrew Congregation*

PRESENTATION OF HEAD TABLE GUESTS

PRESENTATION OF HONOR GUESTS: Purple Heart Veterans from the Hospitals at the National Naval Medical Center and the Walter Reed Army Medical Center. Presented by Colonel Samuel I. Parker, *U.S.A., Ret.*, Congressional Medal of Honor Recipient

AWARDS: Dr. Earle T. Hawkins, *First Vice President, National Conference on Citizenship*

MUSIC: The Precisionists, World Famous Singing Unit of the District of Columbia Chapter of the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America; Mr. Kenneth A. Gould, *Director*, Mr. W. G. Baylis and Mr. L. E. Metcalf, *Co-Managers*

CELEBRATION OF THIRTEENTH BIRTHDAY: Dr. Willard E. Givens, Justice Tom C. Clark and Representatives of the Thirteen Original States

ADDRESS: The Honorable William P. Rogers, *Attorney General of the United States*

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*Summary Outline

Thursday, September 18

FIRST DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

9:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon

See Delegate Badge for Group Assignment
See Page 3 for Group Meeting Place
THEME: CITIZENSHIP IN A CHANGING WORLD

THIRD GENERAL SESSION

LUNCHEON

12:30 P.M. to 2:30 P.M.

Presidential Ballroom

PRESIDING: Mr. Lawrence A. Oxley, *Member, Board of Directors, National Conference on Citizenship*
INVOCATION: The Reverend Elmer T. Fisher, Our Lady of Lourdes Church, Bethesda, Maryland
GENERAL DISCUSSION: Leader—Mr. Frank W. Mueller, *Director of Workshops, Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America.*
Reports of First Discussion Group Meetings by Reporters for the Groups
Questions for Further Discussion Formulated by Delegates

SECOND DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

2:30 P.M. to 4:30 P.M.

MEETING OF GROUP LEADERS AND REPORTERS WITH SUMMARIZER

4:45 P.M. to 5:30 P.M.

Ohio Room

FOURTH GENERAL SESSION

MUSICAL AMERICANA and PANEL

7:30 P.M. to 9:45 P.M.

Presidential Ballroom

PRESIDING: Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, *Third Vice President, National Conference on Citizenship*
MUSICAL AMERICANA: The United States Army Band and Chorus
Captain Samuel Laboda, *Conducting*
"WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?"
LEADER: Dr. Richard B. Kennan, *Deputy Executive Director, National Conference on Citizenship*
ADULTS: Mr. John B. Bond, *President, Civitan International;* Mr. Arthur G. McDowell, *Director, Department of Civic, Education and Governmental Affairs, Upholsterers International Union of North America, AFL-CIO;* Mr. James E. Palmer, Jr., *Secretary General United Nations League of Lawyers*
YOUTHS: Miss Ida Jo Berger, 4-H Clubs, Southern States; Miss Lillian Ann Samouce, Society, Daughters of the United States Army; Miss Sandy Towsner, *International President, B'nai B'rith Girls*

Friday, September 19

COFFEE HOUR FOR NATURALIZATION PETITIONERS AND DELEGATES

Sponsored jointly by the Federal Bar Association and the National Conference on Citizenship

8:00 A.M. to 8:45 A.M.

Congressional Room

(Admission by Badge)

HOSTS AND HOSTESSES: Mrs. W. O. Burtner, *Chairman;* Mrs. George R. Ellison, *Co-Chairman;* Mr. and Mrs. Robert N. Anderson, Mr. Laurence H. Axman, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence A. Davis, Mr. William L. Ellis, Dr. and Mrs. Earle T. Hawkins, Mrs. Carolyn R. Just, Mr. and Mrs. Earl W. Kintner, Mr. and Mrs. Joe E. Moody, Mr. and Mrs. James E. Palmer, Jr., Miss Marguerite Rawalt, Mr. William Roy Vallance.

FIFTH GENERAL SESSION

PRESIDENTIAL BALLROOM

9:00 A.M. to 9:45 A.M.

CONFERENCE SUMMARIZATION

PRESIDING: The Honorable Robert N. Anderson, *Member, Board of Directors, National Conference on Citizenship*

INVOCATION: The Reverend O. Thomas Miles, *Pastor, Takoma Park Presbyterian Church*

SUMMARIZATION REPORT: Dr. Arthur P. Crabtree, *Head, Citizenship Education, The State Education Department, The University of the State of New York*

9:45 A.M. to 10:30 A.M.

MUSIC

United States Air Force Headquarters Command Band
Lt. Harold C. Johnson, *Associate Conductor*
(All persons please remain in auditorium for Naturalization Proceedings.)

10:30 A.M. to 12:00 Noon

NATURALIZATION PROCEEDINGS

PRESIDING: The Honorable F. Dickinson Letts, *Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia*

OPENING OF COURT:
Mr. Carlton G. Beall, *United States Marshal*
Mr. Francis M. Goetzinger, *Deputy United States Marshal*
Mr. Harry M. Hull, *Clerk of Court*
Mrs. Ruth M. Duffey, *Deputy Clerk of Court*

ADVANCEMENT OF THE COLORS: United States Marine Corps Color Guard

ADDRESS: The Honorable F. Dickinson Letts

RECOGNITION BY THE COURT of Mr. Lowell R. Palmes, *Naturalization Examiner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

MOTION FOR ADMISSION OF PETITIONERS: Mr. Lowell R. Palmes

GRANTING OF MOTION: The Honorable F. Dickinson Letts

PRESENTATION OF PETITIONERS*: Mr. Lowell R. Palmes

ADMINISTERING OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE: Mr. Harry M. Hull

PLEDGE TO THE FLAG: Old and New Citizens, Mr. Harry M. Hull

RECOGNITION BY THE COURT of Mr. Richard L. Walsh, *Bar Association of the District of Columbia*

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*See listing, page 9.

Friday, September 19 (continued)

GREETINGS: Mr. L. Paul Winings, *General Counsel, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

RESPONSE BY A NEW CITIZEN: Mr. Frederick W. Brabanski

ADDRESS: Miss Ruth A. Stout, *President, National Education Association*

RETIREMENT OF THE COLORS: United States Marine Corps Color Guard

CLOSING OF COURT: Mr. Francis M. Goetzinger, *Deputy United States Marshal*

(All persons please remain for closing of Conference)

FORMAL CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE

PRESIDING: The Honorable Robert N. Anderson, *Member, National Conference on Citizenship*

NATIONAL ANTHEM: Miss Maria de la Hull, *Columbia Opera Co.—Soloist*

RETIREMENT OF THE COLORS: American Legion National Guard of Honor—Major John R. Le Foe, *Leader*

BENEDICTION: The Reverend Daniel G. Hill, *Dean, School of Religion, Howard University*

Petitioners

GERMANY—Friedrich Wilhelm August Brabanski (Frederick William Brabanski), Herbert Kube, Frieda Kube (Friedel Kube), Harald Hermann Hosch (Harold Hermann Hosch), James Ambrose Harley and Elaine Murietta Boyd Harley in behalf of Ottilie Mildred Harley, James Ambrose Harley and Elaine Murietta Boyd Harley in behalf of Clementine Murietta Harley, Josephine Kreszentia Mottern, Wilhelm Thurau (William Frederic Thurau), Hildegarde Johanna Snyder (Hilda Joan Snyder), Barbara Pasquet, Edit Ruth Lustermann, Agnes Schmalenbach

GREAT BRITAIN—Robert Bicknell, Neville Kingsley Connolly, Alexander Allan Marshall, Isabella Evans, Joan Barbara Mary Barker (Ann Castle Barker), Joan Elizabeth Weekes, Linda Dolores Louise Hill

ITALY—Luciano Doliani, Giacomo Paolucci, Giovanni D'Onofrio, Mabel Costa-Minneci di Villareal (Luisa Costa)

POLAND—Boruch Hersz Cymes (Bernard Cymes), Chaim Chaskiel Lichtenberg (Charles Harry Lichtenberg), Jaker Peiperl (Jacob Peiperl), Danuta Mikolajczyk

SWITZERLAND—Anne Marie Zurlinden, Marguerite Marie Louise Zurlinden, Marguerite Marie McAllister

GREECE—Chrysoula Kallantzis (Christine Callas), Anna Fraggoulis, Steve Kaleyias

FINLAND—Karl Emerik Olsoni, Onerva Hillevi Laine Miller (Onerva Laine Miller)

LATVIA—Ludmila Mitrevics, Helen Narkunas (Ellen Karen Allen)

LITHUANIA—Stasys Povilas Narkunas (Billy Paul Allen)

ALBANIA—Fotina Macotsis, Harentine Papajika

BELGIUM—Eleanore Koutzewitch (Eleonore Koutze)

CHILE—Virginia Barrera Barrera

DENMARK—Verner Toldby

ESTONIA—August Oinas

IRELAND—Theresa Anne Fanning

JAPAN—Tetsuko Moriguchi Kasten

LEBANON—Michel Sleiman Malouf

NETHERLANDS—Sonja Worton

PAKISTAN—Saiyed Ehtasham Ahmed

SYRIA—Sirri Al Kaltakji (Sirri Kaltakji)

Business Session

1:30 P.M. to 2:30 P.M.

Federal Room

(Voting Delegates Only)

PRESIDING: Dr. Earle T. Hawkins, *First Vice President, National Conference on Citizenship*

FLAGS

The Conference deeply appreciates the contributions of Flags and accessories by the States, organizations and individuals listed below.

STATE AND TERRITORIAL FLAGS

States and Territories are listed in the order of signing the Constitution or becoming a part of the United States by admission or in other manner.

DELAWARE (December 7, 1787)—State of Delaware, J. Caleb Boggs, Governor
PENNSYLVANIA (December 12, 1787)—Pennsylvania Credit Union League, William M. Noble, President
NEW JERSEY (December 18, 1787)—Mrs. Solomon N. Hanna in memory of Tech. Sgt. Kermit A. Hanna, killed in action December 22, 1944.
GEORGIA (January 2, 1788)—State of Georgia, Marvin Griffin, Governor
CONNECTICUT (January 9, 1788)—State of Connecticut, Abraham Ribicoff, Governor
MASSACHUSETTS (February 6, 1788)—State of Massachusetts, Christian A. Herter, Governor
MARYLAND (April 28, 1788)—Mr. and Mrs. Alva Dana Gibson, Jr.
SOUTH CAROLINA (May 23, 1788)—State of South Carolina, George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Governor
NEW HAMPSHIRE (June 21, 1788)
VIRGINIA (June 25, 1788)—State of Virginia, Thomas B. Stanley, Governor
NEW YORK (July 26, 1788)—New York State Teachers Association, Earl L. Vandermeulen, President
NORTH CAROLINA (November 21, 1789)—State of North Carolina, Luther H. Hodges, Governor
RHODE ISLAND (May 29, 1790)—Theodore Francis Green, Senator from Rhode Island.
VERMONT (March 4, 1791)—State of Vermont, Joseph B. Johnson, Governor
KENTUCKY (June 1, 1792)—State of Kentucky, Lawrence W. Wetherby, Governor
TENNESSEE (June 1, 1796)—Mamie Frances Smith
OHIO (March 1, 1803)—Ohio State Bar Association, Fred A. Smith, President
LOUISIANA (April 30, 1812)—State of Louisiana, Robert F. Kennon, Governor
INDIANA (December 11, 1816)—State of Indiana, George N. Craig, Governor and Indiana State Society
MISSISSIPPI (December 10, 1817)—State of Mississippi, Hugh L. White, Governor
ILLINOIS (December 3, 1818)—League of Women Voters of Illinois in honor of Mrs. Robert J. Phillips of St. Charles, Illinois, elected president of the League of Women Voters of the United States in 1958
ALABAMA (December 14, 1819)—State of Alabama, James E. Folsom, Governor
MAINE (March 15, 1820)—
MISSOURI (August 10, 1821)—
ARKANSAS (June 15, 1836)—Mrs. B. W. Reeves
MICHIGAN (January 26, 1837)—Janice Antona's Citizenship Class—1957, Pontiac, Michigan
FLORIDA (March 3, 1845)—State of Florida, LeRoy Collins, Governor
TEXAS (December 29, 1845)—Emma Mae Brotze
IOWA (December 28, 1846)—State of Iowa, Leo A. Hoegh, Governor
WISCONSIN (May 29, 1848)—Credit Union National Association, Inc.
CALIFORNIA (September 9, 1850)—Justin Miller
MINNESOTA (May 11, 1858)—Minnesota Congress of Parents and Teachers
OREGON (February 14, 1859)—The Department of Oregon, American Gold Star Mothers, Inc.
KANSAS (January 29, 1861)—State of Kansas, Fred Hall, Governor
WEST VIRGINIA (June 20, 1863)—West Virginia State Society, and Joseph Weeda, President, Heber H. Rice, Willis Kemper, James Kee, Robert Tully, E. Gwinn Miller, Charles Jules Rose and Robert E. McCord
NEVADA (October 31, 1864)—

NEBRASKA (March 1, 1867)—Mrs. Wendell Berge and sons, John (Wendell) and Douglas, in memory of Wendell Berge
COLORADO (August 1, 1876)—Colorado State Society, John R. Butz, President
NORTH DAKOTA (November 2, 1889)—
SOUTH DAKOTA (November 2, 1889)—Col. Martha Strickland
MONTANA (November 8, 1889)—
WASHINGTON (November 11, 1889)—Robert C. Finley, Judge, Supreme Court, State of Washington
IDAHO (July 3, 1890)—
WYOMING (July 10, 1890)—
UTAH (January 4, 1896)—Utah State Society in memory of Ralph W. Hardy
OKLAHOMA (November 16, 1907)—Oklahoma Education Association
NEW MEXICO (January 6, 1912)—State of New Mexico, John F. Simms, Jr., Governor
ARIZONA (February 14, 1912)—W. C. "Tom" Sawyer, Vice President, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (December 1, 1800)—District of Columbia, Samuel Spencer, Robert E. McLaughlin and Thomas A. Lane, Commissioners
ALASKA (June 20, 1867)—Juneau Post No. 4, American Legion, Ralph Warren, Commander
HAWAII (August 12, 1898)—Territory of Hawaii, Samuel Wilder King, Governor
PUERTO RICO (April 11, 1899)—Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Luis Munoz Marin, Governor
GUAM (April 11, 1899)—Territory of Guam, Ford Q. Elvidge, Governor
VIRGIN ISLANDS (January 17, 1917)—

OTHER FLAGS

AMERICAN FLAG flown over Capitol August 13, 1955, anniversary, signing of bill by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to charter the National Conference on Citizenship—Dorothy June Morford and Elizabeth F. Hart
AMERICAN FLAG flown over Capitol September 17, 1955, anniversary, signing of Constitution of the United States, September 17, 1787—Dorothy June Morford and Lillian Elizabeth Skinner
UNITED NATIONS FLAG—Students of Western High School, Washington, D. C., in memory of Mrs. Mary Box Bish, teacher

Group Leaders and Reporters

Antona, Janice R.
Aries, Leonard P.
Avery, Mrs. Edwina
Brewbaker, J. J.
Brooks, Walter
Care, Elsie G.
Chadwick, Mrs. Wyman H.
Chalmers, Alfred A.
Clark, Lois
Clayton, Frank L.
Cushwa, Mrs. Virginia U.
Davis, Edwin W.
Dobbin, Jay Dee
Dorlon, Mrs. Ethel H.
Ferrell, Frances H.
Gallahorn, James T., Jr.
Geater, James W.
Glover, Dorothy
Harper, Charles P.
Ingwalson, Kenneth W.
Janet, Sister Mary
Jones, Vernon
Lewis, Vinita
Levy, Ira L.
McDowell, Arthur G.
Miles, John R.
Miller, Henry
Moore, Mrs. Margaret E.
Nottingham, Mrs. Orry
O'Brien, Mrs. Ruth
Preston, Everett C.
Robinson, Linda Gail
Schneider, Mrs. Ruth Sherman
Schweitzer, Paul
Shorrock, William J.
Skubik, Stephen J.
Taylor, Carl C.
West, Charles F.
William, H. M.

SPECIAL EXHIBITS—Materials on the Constitution, The Declaration of Independence, and other related subjects, at the:

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
HOURS: 9:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., Monday-Saturday
1:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M., Sunday

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
HOURS: 9:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., Monday-Saturday
11:30 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., Sunday

Conference Delegates are specially invited guests.

Planning Committee for Thirteenth Conference

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Richard B. Kennan, *Deputy Executive Director, National Conference on Citizenship*

Administrative Office of the United States Courts—William L. Ellis

American Bar Association, Standing Committee on American Citizenship—Sidney Kusworm

American Farm Bureau Federation—Kenneth W. Ingwalson

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations—John D. Connors, Arthur F. Kane

The American Legion—Watson B. Miller, Lee R. Pennington, Jr.

American Podiatry Association—Joseph S. Lawrence

American Recreation Society—James W. Geater

Americanization School Association—James T. Gallahorn, Jr.

Big Brothers of America—James E. Palmer, Jr.

B'nai B'rith Girls—Sandy Towsner

B'nai B'rith National Commission on Democracy and Civic Affairs—Morton Lifshutz

Boy Scouts of America—Harry K. Eby

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen—W. P. Kennedy, Walter Munro

Campfire Girls, Inc.—Mrs. William Harvey Young

Catholic Association for International Peace—Mrs. Ruth Sherman Schneider

Catholic University, Commission on American Citizenship—Thomas Owen Martin, Sister Mary Janet, Jay Dee Dobbin

Cazenovia Junior College—Mrs. Jacob E. Eckel

Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, Education Department—John R. Miles

"Citizenship Day" Committee for the District of Columbia—Waldron E. Leonard

Civic Education Service, Inc.—William J. Shorrock

Cooperative League of the United States of America—Jerry Voorhis

Croatian Fraternal Union of America—V. I. Mandich

Czechoslovak National Council of America—Albert L. Maserick

Daughters of the American Revolution—Mrs. W. O. Burtner

Department of Agriculture, Federal Extension Service—C. C. Lang

Department of Correction, City of New York—Anna M. Kross

Department of Defense—James G. Dunton

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education—Howard H. Cummings, R. R. Lowdermilk

Department of Justice—W. O. Burtner, Patricia H. Collins

District of Columbia Bar Association—Richard L. Walsh
District of Columbia Public Schools—Hobart N. Corning, Charles E. Bish
District of Columbia Teachers College, Division of Health and Physical Education—Clarence W. Davis
Federal Bar Association—Robert N. Anderson, Laurence H. Axman, William Roy Vallance
Federal Trade Commission—Henry Miller
Ford Foundation—Carl C. Taylor
Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge—W. C. "Tom" Sawyer
General Federation of Women's Clubs—Mrs. R. I. C. Prout
Girl Scouts of the United States—Mrs. Roy F. Layton
Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association—Julius Meltzer
Howard University—Mordecai W. Johnson, Robert E. Martin
Immigration and Naturalization Service—L. Paul Winings
International Association of Machinists—Gordon Cole
The Jewish Star—A. B. Kapplin
Junior Army-Navy Guild—Mrs. Robert P. Patterson
Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S.—Mrs. Wyman H. Chadwick
League of Women Voters of the United States—Mrs. Clarence E. Fisher
Maryland Council on Education—Leslie Morgan Abbe
National Association of Manufacturers—Raymond C. Lewin
National Association of Public School Adult Educators—Robert A. Luke
National Association of Broadcasters—Fred Garrigus
National Citizens Council for Better Schools—Henry Toy, Jr.
National Conference of Christians and Jews—Leonard D. Aries
National Congress of Parents and Teachers—Mrs. Albert Solomon
National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship—Mrs. Ruth Z. Murphy
National Education Association—Mrs. George R. Ellison
National Jewish Welfare Board—Joseph D. Kaufman, Philip Schiff
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc., Education-Recreation Services—Bernice Bridges
National Student Council, YMCA-YWCA, Washington Student Citizenship Seminar—Mrs. Wilbur Morse
New Jersey Department of Education, Division of Adult Education—Everett C. Preston
New York State Department of Education, Bureau of Adult Education—Arthur P. Crabtree
Norfolk City Public Schools, Virginia—J. J. Brewbaker, Paul Schweitzer
Public Libraries of the District of Columbia—John T. Cheney
Radio-Electronics-Television Manufacturers Association—James D. Secrest
Sertoma Club—Heber H. Rice
State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland—Earle T. Hawkins
United Business Education Association—Elsie G. Care
United States Civil Service Commission—William M. Ragan, Jr.
Upholsterers International Union of North America—Arthur G. McDowell
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S., Department of New Jersey—Louis V. Shepper
Washington Federation of Churches—Frederick E. Reissig
Washington Post and Times Herald—Malvina Lindsay
Western High School, Washington, D. C.—James Lichtenberg
Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia—Edwina V. A. Avery
YMCA, National Council—Paul W. Moritz
YWCA, National Board—Mabel R. Cook, Mrs. Wells Harrington

Special Conference Committees and Staff Assignments

Art: Ivan X. Spear

Boy Scout Services: Gomer E. Jones

Credentials Committee: Richard B. Kennan, Earle T. Hawkins, Thomas F. Clear

Conference Arrangements and Equipment: Laurence D. Campbell

Conference Information: Mrs. Carl B. Hyatt, Clara Lee Hyatt

Exhibits: Thomas F. Clear

Flowers: Mrs. Richard B. Kennan

Girl Scout Services: Margaret Cragg, Mrs. Tristram Coffin

Hosts and Hostesses: Mrs. W. O. Burtner, Mrs. George R. Ellison

Memorial Gifts: Elizabeth A. Thomas

Music and Bands: James G. Dunton

Naturalized Citizens' Guests: Mrs. Ruth M. Duffey, Lowell R. Palmes, James T. Gallahorn, Jr.

Naturalization Hearing: Harry M. Hull, Mrs. Ruth M. Duffey, Lowell R. Palmes, James T. Gallahorn, Jr.

Press: A. B. Kapplin, Dorothy Gilfert

Purple Heart Veteran Guests: Watson B. Miller, Justice M. Chambers

Radio and TV: Fred Garrigus, Mark Evans, Dorothy Gilfert

Registration: Mrs. Bettie S. Dugan, Frances Smith, Mrs. Nettie G. Wright, Fredda Stevenson, Martha Mangin, Mrs. Nora M. Eno, Mrs. Jean S. Campbell, Mrs. Lillian Elizabeth Skinner

Town Crier: Raymond Jones

Wreath-Laying Ceremony: Waldron E. Leonard, Robert N. Anderson

Youth Lounge: Mrs. George R. Ellison

Among Those Who Helped

Bernice C. Brigham	Elizabeth F. Hart	E. A. Loughran
W. O. Burtner	Yvette Hebbard	Ethel G. Mason
Ann Embrey	Sister Mary Janet	Charles Nichols
Jean Gardner	Constance Jones	Elsie Shannon
Dorothy Glover	Raymond Jones	May S. Simpson
Lois Glover	Archibald C. Keegin	W. Wingate Snell
Horace Gold	Thomas J. Kehoe	Ruth Walter

Memorial Book

A mother made a gift to the National Conference on Citizenship in memory of her son who gave his life in World War II. Two sisters gave in memory of their father who spent a lifetime in civilian service. This suggested to the Board of Directors the idea of Memorial gifts to help achieve the objectives of the Conference and a Memorial Book to give recognition to the parts that many individuals have played in advancing the cause of good citizenship.

Gifts in any amount may be made in the memory of:

One who served in defense of his country;

One who contributed to the betterment of our Nation, whether recognized by the many or known only to the few; or

One who was an inspiration to strengthen the American way of life.

The name of the person in whose memory the gift is made, and the name of the donor are recorded in a Memorial Book. This Book has a permanent place of honor at the National Conference Headquarters and is given a special place at the annual meetings. The Memorial Book, also, contains the history of the Conference, its Charter, and other information. Arrangements have been made for a duplicate of this Book to be kept in the Library of Congress.

The Book already includes the names of many outstanding Americans. For example, on its pages appear the names of a Secretary of the Navy, World War I; a Secretary of the Navy, World War II; two Ambassadors to the Court of St. James; and a Vice President of the United States, who was Honorary Chairman of the National Conference on Citizenship for four years. Included also, are the names of many others who have played simpler roles but who, by their work and their inspiration to others, have made vital contributions to the cause of good citizenship.

At the wish of the donor, brief statements about the donor and the person in whose memory the gift is made will be placed in a Conference Memorial File. In future years, this file should be a rich source of information about the contributions of many individuals to the life and heritage of our country.

You, too, may have someone whose memory you would like to honor by a Memorial gift to the National Conference on Citizenship. The Memorial Book may be seen on the dais in the Congressional Room, between the entrances from Foyer 2. Information regarding the Book and cards for use in making gifts also may be obtained there.

In Memoriam

JOHN J. PARKER—March 17, 1958

Judge Parker, President of the National Conference on Citizenship, believed that the Conference was "the greatest mobilization of forces for good citizenship that has ever existed in this country." Although President of the Conference for only a brief period, he brought inspiration and challenge to delegates at several Annual Meetings. A jurist of national and international renown, he worked tirelessly to improve the administration of justice in the United States and advocated the settlement of disputes between nations before an international court of justice, rather than by war. A great believer in the principles of democracy, a strong proponent of the spirit of good will and brotherhood, and a forthright spokesman for equal justice and opportunity for all, Judge Parker championed these causes throughout his life. The National Conference on Citizenship, as well as the Nation, will miss his moral courage, wise counsel and inspired guidance.

LEO M. CADISON—June 19, 1958

Mr. Cadison, Second Vice President of the National Conference on Citizenship, was a staunch friend and warm supporter of the Conference from its initiation in 1946. Self-effacing, possessing the qualities of sincerity and wisdom, his counsel was welcomed and sought by those trying to carry out the objectives of the Conference. Loving his country intensely, he missed no opportunity to help advance its welfare. He will be sorely missed.

HEBER H. RICE—February 8, 1958

Col. Rice, Chairman of the Flag Committee and a member of the Planning Committee of the National Conference on Citizenship, served it faithfully in these and other capacities. No job was ever too small for him to undertake. He conceived the idea of having the State and Territorial Flags advanced at each Annual Meeting as illustrative of the breadth of the Conference and was responsible for getting most of the flags donated. Conference officials and delegates alike will miss his smile and cheerful spirit at Annual Meetings.

PHILIP SCHIFF—February 14, 1958

Mr. Schiff, a member of the Planning Committee of the National Conference on Citizenship and frequently a discussion group leader, believed wholeheartedly in the objectives of the Conference. Although he engaged in many community welfare activities, he gave generously of his time and made many constructive suggestions as to how these objectives might be realized. The Planning Committee will miss his voice.

The National Conference on Citizenship

FOUNDED *in 1946*

CARRIED FORWARD *under auspices of the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association*

CHARTERED *by the Congress of the United States as an independent entity in 1953*

OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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RICHARD B. KENNAN
LAWRENCE A. OXLEY
J. ALBERT WOLL

*Deceased

P. O. Box 172
ROCKVILLE, MARYLAND

1-17-59

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

file 19 Jan '59 (Boyte + Moore)

HCF -

Here are the two names we mentioned for the RBF slot:

Harry Boyte - retired Red Cross man - 50'ish; vigorous. Recently became Volunteer coordinator for H.O.P.E. might be interested in RBF slot - Cahill thinks he'd be good at it.

Ph. BH 5-1073

Elliott "Tad" Moore, Jr. - Quaker attorney 30'ish; recently gone with Nat'l Labor Relations Bd (Atlanta) Pharr Stanley says he wants to make a contribution in our this area. Has a forthright tho modest personality - agreed he might be thought of as a young Frank Loescher - Has some emotional problems when South is too severely criticized. One of his

close friends who could evaluate his potentiality is Wm Shields at Hammon.

Tads - Ph - TR-4-1491
of. Ph. TR-6-3311
Ext. 5687

perhaps a call to EFV would give us a quick evaluation.

JBR

Memo

~~Secret Chap~~

FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

2 Feb 59

HCF -

The chap's name for a possible candidacy for the RBF slot is:

Jeter Pritchard -
236 Tyrone Circle DR. 7-6961
Baltimore 12, Md.

he is the son of a former US Senator - he is married - is 37 yrs old. worked with the Baltimore County Chmn now works with US F&C in Baltimore recommended by Terry & Blake King -

JBC

Encls. Rockefeller Bros. Proposal
Congressional Record Reprint
Mid-summer Report for 1958, SRC

VIA AIR MAIL

February 4, 1959

Mr. Jeter Pritchard
236 Tyrone Circle
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Mr. Pritchard:

Following up my telephone call, I am enclosing three materials that will give you general background on the Southern Regional Council and on the project which I spoke of. The grant requested of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in the typewritten proposal was approved, and we must now find a suitable project director as soon as possible.

This material will no doubt leave you with many unanswered questions. But I hope it will enable you to decide whether or not you are sufficiently interested in the job to warrant our discussing it further.

When you have had a chance to consider it, please drop me a line -- or, if you'd prefer, call me collect at the above number.

I enjoyed our conversation the other night and will look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3

P. S. We'd like to have the typewritten proposal back once it has served its purpose.

Atlanta, Feb.27,1959

BEN MUSE SPEECH
to ATLANTA COUNCIL on Human Relations

I am always happy, and strengthened, when I meet with a group of people who are dedicated as you are to this great cause. Our business, I think, is in the highest sense the pursuit of truth.

Truth is being distorted and trampled under foot all around us--anthropological truth, sociological truth, historical truth, the truth about current events, Christian truth. A kind of intellectual debasement is a part of the agony of our South today. You follow the truth and proclaim the truth, and, in your hours of discouragement and uncertainty, do not forget that the truth is mighty and will prevail.

I am particularly happy to visit Atlanta, where there is so much that exemplifies the noble and generous in the human spirit. It has been said before, no doubt in a spirit of flattery, but it seems very true to me that Atlanta combines in a high degree the beauty and chivalry of the Old South with the energy and vision of the new.

Relations between Virginia and Georgia have followed a singular pattern in recent years. And I speak here of a dominant element in each state with which neither you nor I have been completely in tune. Virginia almost suddenly re-discovered Georgia after the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

Up in the Old Dominion we had almost forgotten the Deep South. Our economy faced the north. Business men shuttled constantly back and forth between Norfolk or Richmond and New York. We rarely got as far south as Georgia--except on the way to Miami Beach.

Then almost suddenly we became again the front line of the Confederate defense, the brothers-in-arms once more--not so much of North Carolina and Tennessee, but of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama

Mississippi and Louisiana. We undertook to rally the forces of, and hold the line for "massive resistance."

We were not altogether suited for this melodrama, and we did not take to it naturally. The first reaction in Virginia to the Supreme Court decision, even among politicians, was generally conciliatory and constructive.

Our race problem was not comparable to that in the Deep South. Only 22 per cent of Virginia's population are Negroes, which is but a slightly larger percentage that that In Maryland, where a policy of loyal compliance with the desegregation ruling has prevailed from the beginning.

In one third of the state the population is less than 10 per cent Negro. In 20 counties the Negro element ranges from none at all to 5 per cent. Moreover, the public school facilities for the two races in Virginia are very nearly equal.

Until a month ago we were an island of "massive resistance" surrounded by North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland and the District of Columbia--each of which had partially or completely desegregated its public schools.

Race prejudice was not as intense or old rampant in Virginia as in many parts of the South. Institutions of higher learning, buses and Catholic parochial schools were integrated entirely without incident. There were many manifestations of tolerance on the part of the public. As late as 1955 pupil delegates from the Richmond public schools gathered in an annual youth government exercise and, to the horror of many of their elders, they elected a colored boy city manager of Richmond.

In our Black Belt we do have a situation similar to that in the Deep South. There, where the Negro population is about equal to the white, hostility to the Supreme Court decision was intense.

Any steps toward compliance with it would have been out of the question there. But this is a small section. The people living in counties where the Negro population is 40 per cent or more represent only about one sixth of the total population of Virginia.

Yet, in spite of all this, Virginia embarked upon "massive resistance," and became in some ways the leader of the Southern resistance movement. Virginia's Sen.Harry Byrd coined the expression, "massive resistance," and was the chief instigator of the Southern Manifesto. It was the Richmond News Leader which dug up the quaint doctrine of "interposition" and, in voluminous editorials and editorial reprints, broadcast it over the South.

How all this happened in a state which had so many reasons for being a leader in steps of adjustment to the desegregation ruling rather than a leader of resistance to it is a long story. Time will not permit me to review it in detail. But, as you have no doubt concluded, politics played a big part in it--politics and Sen.Byrd.

Race prejudice is a delicate, contagious, explosive and powerful thing, which I think has never been adequately diagnosed or understood. But we know that it offers a veritable bonanza of political capital. Southern politicians long since discovered that "there's gold in them ar hills." I believe some of the leaders of your state have been conscious of ~~its~~ the political possibilities of race prejudice

Then,too, we have a unique system of government in Virginia. We have been ruled for over half a century by a single, self-perpetuating political organization. For the past 30 years it has been led by Harry Byrd, and it is generally known nowadays as the Byrd Machine.

When I say that these politicians are led by Sen. Byrd, it is an understatement. ~~His~~ The Senator's influence over them, when he chooses to exert it, is fantastic. Byrd could have moved Virginia in either direction--and he chose resistance.

The Byrd machine is a gentlemanly group. We have no gallus-snappers in Virginia politics. It is also notably honest, and that is one of the things that makes it seemingly impregnable. Some people wish that it would steal something sometime just to give the opposition a break. It has a reputation--though badly shaken during the past four years--for prudent conservatism.

These characteristics of Virginia's modern leadership against the background of Virginia's illustrious role in the founding of the Republic and again in the War Between the States have given our state a unique prestige in the South. They strengthened Virginia's leadership in Southern resistance to desegregation. We must hope that they will lend weight to Virginia's example now that a change has come about.

The Governor of Florida said last week in an interview: "I have pointed out that nmerous things have happened since that time that should cause us to give very careful consideration to our current position. Of course, the most significant thing which has happened sincethat time was the collapse of the so-called "massive resistance" program in the state of Virginia. And due to this collapse, I think the people over the state generally have taken a considerably different look at this whole picture than they had prior to that time."

Virginia has abandoned "massive resistance," and 38 Negro pupils have been admitted to previously all-white public schools.

Many who had hailed Virginia's leadership in resistance had voiced the opinion expressed by Rep.John Bell Williams of Mississippi, who told a Richmond audience:" If Virginia yields, the rest of the South will capitulate as a matter of course." Sen.Byrd said if Virginia gave up "massive resistance," the integrationists would "go marching through the South singing Hallelujah."

Well, Virginia gave up "massive resistance." The result has not been quite what these gentlemen ~~predicted~~ prophesied, but I am sure the effects will be farreaching.

It had also been predicted, endlessly in Virginia, that any public school integration would result in what Gov. Almond described as "confusion, bitterness, chaos and strife." ~~Eleven~~ Ten public schools were integrated without the slightest disorder. The completely peaceful, often even friendly, atmosphere in which the long-dreaded desegregation took place was a wonderfully heartening thing.

Attendance at the integrated school in Arlington was slightly above normal. In the integrated schools of Alexandria was slightly below normal due mainly to a flu epidemic.

In Norfolk it was a matter, not only of desegregating, but of reopening schools which had been closed under the "massive resistance laws. Attendance began at about two thirds of normal and has since risen to about three fourths. Several thousand pupils preferred to continue their private school arrangements, and some hundreds had quit school for good. Incidentally 400 or more had found private schools out of the state at points as distant as California and Massachusetts.

Charlottesville was given more time for planning desegregation--in view of the convincing good faith of both the school board and the city council of that city. The reopening of the closed schools in Charlottesville, with a desegregation plan approved by the Federal court, is expected to take place not later than next September.

In Warren County, the high school was reopened and the 22 Negro applicants were admitted, but the school was completely boycotted by the white pupils. The incident made a perfect propaganda piece for those who are advocating the closing of public schools.

Ad lib

Virginia's troubles are far from over. The degree of moderation recently shown by Gov.Almond had the support of a majority of the General Assembly and it appears to have the support of a majority of the people. A newspaper poll, conducted by a former "massive resistance" newspaper, showed 3 to 2 approving Almond's policies.

The emphasis of the segregationists now is upon private schools, and extremists are calling for repeal of the Constitutional requirement for the maintenance of puplic schools, even for abolition of the public school system.

But what seems to be an even stronger movement has gotten under way to defend the public schools, even with desegregation. The moderates on this issue are coming forward now with an unprecedented boldness and aggressiveness. A fast-growing Committee for Public Schools now numbers over 18,000 members.

I think there is much in these Virginia developments that can be instructive to you in Atlanta. They proved that a change is possible--even among the fiercest resistors. They proved that politicians like Saul on the road to Damascus, "breathing out threatenings and salughter," can see a great light.

To express it another way, something had to give, and in Virginia it gave.

Encls: 2 "The Economic Effect of School Closing"
February/1959 NEW SOUTH
Atl. Const. "Will School Strife Stop New Plants?"
Jim Montgomery-2/27/59
Atl. Const. "Officials as Fathers WeightSchool Crisis"
Jim Montgomery-12/1/58 In
Atl. Const. "School Threat Held Curbing Georgia/Science,
Industry." Jim Montgomery - 12/2/58
Atl. Const. "Businessmen Ask for Open Schools"
Jim Montgomery-12/3/58
Atl. Const, "Colleges Worried for Public Schools."
Jim Montgomery-12/5/58
Atl. Journal. "How Could Shut Schools Effect State Economy"
Jim Montgomery-11/30/58
Ark. Gazette. "Surveyed Businessmen Tell Crisis Impact
on Little Rock. - 1/25/59

March 4,1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
The Washington Post
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Enclosed are copies of some materials which you might want to pass on to Governor Collins' assistant. I am sorry for the hard-toread thermofaxed copies, but this was the only way we could reproduce the newspaper material quickly.

I have just received your good letter about the Southern Leadership Project and will be writing you about that shortly.

Everyone appreciated the fine job you did for the Atlanta Council on Human Relations, and I especially enjoyed our few hours together on Saturday.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

P. S. I am enclosing an extra copy of "The Economic Effect of School Closing" for your own use.

H.C.F.

Call
JAC

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

February 19,1959

Dear Harold:

Mr.John Kerry, Administrative Assistant to the Governor of Florida, just spoke to me over the phone from Tallahassee regarding their desegregation problem and expressed a particular interest in the effects of school confusion upon business and industry.

It occurred to me that this might be an opening for the Southern Leadership Project, if you have some useful information on tap.

I hope I may have the pleasure of seeing you when I come to Atlanta to speak to the Atlanta CHR on the 27th.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Mr.Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

March 5,1959

Dear Hal:

Mrs.Kathrine Stone, Delegate from Arlington County, reminded me that I met Lightsey in a group at her house. She said further:

Lightsey was active supporter of segregationist Republican Congressman Joel Broyhill last fall against liberal Democratic candidate Joe Freehill, who favored school integration--"massive resistance" being the most conspicuous issue of the campaign. It seems to have been largely a matter of personal friendship.

Her report was otherwise entirely favorable. Lightsey is a native of Charleston with a Southern accent. Active in civic movements, in which he is an excellent organizer and administrator.

Dept. of Agriculture employee apparently on final leave, with retirement effective April 1. Working as salaried executive secretary Committee for Public Schools, on 3-months contract.

Recently visited Little Rock to confer with Little Rock Mothers group.

Believed to have some political ambition. Considered possible candidate for House of Delegates from Arlington.

My thoughts are shaping up along the lines which you suggested of a part-time contribution from me as a field and contact man. I will write you more fully probably tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL March 6, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Many thanks for your letter, sent so promptly after our telephone conversation yesterday. Less promptly, I am sending enclosed a copy of the original proposal to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, on the basis of which the grant was made.

The proposal, being over a year old, is greatly out-of-date, so you shouldn't linger over the wordy background analysis in the first four pages. Even the core of the proposal, beginning near the bottom of page 4, needs revising in the light of subsequent developments; this should be the first order of business once the question of personnel is settled.

I appreciate the background on William Lightsey, whom I am to see on Wednesday. We have tentatively scheduled a personnel committee meeting for Thursday, in the hope that some decision can be reached then.

Meanwhile, do give me the benefit of any further thoughts you may have on the project and

the kind of relationship we might best establish with you. Though we are ensnarled in mechanics, I am most enthusiastic about your potential contribution to this effort.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Rockefeller Brothers Proposal, 1957)

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

March 7,1959

Mr.Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Hal:

I ran into Lightsey yesterday in a Richmond hotel lobby and he invited me to his room, where we talked for about an hour. He talked about his work as executive secretary of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, of which I am a member of the advisory board.

Lightsey has a lot of enthusiasm and energy, and, I believe, is doing a good job. He visited Little Rock to compare notes with the similar women's organization there, and to size up the general situation. He seems to have covered much territory during his 24 hours in Little Rock.

I believe he is a good organizer and administrator, and a good mixer, who would be useful in stimulating save-the-public-schools organizations, of which we shall undoubtedly see more in the South. I hope you will mention the fact that I spoke favorably of him.

For my part, after sober reflection, with due regard for my business and family situation, and my physical stamina--and after talk with my wife, who is wiser than I am-- I have concluded that it would be out of the question for me to direct the Southern Leadership Project. It would be too strenuous from Manassas and impossible from Atlanta.

However, I am prepared to undertake the part-time assignment, and this suits me perfectly. By way of moving toward something concrete, I suggest the following compensation arrangement:

1) $100 a month for desk work and Washington activities,

2) Plus $40 for each day spent outside of Manassas and Washington on Project work,

3) The total not to exceed $7,000 per annum. This would give you flexibility in engaging other personnel. You could limit my activity, and your budgetary commitment, by reducing this figure to $6,000 or $5,000.

I envisage a work of considerable delicacy, and I am assailed by doubts of being able to get much across to Southern leaders in their present mood. We must proceed on the assumption that much good might conceivably be done, and take comfort in the fact that, if only a tiny dent is made, it will be worth the investment.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

March 19, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I am returning the letter from Mr. Perry. Many thanks for sharing it with me.

To reiterate the substance of our telephone conversation yesterday, I hope you will be able to arrange an early trip to Tallahassee, if possible stopping over in Atlanta.

I expect you will see William Lightsey before I get word of his final decision. I trust it will be a fruitful discussion and will look forward to hearing further from you both.

Let me take this opportunity to say that your recent columns in the Post have been unusually good.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
Enclosure

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TALLAHASSEE

LEROY COLLINS
GOVERNOR

Please return us dul signed BM

March 12, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you greatly for your letter of March 9, and for the enclosures dealing with the economic penalty of closing the public schools.

This is most helpful, and I believe we may be able to use it to good advantage.

Enclosed is a copy of Governor Collins' suggested legislation for implementation of the Supreme Court desegregation decision, along with a summary sheet of its contents and purposes.

I hope you will let me know when you plan to be in Tallahassee, for I would like to arrange to spend some time with you as well as get you together with the Governor.

Our biennial legislative session gets underway April 7, and the extremists already have announced their intention of making introduction of drastic legislation the first order of business.

Sincerely,

John

JOHN L. PERRY
Administrative Assistant

JLP:im
encs.

P.S. Since dictating this, I read the Sunday Washington Post and your column, in which you mention the Governor's press conference statement that what happened in Virginia has had an effect upon the people of Florida. I earnestly hope that this lesson has not been lost upon the members of our legislature.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

COPY

March 9,1959

Hon. John L. Perry
Administrative Assistant
Office of the Governor
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Perry:

Recalling your recent phone call and your letter of February 20, I secured from the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, of which I am a member, a little material which might be of some interest to you and to the Governor.

Among this is a speech by Jim Montgomery business editor of the Atlanta Constitution, on "The Economic Effect of School Closing." Also some thermofaxed copies of newspaper clippings in the same vein.

The thermofaxed material is rather painful to read, but probably can be negotiated by a typist. It gives some reactions of business men and others in Atlanta on the threat of school closing and in Little Rock on the fact of closed schools.

I hear that a poll of 2,000 members of the LittleRock Chamber of Commerce elicited 1100 replies, of which over 800 favored reopening the public schools with minimum integration. I haven't the exact data, but the story appeared in the Little Rock papers March 3.

Have you this information?

I am very much interested in Governor Collins' plan for dealing with the school desegregation problem. Of course, I have read press reports and I have a letter from Mr.Pauli Murray about it. I would appreciate your sending me a copy of whatever might be called the official version of the plan.

I expect to visit Tallahassee in the near future and hope to have the pleasure of discussing these matters with you.

Sincerely yours,

P.S. The annual report of the state Division of Industrial Development shows 62 small manufacturing plants, "employing approximately 1,663 persons," established in Virginia in 1958. This is less, however, than the plant closings. Roanoke lost a plant alone employing 1,750 persons.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

March 19,1959

Dear Hal:

I am going down to Tallahassee when I can make suitable arrangements at the other end. This is more or less a commitment. I am not planning any other activities, however, in connection with the Southern Leadership Project.

I have talked to Lightsey--who, I believe will give you an affirmative reply about next Tuesday. He has not a very clear idea about what his duties will be, but I do not believe I can be of help to him.

Unless you particularly desire it, the importance of a conference with you at this stage may not justify the intrusion upon your time or a stopover in Atlanta on my part on my Florida strip.

On the other hand, there may be additional information which the Southern Regional Council can furnish Gov.Collins, or some other follow-up may be indicated--making it advisable for me to stop by and see you. In any case I will give you a report on my return to Manassas. I believe there is a possibility of rendering a real service in this Florida situation.

Sincerely yours,
Ben Muse

Mr.Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

MF...
Letter for your files.
I have report
in research files.
MM

LWD — ✓
F.Y.I.
HCB

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

March 20, 1959

Dear Hal:

Thanks for your letter of yesterday. I will make a point of seeing you on my Florida trip, if my schedule meets your convenience.

I am sending under separate cover the report of the Virginia Commission on Industrial Development. The Council might wish to obtain a similar report from each of the Southern states, if it is not already doing so.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

file

M

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Report on Virginia

REGARDING:

Commission on Industrial Development
(Submitted by Ben Muse)

DATE
March 20, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Research Files - MM

Rock Bass
Cyr

March 20, 1959

Mr. Jeter C. Pritchard
236 Tyrone Circle
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Mr. Pritchard:

I am remiss in not thanking you sooner for your letter of February 16. Although I am sorry you didn't feel you could be considered for the position, I can readily understand your reasons.

Your suggestion of Miss Drake as a possible person for the job was welcome. It appears, however, that we will shortly conclude an arrangement with a Virginian who has exceptional qualifications for the proposed project.

Again, thanks for considering the matter and all good wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNITED STATES FIDELITY AND GUARANTY COMPANY

BALTIMORE 3, MARYLAND

•

T. RAMSAY TAYLOR
Superintendent

PUBLICITY AND ADVERTISING

February 16, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

After several days of serious thought concerning your consideration of me as a possible addition to the staff of the Southern Regional Council, I have decided I must ask not to be considered further. I am doing work I enjoy and I anticipate each day's challenges. In addition, I believe I should give preference to the known security of my present employment over the possibility of continued grants at the end of the initial three-year period already allocated by the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation. If I were less happy with my work, the opportunity you offer would be most attractive.

Without presumption, may I salve my conscience for taking too long to reply to your letter by suggesting another person here in Baltimore. A Miss Jan Drake, who holds a Masters Degree in Education from Columbia University, might be interested. She was a professional staff worker for the Episcopal Church for six years prior to her coming to Baltimore and employment with the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency. Her address is 1623 Park Avenue, telephone MAdison 3-3750.

Thank you for your kind consideration of my talents.

Sincerely,

Peter C. Pritchard

Peter C. Pritchard

JCP:bb

FILE COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

March 30, 1959

To: Members of the Personnel Committee - S. R. C.

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Re: Rockefeller Brothers Fund Project.

:

I am sorry to report that, after serious consideration of our offer, William M. Lightsey finally decided that his personal circumstances made it necessary for him to decline. I thought you might be interested in his letter of declination, copy of which is attached.

Mr. Ben Muse continues to be interested in having some relationship to the Project, but the problem of distance which we discussed at our last meeting would seem to rule him out as the Project Director. This incidentally, is an opinion which he appears to share.

This leaves us with the same problem, grown more urgent with the passage of time. The staff is making every effort to find new candidates for the position, and I hope we can have another well-qualified person for your consideration soon. If we are not successful in this fairly quickly, I am afraid we must consider offering the Rockefeller Brothers Fund an opportunity to re-negotiate the grant on whatever terms, acceptable to us, that they are willing to consider.

Best regards.

:

File RBF Candidates

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

30 Mar 59

HCF,

Nat Griswold called and reports that Bill Hadly (or is it Hadley ?):

1) Is a capable guy with intellectual ability;
2) Was news editor with the local T-V station;
3) Did a good job of chairing the Women's Committee's T-V show;
4) Is fluent and articulate;
5) Has worked well with ministers and other community leaders;
6) May not have too much business sense, his wife ran the business.

Nat will check with several other people in Little Rock about these various factors and will call me tomorrow.

Following his call, I will talk with you or, if you prefer, let you talk with Nat.

regardezvous,

F.B.R.

April 6, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Many thanks for your two recent letters. I, too, was remiss in the Piedmont Hotel pick-up affair. I should have driven around the block in which the hotel was located rather than the two back blocks, thereby passing only one side of the hotel.

I have read with interest and admiration your report on the Tallahassee trip. I would say off-hand that your advice must have meant a great deal to the officials concerned.

Thank you for the invitation to spend the night at your house when I am in the Northern Virginia area. I am going to be up that way in the near future, but unfortunately I am committed to a very full schedule which would prohibit that pleasurable opportunity this time.

I, like others on the staff, am very pleased that you will be working with us on the Southern Leadership Project. I know of no man who is better qualified by motivation and experience to carry out this sensitive task.

With warm personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

P. S. Thanks for the check for $4.15, which I turned over to SRC. The Council paid the mailing bill.

F.B.R.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

April 3, 1959

Dear Fred,

You asked the name of "a good man who might run for Governor" — mentioned by Perry. It was State Sen. Doyle Carlton, Jr.

My brief case arrived this morning — a tribute to the efficiency of both the air express and your kind self. I am enclosing $4.15, which seems to be the amount of the postage.

Thanks again for everything

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

April 2,1959

Dear Fred:

I am going to confess, as I did not have the manhood to do last night, that I forgot which entrance of the Piedmont I came in. Although I did leave the boy on watch on Peachtree and check the other two entrances several times, the snafu was entirely mine and I am mortified at this outrageous return for your kindness in offering me a lift to the airport.

I traveled over a lot of the world in 14 years in the Foreign Service, and only missed one train! But I have become deplorably unreliable in my old age. One of my greatest fears in undertaking this work is that I will get wound up over the race question and miss an important traveling connection somewhere.

I wish we could have had more time to talk. Please let me know whenever you are headed for Virginia again, and allow time for a visit to Manassas. It is very simple for me to run in and pick up a visitor at the National Airport, and I am much better at picking up than being picked up! If you could have dinner and spend a night at my house it would afford an opportunity for a long talk, which would be of pleasure and benefit to me.

Please tell Hal Fleming that the Virginia race study commission (Perrow Commission) report is out this morning--conservative for us. I am airmailing copies of the report, including the pitifully sterile minority report of the extremist members, and clipping of some comment, to John Perry. Gov.Collins expressed an interest in this report. I will follow through with them on developments in the Virginia legislature, which will meet more or less simultaneously with that of Florida.

I am somewhat overwhelmed at the moment with getting organized for this work, but will probably be squared away in a few days. Would you kindly send me about 50 sheets of Southern Regional Council stationery?

Sent Aug MF

Sincerely,

Ben

April 7, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Enclosed is a draft of a letter which Harold has prepared for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He is away from the office today, and in the interest of time we are forwarding this to you. As soon as you have had an opportunity to read the draft, would you please call Harold and discuss it with him?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

FILE COPY

DRAFT

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

This is a report on the status of the project supported by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's grant of June 1958.

The delay in the activation of the project has been a matter of concern for the officers and staff of the Council. We have appreciated the patience and understanding shown by the representatives of the Fund, and want to be sure that the delay is fully explained. It proved difficult beyond all expectations to find a person qualified to serve as director of the project and available for full-time employment in Atlanta. Despite our most concentrated efforts -- some fifteen potential candidates were personally interviewed -- it was not possible before now to fill the position properly.

Fortunately, this impasse has been broken. As of April 1, 1959, the Council has employed Colonel Benjamin Muse of Manassas, Va., as project director for an initial period of six months. We feel that Mr. Muse is extraordinarily well equipped for this assignment by virtue of his experience in the diplomatic service, his political career, and his distinguished record as a writer on Virginia affairs for the Washington Post and Times-Herald

and other publications. (A brief biography is attached.)

Some measure of the reputation and effectiveness which Mr. Muse brings to this task is already available. As a pilot effort, he has visited Florida under the Council's auspices to consult, on invitation, with the Governor and members of his staff. A copy of Mr. Muse's confidential report on these conferences is enclosed.

Since Mr. Muse owns a printing firm in Manassas, he will have to maintain his base there and reserve two-fifths of his time for that and other commitments. However, he is prepared to make frequent trips to Atlanta and such other field travel as the project requires. Salary is to be pro-rated at an annual rate of $8,000.

The period of this agreement was set at six months by mutual agreement. We felt that, at the end of this initial period, both the Council and Mr. Muse would be better able to assess the effectiveness of the arrangement, and possibly to consider a full-time and longer-range commitment.

The Fund's first grant payment of $40,000 is virtually intact. Except for an expenditure of $2,759.98 last summer for groundwork on research and materials for the project, these funds have been reserved pending selection of a director.

We do not propose, therefore, to request any further payment under the grant this year. If it is satisfactory

to the Fund, we should like to consider June 1, 1960, as the first anniversary of the project, at which time the second instalment may be considered payable.

We also feel that it would be appropriate to review the terms of the project in the light of developments since the grant was originally requested in December 1957. While the general purpose and framework of the project remain valid, shifts in public emphasis during the past year-and-a-half suggest the desirability of a restatement of the project with certain modifications in approach.

The single biggest development in Southern race relations has been the narrowing of the legal alternatives to a choice between some degree of desegregation or the closing of public schools. The State of Virginia closed and later, under pressure of public opinion, reopened the public schools in three communities where limited desegregation was ordered. Public high schools in Little Rock are still closed, although there is evidence of mounting public dissatisfaction which may foreshadow a reopening in the near future. The main point, however, is that the reality or prospect of closed schools has stirred new elements in the South to activity on the side of compliance.

In Virginia, Georgia, Little Rock, and Florida new citizens efforts have been organized with the specific, emergency purpose of preserving public education. Business and industrial leaders, in their quiet and reluctant fashion,

are increasingly spurred by the prospects of economic damage to make their influence felt. As the Atlanta situation has indicated, educators and other professional groups are finding their voices as the threat of school closing becomes a real and present danger. And as the issue of court-ordered school desegregation comes to a head in more deep South communities, this pattern of developments may be expected to spread.

At the time the project was originally proposed, the problems of lawlessness and violence were in the forefront; indeed, the project was informally christened "Operation Law and Order." Law enforcement is still and will continue to be an essential factor in the Southern transition. But the developments summarized above suggest that other claims on self-interest warrant greater emphasis, at least for the time being. The categories of leadership that will be most decisive now appear to be parents, educators, business, financial, and other economic leaders. Public officials directly involved in the school decisions at all levels of government will, of course, continue to wield crucial influence.

(Religious leaders, although important, are deliberately omitted, since their actions in this field are motivated largely by moral considerations rather than self-interest; moreover, the Council works closely with them through other programs.)

We propose, then, that the framework of the project be enlarged to include activities directed at these and similar segments of Southern leadership concerned with the preservation of our educational and economic institutions. This program might appropriately be redesignated the "Southern Leadership Project." As before, the touchstone continues to be practical self-interest, and methods and techniques remain basically the same.

It would be possible to write at greater length of the opportunities for the project presented by current happenings in the region. But we will reserve this for progress reports on the work itself and for discussion with staff members of the Fund.

Meanwhile, we hope that the actions reported and the proposals made in this letter will meet with the approval of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. All of us in the Council are continuingly grateful to the Fund for this important assistance, and we are deeply committed to justifying the confidence you have placed in us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

April 7, 1959

Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company
51 Ivy Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please issue, to the account of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a Bell System Credit Card to Mr. Benjamin Muse, who has joined our staff.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls

April 7, 1959

Eastern Air Lines
522 W. Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Attn: Miss Henson

Gentlemen:

Will you please issue under our account, a personal Air Travel card to Mr. Benjamin Muse, who has joined our staff.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls

April 8, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
The Washington Post
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

We are interested in your excellent column in the Washington Post of March 22, 1959, for our publication NEW SOUTH.

We would appreciate any consideration you may extend us in the matter of reprint privilege.

Incidentally, welcome to SRC as a staff member. It is pleasing to know that you have accepted the RBF staff position.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

April 8, 1959

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

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Fortunately, this impasse has been broken. As of April 1, 1959, the Council has employed Colonel Benjamin Muse of Manassas, Virginia, as project director for an initial period of six months. We

feel that Mr. Muse is extraordinarily well equipped for this assignment by virtue of his experience in the diplomatic service, his political career, and his distinguished record as a writer on Virginia affairs for the Washington Post and Times-Herald, and other publications. (A brief biography is attached.)

Some measure of the reputation and effectiveness which Mr. Muse brings to this task is already available. As a pilot effort, he has consulted by invitation with the Governor of Florida and members of his staff. A copy of Mr. Muse's confidential report on these conferences is enclosed.

Since Mr. Muse owns a printing firm in Manassas, he will have to maintain his base there and reserve two-fifths of his time for that and other commitments. However, he is prepared to make frequent trips to Atlanta and such other field travel as the project requires. Salary is to be pro-rated on the basis of $8,000 per year.

The period of this agreement was set at six months by mutual agreement. We felt that, at the end of this initial period, both the Council and Mr. Muse would be better able to assess the effectiveness of the arrangement, and possibly to consider a full-time and longer-range commitment.

The Fund's first grant payment of $40,000 is virtually intact. Except for an expenditure of $2,759.98 last summer for groundwork on research and materials for the project, these funds have been reserved pending selection of a director.

We do not propose, therefore, to request any further payment under the grant this year. If it is satisfactory to the Fund, we should like to consider June 1, 1960, as the first anniversary of the project, at which time the second instalment may be considered payable.

We also feel that it would be appropriate to review the terms of the project in the light of developments since the grant was originally requested in December 1957. While the general purpose and framework remain valid, shifts in public emphasis during the past year-and-a-half suggest the desirability

of a restatement of the project with certain modifications in approach.

The single biggest development in Southern race relations has been the narrowing of the legal alternatives to a choice between some degree of desegregation or the closing of public schools. The State of Virginia closed and later, under pressure of public opinion, reopened the public schools in three communities where limited desegregation was ordered. Public high schools in Little Rock are still closed, although there is evidence of mounting public dissatisfaction which may foreshadow a reopening in the near future. The main point, however, is that the reality or prospect of closed schools has stirred new elements in the South to activity on the side of compliance.

In Virginia, Georgia, Little Rock, and Florida citizens efforts have been organized with the specific, emergency purpose of preserving public education. Business and industrial leaders, in their quiet and reluctant fashion, are increasingly spurred by the prospects of economic damage to make their influence felt. As the Atlanta situation has indicated, educators and other professional groups are finding their voices as the threat of school closing becomes a real and present danger. And as the issue of court-ordered school desegregation comes to a head in more deep South communities, this pattern of developments may be expected to spread.

At the time the project was originally proposed, problems of lawlessness and violence were in the forefront; indeed, the project was informally christened "Operation Law and Order." Law enforcement is still and will continue to be an essential factor in the Southern transition. But the developments summarized above suggest that other claims on self-interest warrant greater emphasis, at least for the time being. The categories of leadership that will be most decisive now appear to be parents, educators, business, financial, and other economic leaders. Public officials directly involved in the school decisions at all levels of government will, of course, continue to wield crucial influence.

(Religious leaders, although important, are deliberately omitted, since their actions in this field

are motivated largely by moral considerations rather than self-interest; moreover, the Council works closely with them through other programs.)

We propose, then, that the framework of the project be enlarged to include activities directed at these and similar segments of Southern leadership concerned with the preservation of our educational and economic institutions. This program might appropriately be redesignated the "Southern Leadership Project." As before, the touchstone continues to be practical self-interest, and the proposed methods and techniques remain basically the same.

It would be possible to write at greater length of the opportunities for the project presented by current happenings in the region. But we will reserve this for progress reports on the work itself and for discussion with staff members of the Fund.

Meanwhile, we hope that the actions reported and the proposals made in this letter will meet with the approval of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. All of us in the Council are continuingly grateful to the Fund for its important assistance, and we are deeply committed to justifying the confidence you have placed in us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

File

April 10, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I will be glad to have my column of March 22 reprinted in the New South.

However, I don't like the title (conceived by a head-writer at the Post.) It sounds unpatriotic coming from a Virginian, and is not good anyway. I think you can gracefully avoid using it.

I look forward with particular pleasure to my new association with you and other members of the SRC staff.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BM:hg

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED APR 14 1959

April 13,1959

Dear Hal:

I would like to have the enclosed inserted in my memorandum of April 10 on RESEARCH REPORTS.

I would like to see this whole thing re-written to embody the best thought of yourself and members of the staff. In the meantime this may be enough to enable Dunbar to go forward.

Sincerely,

Ben

RECEIVED APR 13 1959

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

April 10, 1959

RESEARCH REPORTS

Southern Leadership Project

Purpose

Reports will be aimed primarily at strengthening the convictions of leaders already leaning toward a moderate approach to the desegregation problem and arming dedicated advocates of obedience to the law of the land with convincing, or otherwise useful, factual material.

For Whom Intended

SLP reports will differ from previous Southern Regional Council reports and publications in that they will be intended for leaders, rather than for the general public. They will be addressed, too, to people who have already given thought and study to the problem, and generally to people who are seeking an orderly, lawful and constructive solution. They will be addressed also to busy people.

Nature and Style

It follows that reports should be concise and factual. They may be statistical when appropriate. "Propaganda" in the usual sense should be avoided. Even appeal to conscience and moral principle is out of place here. The appeal in these reports should be to common sense and self interest.

There will be no direct appeal of any kind. The purpose is rather to present reliable facts which will speak for themselves. Reports should be documentary and free from bias, in keeping with the high reputation which the Southern Regional Council has established for accurate reporting in such fields as that of Negro voting in the South.

Brevity

As a matter of routine, reports should be brief--to be read in a few minutes and used later for reference at a glance. There will be exceptions, however, to this rule. Certain statistical matter should be long enough to be comprehensive; it is not necessary to read through a column of figures to get at a desired item. Also certain speeches and articles need to be quoted at length, and without abridgement, to serve the desired purpose.

Form

Reports should be produced uniformly on $8\frac{1}{2}$ x 11-inch sheets, headed simply:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Report No. L1 (L2, L3, etc.)

_____(date)

Reports should be dated. Later revisions should contain a reference to any previous reports on the same subject.

Distribution

Too wide distribution of the reports would cheapen them, and indiscriminate distribution could be harmful in obvious ways.

Individual members of the Council board and staff should find the reports personally useful. I shall make frequent reference to them. I expect to find them especially useful to place in the hands of leaders with whom I talk. Other members of the board and staff will no doubt have similar opportunities for distribution of reports.

Reports will be mailed to leaders who have expressed an interest in the subjects covered. It will be desirable to place some leaders on a mailing list to receive all reports.

I suggest that at least one copy of each report be mailed to each officer and board members of a Council on Human relations. From 5 to 20 copies should be sent to the secretary of each such council to be made available to any members, or others, who request them.

Some reports may also be useful in the Southern Regional Council office in answering inquiries from writers, journalists and other students of the problem.

I would like to receive 5 copies of each report as a matter of routine.

The Southern Regional Council office will be the best judge of the total number of each report to be produced.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Insert under "Brevity" at bottom of first page of RESEARCH REPORTS, April 10:--

It will often be necessary to make a thorough study and write a comprehensive report before distilling the brief report. In such cases the comprehensive report will be retained in the Council files for reference (one copy coming to me). In some cases both the concise report and the comprehensive report will be reproduced as separate L Reports.

When appropriate, each L Report will carry a reference to books or publications or note that further information may be obtained from the Southern Regional Council.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

Dr. Dunbar —

There was a paragraph or two near the end of Chiokwicki's speech dealing directly with the importance to industrial development of keeping schools open.

I may have omitted to mark this but I think it should be included.

I think the form and the numbering plan are fine.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr.Dunbar:

I would like to see excerpts from the enclosed speeches embodied in an L Report, with priority, for my early use.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

April 14, 1959

POSSIBLE L REPORTS

Southern Leadership Project

1. A brief answer to the question, not infrequently heard: What is the Southern Regional Council? Facts, outlining the history, personnel, purpose, activity and financial support of the Council.

Economic

Legal and financial complications of public school-closing. Deterrent effect of public school uncertainty upon population growth and real estate development and upon industry seeking new locations. A number of separate reports are indicated here, with later reports reflecting continuing study of this situation.

2. Excerpt from speech of Ralph E. Odum, Assistant Attorney General of Florida to Florida Independent Bankers Association, February 23, 1959.

3. Statistics, as available, showing volume of new industry in each Southern State for each of the past five years. Analytical comparisons may be required because of varying methods of reporting industrial development. (In the case of Virginia, the bleak showing with respect to new industry in 1958 is partly offset by figures reflecting a very good year in expansion of existing manufacturing plants.)

4. Any impressive statements from prominent business leaders, available now, or which may later appear, emphasizing the economic dangers of tampering with public schools.

5. Excerpt from speech of John P. Fishwick, vice-president, Norfolk & Western Railway Co., April 6, 1959. Also (in same report) brief excerpt from speech of Stuart T. Saunders, president, Norfolk & Western Railway Co.

6. Mimeograph, or reproduce, in easily readable form best portions of the Jim Montgomery articles in the Atlanta Constitution. including those Gainesville

7. Mimeograph similarly articles showing the effects of school-closing upon business in Little Rock.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

April 14, 1959

POSSIBLE L REPORTS

Southern Leadership Project

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6. Mimeograph, or reproduce, in easily readable form best portions of the Jim Montgomery articles in the Atlanta Constitution.

7. Mimeograph similarly articles showing the effects of school-closing upon business in Little Rock.

Benjamin Muse

April 15, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas
Virginia

Dear Ben:

I am enclosing copies of clippings from the Miami paper, concerning the meeting of the legislature in Florida. The news reports by Hesser bear out your fears. Let us hope that Collins can muster enough strength in both or either House to sustain his veto.

Could you please secure a copy of the plan for desegregation which Governor Collins submitted before the Southern Governors Conference. If so, please send it to Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director of Research here at SRC.

With all good regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Statement of O. B. Newton, Jr. before the House Privileges and Elections Committee, General Assembly, Richmond, Virginia, April 17, 1959.

All members of the General Assembly have received earlier today, or will receive today, a letter representing the feelings of the Lynchburg Area Committee for Public Schools.

One paragraph of this communication states the belief that there should be no change in the Virginia Constitution as it relates to the guarantee of the availability of a free public school education.

Because such an amendment would eliminate any guarantee of a free public education for all who want it, we cannot but oppose House Joint Resolution 23. Such would be a retreat from the responsibility which Virginia accepted, and has continued to honor, since its Constitution first provided for, and guaranteed, free public education.

As you know, Lynchburg is and has been blessed with industrial corporations of significance. These corporations are of economic importance to Virginia. We also have three colleges, which, while being culturally important to the community, are also important financially.

Within the past few weeks the President of one of our colleges has told me of the loss of a good faculty member - a parent of school age children - who has moved away from Virginia because of the public school situation. Prospective replacements have expressed a disinclination to move into a community where there is a possibility

free public schools may not be available for their children.

Two of our most recently acquired industries have, within the past few weeks, expressed themselves to the effect Virginia would not even have been considered as a location for a new plant had there not been the guaranteed certainty of a free public school system for the children of their employees.

None present would disagree that the need for free public education in Virginia is just as real as it was before the Big Problem was put in our midst. And that is one of the reasons I can hope and believe that a free public education can continue to be guaranteed by the Constitution of our great Commonwealth.

4

The Babcock & Wilcox Company

Established 1867

GENERAL OFFICES
161 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

ATOMIC ENERGY DIVISION
1201 KEMPER STREET
P. O. BOX 1260
LYNCHBURG, VA.

TELEPHONE
VICTOR 6-6521

April 16, 1959

Mr. Everett Bond
c/o Morton Manufacturing Corporation
2101 Hudson Street
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Bond:

In view of our agreement this morning that I would not speak at the meeting of the Lynchburg Area Committee for Public Schools Monday evening but rather enter a statement indicating B&W's position for the record, I am submitting the following for use as you see fit:

> "The Babcock & Wilcox Company, as one of the new and growing organizations in the community, considers it obvious that we would have trouble securing and retaining qualified technical personnel if the public schools were closed."

Sincerely,

J. W. Landis

John W. Landis
Assistant Manager

JWL:ehm

April 20, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas
Virginia

Dear Ben:

In our continuing effort to keep you posted on developments in the South, with particular reference at this moment to the Florida situation, I am sending you a reproduction of an article from the Miami Daily News. I am sorry it is incomplete, but this is all we received; and it covers the most important aspect of the fate of the "last resort" bill.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (newsclip)

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

4/22/59

In connection with our study of the Washington public schools, I have heard from various sources that the Davis committee report was circulated in the South without the minority report.

I would appreciate it if Dr. Dunbar would look into this and possibly let me have a copy of the majority report without the minority report. Was it mailed in this way at Government expense?

BM

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

Pulling Twofold

April 22, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 24 1959

Dear Hal:

I have no doubt you had a tight schedule when you visited the conference of civil rights organizations in Washington Friday, and, as it happened, I was in Norfolk on that day.

However, another time when you have occasion to visit Washington, I hope that you let me know in advance, and that it will be possible for me to pick you up in Washington and bring you to my house for an evening or for a day or two. I have enough things to talk about with you to fill a week-end. My place is a little dreary in winter, but spring is bursting out all over now.

I have engaged Mrs. Louise Winfield, of Falls Church as a local research assistant for a few hours a week. Mrs Winfield, a lady apparently in her fifties, has experience in research and writing. She has written some pieces for magazines, including the Saturday Evening Post. Her recent work in this field has been a voluntary contribution to church and civic organizations, including the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

I told her to keep her account of hours spent on this work for compensation at $1.75 per hour. The expense of driving 45 minutes to my office or half an hour to points in Washington would be covered by this honorarium. I propose to attend to this from my revolving fund.

I foresee that I will need someone to look up particular items for me in the Washington libraries and newspaper offices and to do certain research projects which can best be undertaken from this location. I do not know yet how this will work out, but I may be able to give her various research tasks in connection with the Virginia situation.

For the present I am asking Mrs. Winfield to do some work on the widespread canard in connection with the Washington Public schools. Going back to the libelous House committee report, checking the circulation of the dissenting minority report, and covering the high spots of other reports on the situation and the latest official statements regarding the scholastic achievement level and the rate of juvenile delinquency now as compared with the pre-integration rate.

I have a tolerable secretarial arrangement here with a few hours from my daughter at home and a few hours from the printing plant bookeeper here, and this may suffice as a permanent arrangement. I am dictating this to a dictaphone which I have for a month on approval. I am still undecided whether it will be a practical help to me.

I am enclosing another letter from Perry, reflecting my continuing relationship with my Tallahassee friends. I receive some clippings and papers from him every few days. I have also subscribed to the Tampa Tribune. I have had little to send him, but am watching the situations in both Virginia and Florida with that in mind.

I am sending a lot of stuff to you, which I am loath to add to the papers coming over your desk. It seems desirable however, to give as much of the picture as possible while the project is taking shape. I believe, copies of important memoranda and correspondence should be filed in both your office and mine as a permanent procedure.

Fred Routh's resignation was a shock to me, and it has undoubtedly added to your problems.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

April 22, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLEMING:

Conversation with J. J. Brewbaker, Superintendent of Schools, and Harold Anderson, Chief of Police, Norfolk Va., April 15, 1959.

Both of these gentlemen expressed willingness to go to Miami and confer with their opposite numbers there. However, each indicated that the matter should be cleared first with his superiors (i. e. The school board and the mayor.) Each indicated also that he should first receive an invitation from Miami. I said in each case that the SRC would pay travel expenses, plus $30 a day.

Mr. Brewbaker

I spent one hour with Mr. Brewbaker. He said that things were going about as smoothly in the schools now as if nothing had happened. He thought, however, that it would be a good thing if only a few additional Negro children would apply for integration next year. This would help to further community acceptance of gradual integration. He said Negro leaders, including the NAACP, in Norfolk were pretty reasonable and there was reason to hope this plan would be followed.

Mr. Brewbaker seemed definitely interested in going to Miami. He noted that the train connection was very good--leave Norfolk 2 P. M., arrive Miami 10 A. M. next day. In answer to his question, I said that it would probably mean a four-day absence from Norfolk.

He said that he would take it up with his school board and expected no objection. However, though the Miami superintendent was an old personal friend of his, he would like first to receive an invitation from him.

I also mentioned a possible later visit by Mr. Brewbaker to Atlanta.

We talked about Omer Carmichael (a mutual friend) and his various activities in connection with the segregation problem in the South. In the midst of this Mr. Brewbaker remarked that he expected to retire in June, 1960, when he reaches 65 years of age. The conversation changed at this point, but I later brought him back to the matter of his coming retirement. "What are you going to do then?"

Expand his flower garden, put in some more roses, play more golf. I said: "That will not be enough." "No," he said, "that will not be enough." He will want to be doing something worthwhile.

Would he like to help in the solution of the South's Great Problem? He said that he thought he would, but he didn't know what he could do.

Mr. Anderson

A most cordial conversation with the chief of police. Mr. Anderson doesn't think the South will ever "accept" school integration, but it will have to take it because it is the law. Maybe it will get used to it in time. He is a personally tolerant and liberal person and believes that a citizen is a citizen and the law is the law, regardless of race. He remarked that the private school business did not work at all in Norfolk. The makeshift private schools were "pitiful." Some did not even have laboratory facilities.

His obsession is law and order. Very proud of Norfolk's achievement in carrying out school integration without a single incident.

He said, nevertheless, there was a related incident which had received practically no publicity. Two white boys attacked and beat up a Negro boy whom they thought was attending an integrated school. Actually the boy was a pupil at Booker T. Washington school.

Mr. Andersom said that the Negro community was much impressed with the thoroughness and dispatch with which the incident was investigated by the police. The two white boys were brought to trial and given the maximum penalty, as well as a severe dressing down by the trial judge. He said the judge's lecture was a classic and should have been publicized. At any rate the Norfolk Negroes knew of the incident, and he had received many touching letters.

Mr. Anderson was very much interested in going to Miami to talk to police authorities there. In fact he was rather enthusiastic. He thought it would be a feather in Norfolk's hat to be regarded as a model, said: "It would be a good thing for Norfolk." However, he said the matter should be taken up first with the mayor.

(This must be handled delicately in view of Mayor Duckworth's obstructionist tactics in the matter of school integration, but can, I believe, be arranged.)

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Copy

April 22, 1959

Honorable Ralph E. Odum
Assistant Attorney General
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Odum:

Recalling your reference in my recent conversation with you to the "Spartan" situation in the integrated schools in Norfolk and to the reported suppression of extra-curricular activities there, I inquired into this in a talk with Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, Norfolk superintendent of schools last Friday.

Mr. Brewbaker said that extra-curricular activities in the Norfolk schools have not been curtailed in any way.

The schools have ceased officially to sponsor social activities, but the school premises and facilities are available to school patrons for any proper social function, which they must organize and arrange themselves.

There has been no change in the athletic program. Negro pupils are integrated in physical education classes. There is no Negro on any varsity team, and none of the present Negro pupils would be eligible regardless of race.

A delicate decision may have to be made when a Negro pupil may become eligible and insist on representing the school in sports. Mr. Brewbaker hoped this might be postponed a year or two. There is one promising Negro athlete who might be eligible for the track team in the near future. It is not known whether this boy wants to represent his school or not. No plans have been made, but this case is giving the school authorities some concern.

I thought you might be interested in the facts on this point.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

April 15, 1959

POSSIBLE L REPORTS

The Private School Movement

We are neutral in attitudes toward this movement insofar as it does not involve the abandoment of public schools or a lowering of educational standards. We deplore the fact that attachment to ~~the~~ segregation leads to resort to this expedient, but realize that within certain limits it may be a useful cushion to the shock of desegregation at this stage.

At the same time our research should reflect the legal, financial, administrative and other difficulties, the lack of really substantial progress and the practical impossibility of accomodating any large fraction of the school population in private schools in the forseeable future.

In any case we should be able to discuss the problem intelligently and supply comprehensive and accurate information to leaders looking toward a constructive solution of the desegregation problem.

The situation in Arkansas requires study, as also the budding private school iniatives in other states, but by far the most illuminating exhibit now is in Virginia.

I propose engaging a research assistant here to work on the Virginia phase. In the meantime I have voluminous data on the Virginia Phase, still in the form of newspaper clippings.

Committees to Preserve Public Schools

We can render a particular service in this field as a reporting agency and link between the committees in various states, as well as in supplying the committees with material for use in the combating efforts to undermine or abolish public schools.

I have asked William M. Lightsey, Secretary of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, to put the Council on the list to receive all their circulars and releases. I have also asked him to send the Council 50 copies of his comprehensive report, of which he had an over supply. This may be of interest to leaders in public school committees elsewhere.

It might be a good idea for me to ask Lightsey or Mr. J. L. Blair Buck, President of the Virginia committee, to prepare a paper, ORGANIZING A PUBLIC SCHOOL COMMITTEE, noting some of the problems involved and suggesting ways to meet them.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

Distribution SLP reports

1. SRC board
2. " staff
3. Officers & Bd members Herman
   Relations
4. 5-20 copies state director
5. Time

Newspaper
Chambers, C

a = over medium negative

b = under " "

c = over ?

d = under ?

$$a : c = \frac{ac}{ad}$$

~~b : c~~

~~a : d~~

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED APR 13 1959

April 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hal:

Enclosed is a tentative basic guide for the research work. I hope I have caught the spirit of the project.

I will be glad to have you revise, or re-draft this, and send me a copy as approved by you.

I shall submit in the next few days an outline of topics for research that occur to me now.

Sincerely,

Ben

L-4

C. B. FLEET CO., INC.

Manufacturer of Pharmaceuticals

921-927 COMMERCE STREET
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

April 22, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you very much for the interest which prompted your letter of April 21 requesting a transcript of my statement before the House Privileges and Elections Committee last Friday in Richmond, and data on the attitude of industry on the possible effects of abandonment of public schools.

I am enclosing copy of my own remarks, a VERIFAX-ed copy of a communication from Mr. John W. Landis, Assistant Manager, The Babcock & Wilcox Company, and I have this morning arranged for you to receive a copy of the paper read last Monday night, at a meeting here in Lynchburg, by Mr. Richard Gifford, Manager of Engineering in the Communication Products Department of General Electric Company.

I hope all this material will be of some assistance to you.

Sincerely,

C. B. FLEET CO., INC.

O. B. Newton, Jr.

O. B. Newton, Jr.
Vice President and Sales Manager

OBN:jae

April 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

This is a belated supplement to my letter of April 3 specifying the financial terms of our arrangement. Your travel expenses in connection with the Southern Leadership Project - whether by train, plane, bus, or private car - will be reimbursed; automobile travel will be reimbursed at .08 per mile. At your suggestion, these terms will apply to travel more than 35 miles from your home base.

The per diem of $12.00 shall apply to overnight stops. In the case of a one-day round trip, meals will be reimbursed at cost, or a flat amount of $2.00 per meal, as you prefer.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

April 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

This is belated and blanket acknowledgement of your various recent communications. As you know, I have shared those pertaining to research with Les Dumbar.

I feel your confidential memorandum of your talk with Ted Dalton was most interesting, and I am generally in accord with your proposals concerning the "L" reports. I particularly like your suggestions for informational services to be rendered to public school committees in the various states. As for research on the private school matter, you should know that we have commissioned two educators at Emory University to document the financial and educational impracticability of substituting private for public schools. We should have a report within about a month. This, supplemented by the information you propose to collect on the specific experiences in Virginia, should make a very useful body of material.

There are various questions which we probably should explore in more depth than is easily possible in correspondence. For example, the question of distribution of the "L" reports. Probably at some

early date you will be able to come to Atlanta for a day or two. The Executive Committee meeting has been delayed by Mr. Dabbs' illness. It probably will not take place before the last week in May or the first week in June.

Please let me know how your schedule looks for the next month and what dates for an Atlanta trip would be possible for you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HF-✓
LWD

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

April 29, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am sorry I was delayed in answering your letter of April 24 due to my absence on a trip to New England, from which I returned last night.

I would like by all means for you to decide on a selective distribution of L Reports until we have worked out a more definite plan.

The distribution plan, and much of the rest of my guidance memoranda, are tentative. As you remarked, the working arrangements will have to be perfected by time and trial -- and the knowledge and experience of the Atlanta office.

I assume you are getting a copy of Mark Etheridge's speech.

I feel that the time is more than ripe for a personal conference and for my own further education in the work of the Council. I plan to fly down to Atlanta next Wednesday afternoon and spend Thursday and Friday there. I shall confirm this later with Harold.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Benjamin Muse

To Pam
V Call the hotel
12/2

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED MAY 14 1959

May 13, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am back in Manassas feeling quite fit, after a schedule more strenuous than I imagined I could stand. Many interesting conversations, some with an important bearing on our work, but nothing requiring immediate attention.

I need to rest and catch up with personal business, after which I shall prepare comprehensive reports.

I would appreciate information on the consultant activities of the SRC apart from the Leadership Project. I have in mind particularly the work now being done in Durham and in New Orleans. (?)

Don Shoemaker sent you regards.

I will see you at the executive committee meetings, the date of which, I understand will be known soon.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Copy of Meserve letter (5/12/59) sent to Ben Muse

May 14, 1959

Dr. Harry C. Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Harry:

Thank you for your letter of May 12 informing us of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's favorable action on our proposed redefinition of the project. The action as you describe it meets our request fully, and we are warmly grateful.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

May 12, 1959

Dear Harold:

With regard to your letter of April 8 proposing a revision and redefinition of the Southern Regional Council project originally designated Operation Law and Order, this is to let you know that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has: (1) rescinded the $80,000 unpaid balance of its earlier appropriation to the Council in this connection, and (2) appropriated $80,000 to the Council for its revised program designated Southern Leadership Project, $40,000 to be paid in 1960 and $40,000 in 1961.

I think this action meets the request contained in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Harry C. Meserve

Harry C. Meserve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Hold for additional names before typing stencil list.

May 15, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I enclose a rough draft of a distribution list for L Reports based on our conferences last week.

It is rather 8 lists, which I suggest as a possible system for indicationg distribution. A report could be marked, for instance, "Distribution 1, 2, 4 & 5.

I hope you will go over these lists and amend or correct, and probably Harold should look over them again.

I would like L 1 and the reports to date on economic aspects to go to:

Hon. Ted Dalton
State Senator
Radford, Va.

Hon. John L. Perry
Administrative Assistant
Office of the Governor
Tallahassee, Florida

Mr. Charles E. Gottlieb
Vice President
Stevens Markets, Inc.
6209 N. W. 27th Ave.
Miami, Florida

Mr. Haskell L. Lazere
Director
American Jewish Congress
Southeast Regional Office
714 Congress Bldg.
Miami 32, Florida

Dalton and Perry on list 8; Gottlieb, List 2; Lazere, list ~~2~~ 3.

You mentioned New South having published the statement of a group of scientists several years ago, refuting another statement

on inmate inferiority of Negroes. I would appreciate receiving a copy of this issue of New South, or a copy of the statement.

I would also like another copy of New South for Feb., 1959, as I have given my copy away.

Perhaps you would pass these requests on to John Constable. Thanks.

Sincerely

Benjamin Muse

file

COPY FOR MR. CONSTABLE

Please send 1 copy of each item to:

Mr.Charles E. Gottlieb
Vice President
Stevens Markets, Inc.
6209 N.W. 27th Ave.
Miami, Fla.

and

Mr.Haskell L. Lazere
Director
American Jewish Congress
Southeast Regional ~~Office~~
714 Congress Bldg. , Miami, Fla.

May 16,1959

Virginia Committee for Public Schools
Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Va.

Dear Mr.Lightsey or Dr.Buck:

This is in pursuance of conversation with Mr.Lightsey, but I understand that he may be away at this time.

Bill advised me that you have surplus copies of circulars indicated by the number marked on the upper right-hand corner. Please send us 30 copies each of the circulars enclosed herewith.

We are prepared to pay for this material at the rate of 15¢ for each mimeographed page, plus 50¢ for handling each circular. Thus 30 circulars Questions and Answers, March 20, 1 sheet memeographed both sides, would be 60 pages x 15¢, $9, plus 50¢: $9.50. March 23 circular, mimeographed one side, would be 30 x 15¢, $4.50, plus 50¢: $5.00.

You may bill us for the material previously sent us, together with material here ordered, according to the above schedule.

As further circulars are issued, please send one copy of each to me here, and I will advise if copies are wanted for the Council.

The circulars ordered above in bulk should be addressed to the Atlanta office, and your bill should also be sent there.

I appreciated two recent notes from Dr.Buck. I hope to have an opportunity to talk to you both soon.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

May 28, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Your letter to Harold informing him of your travel plans in connection with the Executive Committee meeting was received this morning. We're pleased to know that you'll be spending some time in the office prior to the meeting, and look forward to having you with us.

As you have requested, I have made hotel reservations for you at the Dinkla Plaza for the nights of June 1 and 2 (Monday and Tuesday).

If, at any time, I can be of service to you, please let me know.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Director

MCF

LWD
JC

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED MAY 28 1959

May 27, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As next Wednesday, June 3, will no doubt be taken up with the meeting of the executive committee, I plan to fly to Atlanta Monday afternoon, June 1, and spend Tuesday as well as Wednesday there.

I would like to spend some time with Leslie Dunbar and John Constable and talk with you as your schedule permits.

I would also like to talk to someone from H O P E about what kind of material they would like from us.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

P. S. I will appreciate it if Mrs. Flowers will kindly reserve me a minimum room at the Dinkler Plaza for Monday & Tuesday nights.

Will
& wired

June 17, 1959

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Williams:

Mr. Benjamin Muse, of Manassas, Virginia, has asked this office to furnish him with the names and addresses of the chairmen of the following local affiliates in Florida: Jacksonville, Orlando, Tampa, St. Petersburg, and Tallahassee.

Unfortunately, we do not have this information in our office. Would you, therefore, pass this information on to Mr. Muse at P. O. Box 312 in Manassas?

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

June 17, 1959

Miss Louise Young
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
416 Twenty-first Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Young:

Mr. Benjamin Muse, of Manassas, Virginia, has asked this office to furnish him with the names and addresses of the chairmen of the following local affiliates in Tennessee: Knoxville and Nashville.

Unfortunately, we do not have this information in our office. Would you, therefore, pass this information on to Mr. Muse at P. O. Box 312 in Manassas?

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

June 17, 1959

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Mr. Benjamin Muse, of Manassas, Virginia, has asked this office to furnish him with the name and address of the chairman of the local Council on Human Relations in Little Rock.

Unfortunately, we do not have this information in our office. Would you, therefore, pass this information on to Mr. Muse at P. O. Box 312 in Manassas?

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

June 17, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

In your recent letter to Les Dunbar, you requested the names and addresses of the directors and chairmen of the State Councils on Human Relations as well as of the chairmen of local affiliates of several state councils. I am sorry to say that we do not have the latter, but I am enclosing a listing for the former.

I have written to the state directors in North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee and Arkansas and asked them to pass the information you wish on to you. You should be hearing from them in a day or so. I will get the same information from Mrs. Knox at the Georgia Council when she returns from vacation and send it along to you also.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosure - 1 (List)

Names and Addresses of:

State Directors and Chairmen

Local chairmen of:

Harry Jones

Mrs Knox

Durham, Charlotte, Greensboro, Savannah, Jacksonville, Orlando, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Tallahassee, Knoxville, Nashville and Little Rock.

Wms.

Griswold

Young

Send to Ben Muse

List

Directors and Chairmen of State Councils on Human Relations

33

June 17, 1959

Mr. Harry S. Jones
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human
Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

Mr. Benjamin Muse, of Manassas, Virginia, has asked this office to furnish him with the names and addresses of the chairmen of the following local affiliates in North Carolina: Durham, Charlotte, and Greensboro.

Unfortunately, we do not have this information in our office. Would you, therefore, pass this information on to Mr. Muse at P. O. Box 312 in Manassas?

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

vl - Cy

June 17, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your two recent letters and enclosures. I find myself, as usual, in hearty agreement with your thinking on the several points dealt with. Here are a few off-the-top reactions which I hope to supplement later:

Reaching business men is undoubtedly our knottiest problem. I share your view emphatically that we should not be in the position of attempting to push them into damaging public stands, though of course we should encourage and assist any who feel they can speak up. Even more important perhaps is how leading businessmen exert their influence behind the scenes. Through materials, your own counsel, and the use of specially suited consultants, we should be able to arm those we can reach for a positive role in the quiet processes of decision-making. First, however, it's necessary to gain their confidence. This, I suspect, is almost a matter of individual stalking, community by community.

There is a knowledgeable group here in Atlanta who speak our language and are close to the business community. (Morris Abram, Phil Hammer, George Goodwin, perhaps McGill and others.) When you are here in

August, I think some strategy discussions with such persons would be helpful. If we could find the right kind of business man to consult very quietly with a few of his counterparts in the communities facing decisions, we might find it rewarding.

Meanwhile, I think we should be continuously on the watch for receptive economic leaders who should be added to our "L" list. I have added a few such names and will ask Paul Rilling and other staff members to collect more as they travel about the South and talk with informed people.

I am glad that you are thinking of an overall memorandum as a preliminary to negotiating the next stage in our relationship. That would give us the basis for a more formal and, I hope, more permanent arrangement. Once that has been worked out, I should like to get out a memorandum to our members and friends describing the project and introducing you in this role.

Your plans for the summer sound fine. I am attaching names and addresses of one or two persons who occur to me immediately as possible resources in places you are to visit; also a list of our board members and the state councils on human relations, which I'm not sure you have. A word about Knoxville: Galen Martin coordinates the efforts of the liberal, "human relations" people in and around Knoxville; he was formerly the director of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations and so has been close to SRC. Dempster is, as you may know, a businessman and former mayor of Knoxville; he is currently serving as chairman of the Tennessee advisory committee to the Civil Rights Commission. John Hope is also a member of that group and could write him in advance of your coming, if you think that's desirable. Alternatively, Galen Martin could probably arrange the introduction. Paul Christopher you know as a member of our Executive Committee; he certainly should be able to give you useful backgroum on Knoxville. You probably know that the Knoxville Journal is very reactionary and not long ago made a gratuitous smear attack on SRC.

The idea of making Florida a pilot effort in intensive programming strikes me as quite sound. Your unusual assets there not only open up many opportunities for service, but also make it an excellent learning situation.

I do hope to build a closer relationship between you and the staff operation here. Once Rilling is well into the field work, I am hopeful that we can supply more leads and intelligence that will buttress your efforts. We might also consider more frequent and more extensive use of the telephone for discussion of plans and sharing of information.

My apologies for so long and rambling a letter -- and my best wishes for a happy solution of the duck problem!

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

LIST

Mr. Galen Martin
Unitarian Service Committee
P. O. Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. ~~George~~ George R. Dempster,
314 Springdale Avenue, N. W.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Bill Bagwell
S. E. Office
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

June 15, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 17 1959

Dear Harold:

I want to give you approximately my summer schedule as now planned.

I have Virginia activities in mind to intersperse with desk work in between out-of-state trips. I will give you a separate memorandum on Virginia.

I plan to fly on June 27th or 28th to Little Rock and returning, spend some time in Nashville and Knoxville, getting back here before the Fourth of July week-end.

About July 28 I plan to start on an auto tour of about three weeks. My wife will accompany me on this.

Going south I shall try to see John Wheeler in Durham and, of course, Dr. Dabbs at Mayesville. I shall go into Florida at Jacksonville and visit Orlando, Tampa, St. Petersburg and Tallahassee in that order.

From Tampa I plan to fly to Miami for a couple of days there. Continuing from Tallahassee, I would expect to reach Atlanta about August 12 and spend a couple of days there. The return to Manassas from Atlanta would be via Charlotte and Greensboro.

John Perry has sent me three single-space pages of confidential information about some 19 suggested contacts. He has advised half a dozen of these of my coming. (Incidentally he phoned me a jubilant account of the wind-up of the legislative session and the Governor's success in blocking "racial" legislation.)

I plan to work mainly in Florida, but if you think of any one whom it would be especially important for me to see in Savannah, Charlotte, Greensboro or elsewhere along the route, please let me know.

If nothing comes of the proposed get-together between Norfolk and Miami school superintendents, I plan to visit Norfolk beforehand and brief myself in the hope of substituting for Brewbaker, after a fashion, in my talk with Hall.

Otherwise, my hope will be to help in some measure to solidify moderate sentiment in Florida. This will also be an experiment, looking toward my contemplated outline of the project, to see if this kind of intensive operation in a state will pay commensurate dividends.

If it seems worth while it might, with due preparation, be attempted later in other states. In time it could conceivably justify the employment of an additional itinerant consultant.

My trip West also will be partly with a view to judging the possibilities of the project--and for my own education. It is helpful to me in getting the ear of important leaders to give an impression of familiarity with the overall Southern picture.

I consider it important in all this to make, or touch base with, a few real friends. I think Coleman Harwell will fit that in Nashville, and, with Senator Douglas' very warm letter of introduction, I may be able to achieve it with Sid McMath. I will also see Ashmanl and others in Little Rock. In Knoxville I will be a stranger.

I would like to have any suggestions about Knoxville, or any of these places.

In Atlanta in August I would like to meet Ralph McGill, Mayor Hartsfield and others as you suggested. I am thinking of asking Senator Douglas for a letter of introduction to Ellis Arnold.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED JUN 12 1959

June 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I enclose a copy of a letter regarding our objective of arousing business men to helpful action in the desegregation crisis. In view of his question at the executive committee meeting, I have addressed this to Dr. Dabbs. I will appreciate any of your thoughts on this subject by letter or when I see you.

I don't see how you find much time for letter-writing, and let me say that I admire no end your ability for dealing with large and delicate problems while administering at the same time, with unfailing good humor, what might be called at least a three-ring circus!

This letter to Mr. Dabbs is a part of my groping toward an outline of the nature and scope of the Leadership Project in practical day-to-day operation. During the summer I hope to prepare a memorandum setting forth the ways in which I think we can be most effective in influencing Southern leaders, and what, as I understand it, should be expected of me and others who may be brought into the undertaking. This memorandum would review my brief experience with the project and look ahead to what I envision for it in the future.

After we have gotten together on the draft, my idea would be to send a copy of it to each member of the executive committee in order that the group may be prepared to discuss it at the September meeting on the basis of some definite information and a clearer picture of what we are trying to do.

You may also wish to send a copy of the memorandum to Dr. Meserve.

As you may have guessed, I am very much interested in the project and would like to continue beyond our six months contract in the development of it. If the Council decides to renew my contract for another year, I shall ask for a $10,000 basic salary rating.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Benjamin Muse

Copy

June 8, 1959

Dr. James M. Dabbs
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Dabbs:

Your question in the executive committee meeting as to my activity among business men, and my inadequate answer, suggest a phase of the Leadership Project which gives me some uneasiness.

One of the basic objectives of the project, as I understand it is to stimulate more aggressive action on the part of business and industrial leaders, and I fear that I have been unresponsive or derelict in this field.

I am deeply conscious of the desirability of alerting business men to the economic damage impediments and dangers of segregationist folly. We would like to see the business and industrial world inspired with a vision of a truly New South, abreast of the middle of the Twentieth Century in this and all other respects, and moving forward in step with the rest of the nation to its great future.

This is our objective, or our dream. But in what specific ways can we help to bring it about?

In Virginia, when we reached the point of closing public schools, some business leaders spoke out. Business men cooperated in protest movements in Norfolk and Charlottesville, and it is known that three or four industrial leaders quietly brought pressure to bear upon Governor Almond

with telling effect. In Georgia and Florida, and nearly everywhere in the South, economic considerations have been to some extent a restraining influence upon extremists.

One great corporation in Virginia--but only one--the Norfolk and Western Railway Co., undertook openly, in speeches by its president and one of its vice-presidents, to arouse the public to the economic danger in tampering with the public school system to evade compliance with the law of the land. I plan to visit Roanoke and talk with Norfolk & Western executives.

In the whole Southern situation, considering the values at stake, I think the voice of business has been feeble and disappointing. Public statements on the subject by business leaders are extremely hard to lay hands upon. Business men in Norfolk and Charlottesville signed newspaper advertisements, but few, or none, went on record in quotable individual statements.

I have received from Governor Collins' aide, John Perry, a list of 19 key people whom he suggests that I see on my tour in August. Four of these are business men. He notes that one of these will probably be sympathetic. On the other three he comments: "I'd hate to have to guess how they would react to the suggestion that they should exert any influence in this field. But it's worth a try."

Business and industrial leaders as a rule, I find, are anxious to avoid involvement in politics or in any public controversy. They are particularly wary of getting involved in the segregation furor. They move only when school-closing stares them in the face.

A letter which I received from Walter J. Kelly, III, a General Electric man, who is also vice-chairman of the Lynchburg Area Committee for Public Schools is illustrative of this point. A copy of Mr. Kelly's letter is enclosed herewith.

This is, of course, an unfortunate complex, but I don't see how much can be accomplished by direct personal approach to break it down. From a strictly self-interest point of view it is not good business to stir up agitation, or to "stick one's neck out." Certainly it is bad business in many places to run the risk of being labeled "integrationist." The individual industrial leader doesn't feel that the responsibility is his. Moreover, he finds it possible to "keep out of it"--at least until school trouble reaches his door.

The attitude of school administrators, editors and politicians is different. These have to come to grips with the problem. They are "in it" whether they like it or not. Generally they are eager to discuss the problem. When they are open-minded, or leaning our way, there is much to be done--much information, advice and encouragement to be given.

It will be difficult, and it may take some time, to establish the desired relationships in most states. (The opening of doors in Florida has been an exceptional stroke of luck.) But I am enthusiastic over the possibility of advancing the good cause by visiting among leaders in these categories.

A broader group, including particularly business men, can be reached by pamphlet and report, bringing home the economic consequences of confusion, disorder and curtailment in public education. Many business and industrial leaders, I feel sure, will welcome our mimeographed and printed material, even when they are cold to personal exhortations. We have ambitious plans for research and publication in this field. We believe these will help to implant in the business community a quiet, firm attitude in favor of orderly adjustment which in time will influence public policy in many ways.

We can also get at business men by encouraging editors and writers to stress the economic angle. I find many editors, as well as politicians, anxious to get information on this phase.

There are also a few business leaders, who are committed to save-the-public schools movements or to moderate forces in politics, whom we can help by direct contact. However, I am hesitant about asking other business and industrial leaders to become involved in agitation the immediate result of which is likely to be harmful to themselves and to their companies. The self-interest argument cannot be advanced with them from the short-term point of view.

My feeling may be due in part to the fact that, while I have had much personal association through the years with editors, politicians and school officials, my association with business executives has been very limited. Possibly an experienced chamber of commerce secretary could accomplish more in this field.

This idea is worth considering. However, one incident which comes to my mind in this connection, though not conclusive, was pathetic. When the crisis broke in Warren County last year, I addressed through the Washington Post, which has considerable circulation in that area, an appeal "to the people of Warren County." A letter which I received the next day from George Massey, managing secretary of the Front Royal Chamber of Commerce, was effusive. He was most anxious to see quiet and orderly arrangements made for continuation of the public high school on an integrated basis.

Yet the abdication of responsibility for leadership by the Front Royal business community has been notorious.

I will appreciate any comment or advice which you have time to write, and I look forward with particular pleasure to a talk with you at Rip Raps Plantation later in the summer.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

GENERAL ELECTRIC
COMPANY

Mountain View Road, Lynchburg, Va.....Telephone VICTOR 6-7311

May 25, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Va.

Dear Sir:

Please excuse the belated reply to your request for a copy of R. P. Giffords speech delivered in Lynchburg. Before releasing a copy of the text it was necessary to obtain a policy decision from General Electric Co.

In this case the local department Employee & Community Relations Manager felt that since this department is a newcomer to the area extreme care should be exercised in making pronouncements on local matters. Mr. Gifford handled this angle beautifully and was very well received. However, it is felt that this speech, since it was conceived for a specific group and does not represent the General Electric policy, except on a local basis, would be of little value when projected onto the State scene.

I realize, of course, that you would handle this matter judiciously but the Communication Products Dept. feels that it should not extend its area with the possibility of getting into another G.E. Departments territory.

I am sorry that I am unable to comply with your request. Since this matter was turned over to me by Mr. Newton I have met many people in Richmond and elsewhere who know you and have the highest personal regard for both you and your work. I shall look forward to meeting you at some future Committee for Public Schools gathering.

Yours truly,

Walter J. Kelly, III
Vice Chairman
Lynchburg Area Committee
for Public Schools

June 17, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
The Washington Post
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

We have been discussing L Report Number 6 concerning the Davis Report and Washington, D. C., schools. We want to consider the distribution of this report separately from the earlier ones since it is the first one that is not of an economic nature.

Harold recalls that we decided, in our original discussion concerning the L Reports, that only those reports which had to do with economics would go to the chambers of commerce. It is his thinking that the only really effective ways of reaching the chamber of commerce people is by using materials which comes from their own group, i.e., businessmen.

Our idea is to distribute L-6 to our basic list, excluding the chambers of commerce, but to include the school superintendents for the first time.

Could you give me your thinking on this?

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

file

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

June 19, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Your letter of June 17 raises the question of the tentative Distribution List which I submitted in my letter of May 15 to Leslie Dunbar.

You may have elaborated, or improved on, this as a working plan. Paragraph 4 and 8 seem redundant with respect to individual business men. I think I would delete "business and" in Paragraph 8.

I agree that List 4 should be omitted in the distribution of L6. However, some reports on the economic angle (as excerpts from the Odum speech) might go to List 4 even though the material does not actually come from business men.

Otherwise, I would like for L6 to go to the full list, with a reserve of several hundred copies for future use. I find false stories about the Washington school situation most widespread and damaging.

Please add under list 8: Honorable Albertis S. Harrison
Attorney General
Richmond, Va.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

Add under List 4:
Mr. George Massey
Managing Secretary
Chamber of Commerce
Front Royal, Va.

Rec'd 6-26-59

June 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

The office of the Southern Regional Council has passed on to us your request for the "name and address of the chairman of the local Council on Human Relations in Little Rock." The local organization has adopted the name, The Pulaski Council on Inter-Group Relations. Dr. M. A. Jackson is President of the group. His address is 616½ West Ninth Street, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp
cc - Harold Fleming

John Walker is answering about Rev. Bass. I may say he is a man with a past here, fundamentally interested in the economic progress of Rev. Bass.

COPY

June 24, 1959

Mr. Galen Martin
Unitarian Service Committee
P. O. Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

As you may know, Colonel Benjamin Muse of Manassas, Virginia has recently joined the Council staff on a part-time basis to direct our "Southern Leadership Project." This new project is currently one of the most important activities of the Council. It is aimed at servicing and influencing Southern leaders, businessmen, officials, and the like; an area heretofore largely neglected.

In that regard, Colonel Muse will be in Knoxville Wednesday evening, July 1, and Thursday, July 2. You will hear from him regarding the details of his visit. This is merely to serve as an introduction.

Enclosed are a series of "L" reports prepared for this special program. They will serve further to indicate the interests of the program.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

cc: Col. Benjamin Muse

Ltr. from Center to Steve, James Henry, Jerry, Gordon Lovejoy, Ed. Lukas.

June 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Harold is away from the office for the week, therefore I am responding to your letter of the 19th.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have written Galen Martin relative to your visit to Knoxville.

The response from the "L" reports continue to be most favorable. Enclosed are copies of letters which we thought you would like to have.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

June 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Many thanks for your fine letter of the 17th.

I would like to see Galen Martin in Knoxville and, through him, as you suggest, George Dempster.

Would you kindly drop a line to Mr. Martin, saying that I will be in Knoxville Wednesday evening, July 1, and Thursday, July 2. I shall also write to him.

Perhaps John Hope would also write to Mr. Dempster.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

P.S. If I find that my friends are not starting their 4th of July on the 3rd, I shall stay in Knoxville then Friday.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

VIA AIR MAIL

RECEIVED JUN 29 1959

June 25

Dear Harold,

I think, after several efforts to see Gov. Almond, that I am getting a brush-off.

I hit him pretty hard in massive resistance days—

Sincerely,

Ben

Hotel Sam Peck

★ ★ ★ ★ LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

June 29, 1959

Dear John,

I just talked with Rev. T. S. Cartwright, Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Hillcrest and Spruce, Little Rock — who said he had never received any L Reports.

I understood that they went to all board members?

I am having a very satisfactory visit here.

Incidentally, the Chamber of Commerce manager mentioned the L reports with approval.

I saw Gov. Faubus and escaped without injury.

Best regards. Ben Muse

Duncan Hines Selection for Listing—"An Adventure in Good Eating" and "Lodging for a Night"

Little Rock's Hotel of Distinction

July 1, 1959

Mr. Galen Martin
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
P. O. Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Enclosed are additional copies of the "L" reports which have thus far been issued. The Chamber of Commerce in Knoxville is on our mailing list for these reports. However, I am sure it would be good if you called them to the attention of the executive secretary and others. More copies of the reports are available if and when you need them and we will see that you receive others as they are released.

Delighted that you know Ben Muse and will be able to work with him while he is in Knoxville. Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

International headquarters: XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

CApitol 7-3660 *Cable address:* UNSERCOM BOSTON

Box 887, Knoxville, Tenn.

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Executive Director

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President

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MRS. EVA WHITING WHITE
LEAVITT S. WHITE
M. L. WILSON
MRS. R. CRARY YOUNG

HON. J. RAY SHUTE
National Campaign Chairman

New York Office:
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.
Oxford 7-0248

June 30, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of my reply letter to Mr. Benjamin Muse. I am very glad to know that he is coming to Knoxville and will help in any way he can.

I am quite impressed with the information on reports No. L-1 through 5 and wonder if I could be sent 2 or 3 additional copies of each of these reports. The Chamber of Commerce has just elected a younger and more sympathetic executive secretary, and I would like to see that he and the secretary of the Committee of One Hundred, set up to attract new industry, receive copies. I don't believe I have previously had information on the Southern Leadership Project and I hope I will be told of this by you and/or Mr. Muse.

If there is any objection to use of material from reports in the Human Relations Council Newsletter, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen Martin

GM/bf

Enclosure

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

June 25, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I was very glad to receive your letter and to know that you will stop in Knoxville for a few days. I lived in Washington for four year and read your columns in the Washington Post, and know something of your work with the Virginia Council in more recent years.

I will be glad to help you in any way I can with regard to your visit. However, I am committed to be in Nashville Wednesday afternoon for a meeting of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and could not likely arrive back here before 10 p. m.. With slight exception I should be available during Thursday and Friday. I might arrange for you to meet with one or two others Wednesday evening such as Dr. Forrest Lacey of the U. T. Law School and Rev. W. T. Crutcher.

Since there may not be time for further correspondence, you can call my wife at 8-8031, on arrival I would suggest the Farragut Hotel in Knoxville.

Mr. George Dempster is generally not a difficult man to see and arrangement should be no problem if he is in town. I am not sure how much help we can be with other "influential leaders" but we will help in any way possible.

Sincerely yours,

Galen Martin

July 6, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Here is our copy of Lightsey's manuscript. I will appreciate your opinion of the piece and what you think our reaction to Lightsey should be.

It was good to talk with you this morning.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 6, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Enclosed is a copy of the reprint of Little Rock's business which originally appeared in the Nashville Tennessean. We have several hundred copies of this for distribution and would appreciate any suggestions you might have.

We have mailed them to our state organizations and interagency list.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

P.S. Les has just told me about receiving a copy of the article reprinted in the Arkansas Gazette from you with suggestions that it be used as an L Report. We only have about four hundred copies of this reprint left but if you think it should go out to the L list as one of the reports, we could easily get additional copies. Please let me have your thinking.

JC

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

July 8, 1959

Dear Paul:

Thank you for sending me copies of the letters which you received in response to the "L" reports. I am happy to have this material for our file on the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Harry C. Meserve

Harry C. Meserve

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 9, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thanks for the reports of your most recent interviews. They are fascinating -- particularly the account of your talk with Faubus -- and increase our admiration for your skill and surefootedness. The reports are fine, both in length and content.

Last week, I had a brief but pleasant get-together with Brooks Hays, who stopped overnight here on his way to Knoxville. He has been talking with Adlai Stevenson and others about the need for more communication across ideological and racial lines in the South, and he indicated interest in sharing ideas with us. Since his concerns are very close to those of the Leadership Project, I told him briefly about your efforts and am sending him the "L" reports. Whenever it can be most conveniently worked out, I hope you can see and talk with Hays. I am not clear at this point on just how we can relate our common interests, but an exchange of ideas and information with him is bound to be useful.

Judging by the note I received from him this morning, his present address is simply "TVA, Knoxville, Tennessee."

The Citizens Councils' monthly paper has teed off on the economic issue -- business was never

better in Little Rock and the South in general, Jackson (Miss.) is leading the nation in economic growth, the radicals' propaganda efforts to link segregation and economic damage have fallen flat, etc. This suggests that the economics arguments are hurting, at least enough to provoke a spirited rebuttal.

The survey and report on intimidation, reprisal, and violence were done by SRC under cooperative inter-agency financing and sponsorship. I'm glad you feel it has been effective. On the negative side, I'm enclosing copies of the two editorials from the Savannah Morning News attacking the report. Since you may be having some dealings with Creed Black, I thought you might want to be familiar with them.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Editorials from SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS re
Violence Report - dtd: June 22 & 29, 1959

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED JUL 9 1959

July 7, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you will have noted, I am settling down to briefer reporting. Most of the conversation is redundant and my own repertoire is pretty well known to you. I am trying merely to identify the people with whom I talk and note any item of unusual significance.

If you have any suggestion in this regard I would like to have it.

The Tennessee-Arkansas trip was encouraging in many ways. It was not very thorough, and suggests a return visit before too long. This prospect is particularly inviting in the case of Nashville, where, with the help of Walter Sharp, some valuable interviews might be arranged. It is important to catch leaders with time, and in the right mood, for unhurried conversation.

The question arises of modest entertaining of small groups. Where there are more than one guest, would the expense be chargeable to the appropriation, apart from my subsistence account? Occasion might arise for entertaining three or four at lunch or dinner in Nashville on an eventual return visit there.

As I said over the phone, the kindness and cooperation of our own people was wonderful. In Little Rock my schedule developed quickly without help, but Cartwright came to my hotel for an evening's discussion and offered to help in any way. In Nashville, Sharp came to my hotel immediately on my phone-call and spent the morning with me. In Knoxville, Galen Martin was in touch all the time.

Some informative announcement of the inauguration of the project to all board members and Council on Human Relations leaders may be desirable in due course.

I was proud to see your picture in the New York Times, and interested in the article. The report on violence elicited favorable mention of the council in many quarters. I don't know how much of it we did, but it was certainly a great job.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Ben

AIR MAIL July 17, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

This is in reply to your letter concerning Lightsey's manuscript, and your note about the impending Atlanta trip.

As to the latter, I am scheduled to speak to the Southern Labor School at Daytona Beach on the evening of August 6. While I haven't yet worked out reservations, it would seem that Thursday and Friday at least will find me away. If this makes it impossible for us to get together, could you come through Atlanta on another leg of your journey?

One or two questions about the proposed printing of Lightsey's manuscript: (1) How many copies do you think we should print? (2) What imprint would the pamphlet bear? (3) Is this something the Messenger Press could handle, or would you rather not? And (4) Is it our assumption that the fee paid to Lightsey would go to the aid of the Virginia Committee? When do you suggest we remit?

In any case, I'll greatly appreciate it if you will do such revising and supplementing of the text as you feel advisable. If the pamphlet is printed here, we will handle the questions of typography and layout.

Finally, that was a fine letter you wrote Brooks Hays. I hope it will lead to any early meeting. I am giving him some help on a confidential matter that I will tell you about when I see you next.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED JUL 13 1959

Saturday, July 11

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your most welcome letter of the 9th.

I have been thinking about Brooks Hays too. I am delighted to hear of his interest in our project and that you talked with him.

I am now planning my long trip south a few days later than first contemplated but by an itinerary which will bring me to Atlanta about Thursday morning, August 6, for a few days there. I hope this is a good time from your point of view.

Sincerely,

Ben

RECEIVED JUL 13 1959

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 11, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Lightsey's manuscript, as you indicated, is heavy reading. Extensive abridgement of the long piece would not be possible without a complete revision, but about five percent of it might be painlessly amputated.

The first paragraph of "Notes and Acknowledgments," at the beginning, should be revised to this extent: "...has been prominently identified with the improvement of public schools for many years through various official responsibilities in Parent-Teacher organizations"--might be replaced by: "has been for many years a leader in Parent-Teacher Association activities."

We should give it an additional Foreword.

It could also be brightened by a few more sub-headings. I will be glad to do this much editing, if you wish. However, editing in the sense of preparation for the printer might better be done by one of your professionals.

I would suggest printing somewhat in the style of the Council's brochure, "What the Supreme Court Said..." I am afraid in mimeographed form it would look too much like a Deed of Trust to be read even by many save-the-public schools crusaders.

I do think it is worth printing. One hundred, say, might be distributed among leaders of the movement in Virginia. It would help to keep the nucleus interested during quiet interludes when it is hard to keep a movement of this type going.

I believe it would also be profitably read--or useful portions of it would be read--by save-the-public schools leaders in Georgia and to a less extent in Little Rock.

As a project, it is, of course a gamble, or a calculated risk. We can only speculate as to where and to what extent school-closing will be carried out or attempted. The need for save-the public schools organizations in coming months may be limited or it may be widespread. I think the greater part of the pamphlets printed should be held in reserve for future contingencies.

I would say $300. would be adequate compensation to Lightsey for producing the manuscript.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Imprint?
Ben to print?

July 21, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
President
The Messenger Press, Inc.
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

The letterheads you requested are on their way under separate cover.

Pertaining to printing costs, the booklet "What the Supreme Court Said" is probably most like the Lightsey brochure - though that is probably not very close. Our last printing of this cost us $241.97 for 3,000 copies.

I can and do appreciate your concern for having the Messenger Press do SRC work. However, in this case I don't think we run into any conflict of interest. In fact, the Council stands to gain a great deal in such matters as staff time by having the job done there rather than in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/sl

The Messenger Press, Inc.
PRINTERS

NEWSPAPERS
BOOKS, FOLDERS
BUSINESS FORMS
FINE STATIONERY

BENJAMIN MUSE
President

MANASSAS, VA.
Phone EMpire 8-3711

MRS. HILDA GERIS
Office Manager

July 18,1959

Mr.Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Harold Fleming suggests that the Messeger Press might do the Lightsey brochure on the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

I would not like for the plant to do printing for the Council unless we can do so a a substantially better price than you are getting in Atlanta.

Would you be kind enough to give me, for instance, the number of copies printed and the cost of "Segregation versus the Space Age," and "what the Supreme Court Said...?"

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

3,000 - 241.97

C O P Y

Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee
July 24, 1959

Dear Mr. Muse:

I was delighted to receive your letter. It is full of interesting and helpful information and I am looking forward to a visit with you before long. Harold Fleming told me, when I was with him in Atlanta, that you were doing this constructive work on the school problem and I am eager to compare notes with you. This is a challenge that we must confront.

I am heartened by the things taking place in Virginia and I think that there is cause for optimism over developments in Arkansas, too.

While my work with the TVA will prevent my devoting any time to special assignments or travel, I can, in the course of my trips around this area, talk with some people who share our concern.

I expect to be in Washington before long and perhaps we can meet there. In any event I will keep in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

File - Leadership Proj

MIDWEST RESEARCH INSTITUTE

425 VOLKER BOULEVARD KANSAS CITY 10, MISSOURI

ODOM FANNING
MANAGER, INFORMATION SERVICES

July 27, 1958

Dear Harold,

Please accept, for yourself and Jane, our sincere thanks for your hospitality. We enjoyed to the utmost seeing you and the other good friends again. It disproved Wolfe, for we found that you can go home again--and things are almost the same. Both your boys are extremely cute, good looking, well mannered, and delightful. We wish Carol could date Gary. Our visit was too short, and frankly, you only seemed half awake when we left that night. Harold, you should be getting more rest. It isn't good to keep such long hours.

I've thought a lot about the RBF program. I want you to hire the best man you can find, let him flounder around for a year and make his quota of mistakes. Then give me a shot at doing it better. Meantime, here are a few observations:

good

1. I recommend widespread publicity at the beginning of the program. I don't see how it could possibly hurt. It would, on the other hand, inaugurate it with the stamp of respectability; in fact, it would then be the RBF program of SRC, not just another SRC idea. Furthermore, publicity, it seems to me, could help smoke out latent situations and people desirous of consultations. Big and little companies, both north and south, would probably ask for assistance if they knew that a specific program existed to help them. Such companies might not be aware of SRC itself, or might feel that it was another NAACP, and therefore not trustworthy. But if they knew that they could come in secrecy to a source of professional help, I think they'd flock to it.

2. Next, I recommend that a substantial part of the RBF budget (for the first year, especially) be allocated to research. This is a situation tailor-made for contract research. MRI would be my first recommendation, in view of Robock's experience at TVA and recently at Oak Ridge, and in view of the fact that such a study probably could best be done by non-Southerners. (I think the outsiders' ~~fixix~~ findings would be better accepted by northern concerns.) I may be entirely wrong on that point, however, and I'm certain that Phil Hammer could do an equally good job. Regardless of who does it, I think the SRC staff man should be divorced from the study, except to supervise it, as his time should be completely occupied with an action program. In general, I think the purpose of the study should be to investigate the effect of segregation on industr~~ial development~~, and to recommend steps by which that obstacle can be removed.

My thought is that a large research job would be of less use than continuing research on a somewhat regular basis similar to the research program of a business concern. I believe your RBF man should be able to conduct it, choosing his responsibilities should be the pulling point of question as to what he needs investigation. I think the most workable arrangement, possible, would be a "retainer" contract with some firm such as Hammer or Robock, etc.

3. The action program, as distinguished from the research, might begin with industrial development of the South. Here are some aspects:

a. Race is largely unmentioned by those concerned with industrial development. The notable exceptions are Fantus Factory Locating Service, which has been quoted as saying segregation is a deterrent to industrial development, and by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., who says Fantus is a liar. Most of the southern states + communities are afraid of the subject. They don't mention it in their publications, but orally they will say, if pressed, that segregation contributes to a more docile Negro work force, to a nonunion total work force, and to less agitation for any change in status quo. No national concerns will admit that they are choosing factory locations outside the south because they fear continuing unrest--they are afraid of alienating southern customers. Surely most national concerns would welcome help in evaluating the extent of the problem, and its effect on their business. That's why I urge publicity as soon as someone is chosen to head the RBF program.

b. Increasingly, national associations which have even a few Negro members, cannot risk meeting in the South. You are familiar with the AAAS situation. The American Chemical Society met last year in Miami, with embarassing publicity. For some years to come, neither of those groups plans to meet again in the South. Both of them felt that the respective local officials deceived them as to the treatment they could expect for their Negro members. In Miami the ACS was told that the hotels and restaurants would receive Negro members without insult, but that proved to be wrong. A nonpartisan study of any given city--it might be sponsored by SRC, for example--could assure a national scientific or professional organization when it could expect equitable racial conditions in ~~any given~~ that city. The convention bureaus of southern cities should welcome such assistance; they cannot indefinitely afford to lose the big scientific, religious, ~~and~~ scholarly, & professional meetings.

These 2 ¶'s are mixed up

c. Turn the matter around, and look at it from the viewpoint not of the city, but of the organization holding conventions. Sure the AAAS or the ACS would be glad to have a reliable outfit tell it what it could expect in Atlanta, Miami, Nashville, or New Orleans. Here's another place with SRC could be of assistance.

d. Industry itself should welcome advice and information. I'm sure any national concern considering a plant in the south would like to see case histories of the more liberal companies, would like to consult the management of such firms, and would welcome level-headed advice. Techniques for disseminating such information might include consultations, bulletins, or such small, off-the-record conferences as the one I told you I'm putting on in November, on research.

ditto

potent

e. Another aspect might be investigation and disclosure of government conformity to the laws on hiring practices, segregated facilities, etc. It always burned me up, while I was with the government, to find that agencies invariably take the southern conservative line in a desperate effort to be one of the fellows. This extends to segregated dining ~~rooms~~ facilities at the Atlanta Federal Pen--did you know that? Negroes and whites eat on separate sides of the hall. If integration can't be practiced --by the Justice Department, of all outfits--in the Federal Pen, where in the hell can it be? Even the scientific organizations, such as Public Health, where 90 percent of the professional workers know better and are ashamed of it, make the colored folks stay in their places.

f. Again, I feel that public relations can help in all the above mentioned items. I don't mean publicity for its own sake. SRC has no legal or moral responsibility, as has a government agency, to publicize what it does. SRC has nothing to sell which requires publicity to sell it. But, as the program develops, I can see judicious public relations helping put over the RBF program. Articles could be placed many places--THE HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW, FORTUNE, WALL STREET JOURNAL, NEW YORK TIMES, THE REPORTER, BUSINESS WEEK, etc--and each article should be carefully thought out by the RBF staff man, in terms of what it can be expected to accomplish. These articles might be of many kinds. Think how effective would be an article by Richard Rich, in a retailing magazine, on why Rich's uses courtesy titles in billing, or what kind of training its management gives employees in racial courtesy. Think of the long range effects of an article in a hotel journal by a chain operator who has newly begun accepting Negroes in first class hotels in a border city, and now says he feels he has to do the same in his Florida hotels. The examples set by such businessmen, and publicized to others in their fields, will do much to ease the transition from a segregated to an integrated economy. While we were on vacation the Commission on Human Relations in Kansas City conducted an inventory of restaurant practices here. (I'm enclosing instructions to the teams.) The experience of restaurants in Kansas City could be used to influence the speed and direction of change in Atlanta. The same might be true for theaters, hotels, sports, etc., all of which have integrated here in the past three or four years. Yet I don't believe that these industries and trades, nationally, have been informed through their trade journals and national associations that such changes have taken place. I've had some experience with the national trade associations, and I've found that usually they welcome speeches for their national conventions. Again, SRC could become a clearing house for placing industry speakers with integration stories on the programs of their appropriate national bodies.

I have always found such working division was inevitable

3. As you see, I've been thinking only about the industry aspects of the RBF program. I don't know enough to comment on the police and schools facets. In fact, if I were doing it, I'd want to separate them and concentrate only on the industrial, as that's what I'd feel more secure in. I'd personally be interested in looking into the effect of legal segration practices, such as separate drinking fountains and rest rooms, on plant location. (Let's not forget the humor, either. How many companies feel so ridiculous and embarassed at segregation that they don't seriously consider the south for a plant location? How much could be accomplished in the RBF program by a Golden-type campaign of ridicule? Perhaps SRC would be too inhibited to undertake it, but it's a thought.)

4. Furthermore, there's a unity of interest in industry which doesn't exist if police and schoolsare linked with it. FORTUNE, or any of the other periodicals I named above, would be interested in covering a research and action program on the effects of segregation-integration on industry, whereas they would subordinate the police and schools aspects. As each of the three probably warrants a full-time attack, I think they could and should be separated, if funds could be found for all of them.

There now, you have my thoughts on this most important matter. You may think they're superficial and obvious. If so, burn them, along with all your letters from Orval Faubus. On the other hand, if they contain pearl-one, then take it, mount it, string it, wear it. The whole thing is yours.

Incidentally, Macmillan has (almost) accepted my book. They've asked me to redo it, making certain major changes, which I'm willing to do. And they say they're "quite optimistic about its eventual publication." Don't know what that means, except that they want to see it again. I dread the work involved, but I'm starting over. At least, they didn't reject it. The title is now The Scientist and The Public: Crisis in Communication.

Elaine sends her very best. We had the feeling that the vacation was the greatest we've ever had--smooth flowing, exciting, fun from beginning to end. Sorry it was so short. Perhaps we'll be coming your way again next year. Hope so.

Best wishes,

Adam

MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 16, 1958

TO : All Volunteers

FROM: Commission on Human Relations
William H. Gremley, Executive Secretary

The enclosed list of instructions are being sent to you in advance of your particular inventory assignment. These suggestions represent, in part, a synthesis of the briefing meetings as well as the experience of the initial inventory teams. If these suggestions should raise other questions in your mind, please contact the underwriter or Mrs. Ruth Shechter, En. 2-0961, for future counsel.

It is encouraging to report that the initial teams were well received in most cases and obtained the necessary information. Needless to say, we are deeply appreciative of your help in this matter and look forward to a successful inventory.

WHG:nhc

INSTRUCTIONS TO TEAMS

(These instructions are not to be shown to the restaurant owner)

1. When introducing yourself, you may make the usual introductory remarks and simultaneously handing him the letter of introduction. In some cases, it may be more feasible to simply hand him the letter of introduction and wait for his acknowledgement that he will talk to you.

2. In making the initial contact with the owner or manager, request that he interview you privately, away from the main dining room. If this is not possible, suggest that he select a booth or table in a relatively isolated portion of the dining room.

3. Be sure to get his name and title in the beginning of the interview. He need not be the person who sets the policy for the restaurant, but he should be a person who can state with authority what his policy is. If there is doubt on the latter point, politely ask him to refer you to the person who can so state the policy with authority.

4. When initiating the interview, you can hold the questionnaire in front of you on a magazine if you are standing. If you are seated at a table or counter, you could place the questionnaire on the counter and read directly from it, marking it as the interview continues. If the manager should express an interest in seeing the questionnaire feel free to show it to him, and in many cases, this may expedite the time of the interview.

5. The second question is more properly asked only if the manager says yes to the first question. If he says no to the first question, then you may feel free to move on to the third question immediately. If he says yes and the second question is then asked, note carefully his answer as to restrictions. In most cases, this will probably be "we do not serve Negroes," but many times his answer will lead naturally to question three.

6. While the items listed under qualifying circumstances in the third question are fairly explanatory, the term "physical segregation" may need explanation. It means simply that the owner will serve Negroes, but he will segregate them in one particular portion of the dining room.

7. In checking off the answer to various items in question three, simply put "yes" or "no" or an explanatory note. For example: under type of group, "yes" following athletic teams would indicate that he would serve a racially mixed athletic team. Time of day, however, may have to be explained in terms of breakfast, luncheon, or dinner serving. If there are no qualifying circumstances a t all, then none of the items in question three will be checked; however, they all should be read or shown to the manager so he has a clear understanding of that is meant by qualifying circumstances.

8. Please refrain from making any kind of notation under "comment" until you leave the restaurant. If the manager wishes to explain the restaurant policy, listen patiently and when he is through, simply thank him and depart. Then make a note of what he said with reference to the policy.

9. In the event that you enter a restaurant that happens to be a member of the Restaurant Association and contact the manager before you ascertain the information, do not proceed with the interview. Simply excuse yourself and say he will receive a questionnaire by mail from the Restaurant Association office. Often this may be known in advance by the Association Seal on the window of the restaurant. If this should happen, it will only be because a mistake has been made in including an Association restaurant on your list.

10. At the top of the questionnaire is the line "type of restaurant." The following are specific terms which should be used for this category.

    a. cafeteria
    b. restaurant
    c. hotel restaurant
    d. department store "tea room" or "grill"
    e. steak house
    f. restaurant bar combination
    g. lunch room
    h. drug store lunch counter
    i. specialty - pizza pie, etc.
    j. others

11. In the event that you pass by a restaurant not on your list and not displaying a Restaurant Association Seal, please list that restaurant on the back of a questionnaire. It may be that some restaurants have not been accounted for by the Location Committee nor by the Association list, and this will help for a more complete inventory.

12. If you should see that a restaurant on your list is very obviously a tavern only, do not enter. Sometimes a tavern is listed under "restaurants" in the phone book with a name that sounds like a restaurant name, but is actually only a drinking establishment.

13. The experience of the initial teams has shown that in the smaller eating places, it would be preferable for the white member of the team to initiate the conversation. In larger establishments, either the white or Negro member may start the conversation with the manager or owner.

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 30, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

My wife and I were guests of the Ted Daltons in Radford Saturday afternoon, July 25, to Monday morning, July 27.

In many hours of conversation with Ted I made an earnest effort to persuade him to reject the Federal judgeship.

His acceptance of the appointment will remove a powerful force for moderation and racial tolerance from the political scene. Remaining in politics he could do much to keep the Virginia Republican Party dedicated to unmolested public schools and to strengthen Almond's moderate program. (Dalton was prepared to cooperate with Almond on this point.)

The claims of the good cause and those of personal friendship coincided in that I don't think Ted will be happy on the bench.

He was anxious to discuss many angles of the question -- both political and personal. It made a human interest story of the first order, though not much for the records of this project. Sunday night it seemed that Ted might decline the appointment, but time is short before the Senate committee hearing and I have about given up hope.

We also talked about Virginia politics and this project. Dalton knows most of the business leaders in western Virginia, including Norfolk and Western executives. He phoned N. & W. Vice-President Fishwick to make an appointment for me, but Fishwick was away for a week. Pres. Saunders was also away.

We talked about my distant relative and former State Senate colleague, Leonard Muse, of Roanoke. Leonard is a leading corporation lawyer, and is one of the two moderates on the State Board of Education. Leonard had circulated a petition among Democratic lawyers endorsing the Dalton appointment as a Federal judge. A visit by me to Leonard Muse is long overdue, but he was away -- also for a week!

At a cocktail party in Radford I saw some other Republican leaders, including the Republican lady Delegate, Mrs. Charlotte Giesen, who is a zealous supporter of the Almond (Dalton) program. I also met, but had no opportunity for conversation with, Graham Claytor, former president, Appalachian Power Co., and active director in that and American Electric.

Talked with Dalton about Harry Byrd, Jr. whom Ted thinks will run for Governor. I will try to see more of Harry.

Sunday afternoon I visited Del. Poff in Floyd County, as reported in a separate memorandum.

Ben

Benjamin Muse

SRC

RECEIVED Aug 4 1959

Copy

August 3, 1959

Hon. Ellis Arnall
Fulton Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Arnall:

I have been working for four months under an assignment from the Southern Regional Council to visit influential Southern leaders who are interested in a constructive solution of the public school desegregation problem.

I would particularly like to have the pleasure of discussing this problem and exchanging impressions with you. Although I write a weekly column for the Washington Post, this is an off-the-record activity and has no journalistic purpose.

As you do not know me at all, I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of a letter which Senator Douglas kindly addressed to Former Governor McMath on my visit to Little Rock.

I shall be in Atlanta next Monday and Tuesday, August 10 and 11, and would be happy to call upon you at whatever hour suits your convenience.

(I changed the plans a little on this)

I would appreciate it if you will kindly advise Harold Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga. (Phone Jackson 2-8764). I will be in touch with him Sunday.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

SRC

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

August 3, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 4 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your note.

We will stay in Atlanta at the house of my niece, (Mrs. Fred) Hayes. It is 3936 Club Drive, N.E., where you called for me once before.

Mr. Hayes would like for you and Mrs. Fleming to join us there for dinner Sunday evening, August 9, ~~at six-thirty o'clock~~. I have told Mary that you and I are to be left in a corner by ourselves after dinner, so we can have a talk. I hope you and Mrs. Fleming can give us this pleasure. She will phone.

We shall set out from here Friday morning, August 7, so we would have time to receive air mail from you mailed Wednesday.

My schedule will be necessarily flexible, with only two or three more or less fixed dates. We are inviting the Perrys and Killians, and possibly others to dine with us in Tallahassee Wednesday evening, August 12. We have reserved a room at the Hotel Detroit in St. Petersburg for four days, beginning August 14. I shall leave my wife there while I circulate in the Tampa-St. Petersburg area and possibly fly to Miami.

I would appreciate some help from you or your assistants in arranging a schedule in Atlanta, although I could do some of it by phone, with advice from you, after my arrival. I would like to see Ralph McGill, Mayor Hartsfield, Ellis Arnall, some people from HOPE and any others whom you may suggest. I shall be completely at your disposal Monday and Tuesday, August 10 and 11 and would be delighted to have your office nail down a few appointments in your discretion.

In between such interviews, I shall need to spend some time at headquarters, and I hope I can join in a staff luncheon or two.

I was not able to contact Senator Douglas last week. However, in any case I propose to write Arnall and McGill saying that I shall be in Atlanta August 10 and 11, with headquarters at the SRC, and that I hope they will find it possible to see me.

Sincerely,

Ben

August 12, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Detroit Hotel
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Ben:

Sorry I forgot to return the enclosed before you got away. I have spent a few more minutes thumbing through it, with equal parts of interest and repugnance.

Mr. Putnam is no doubt past saving; certainly, what is wrong with his manuscript can't be cured by pointing out isolated "inaccuracies." Even if one accepted his charge of racial inferiority, there would still remain obvious, demonstrated individual differences to be taken into account. It's like the Japanese who's six feet tall.

We greatly enjoyed having you with us at the office and the pleasant evening with you and Mrs. Muse and the others at the Hayes's. I hope you will allow yourself some relaxation and recreation while you're in Florida.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

LeRoy Collins
GOVERNOR

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TALLAHASSEE

RECEIVED AUG 17 1959

August 14, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 13 and enclosed report regarding the status of school desegregation.

Mr. Killian is presently on vacation and your correspondence will be brought to his attention upon his return. I am sure that he will be most happy to have this information.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

William L. Durden

WILLIAM L. DURDEN
Executive Assistant

WLD:gs

August 13, 1959

Mr. William Killian
Legal Assistant
Office of the Governor
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Killian:

Ben Muse has suggested that you might like to see the enclosed report on the status of school desegregation. It was preprared by our research staff for newspaper men and others who might want background information and analysis as the schools prepare to open. I have also sent a copy to Governor Collins and Mr. Perry.

Ben has spoken most warmly of the hospitality and assistance you and John Perry have extended to him. If any of us here can ever be of help to you, I hope you will let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

August 13, 1959

Mr. John Perry
Administrative Assistant
Office of the Governor
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Perry:

Ben Muse has suggested that you might like to see the enclosed report on the status of school desegregation. It was prepared by our research staff for newspaper men and others who might want background information and analysis as the schools prepare to open. I have also sent a copy to Governor Collins and Mr. William Killian.

Don't hesitate to call on us any time we may be able to supply you with useful information.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

August 13, 1959

The Honorable LeRoy Collins
Governor of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Governor Collins:

At Col. Benjamin Muse's suggestion, I am happy to send you the enclosed report on the status of school desegregation as we approach another school year. I hope you will find it of interest.

I should like to take this opportunity to express appreciation for the leadership you are giving in this period of difficult transition in the South.

With kindest regards and good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

August 13, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Detroit Hotel
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Ben:

I am glad you feel the background report is a useful and statesmanlike document. This is my view; Les and his staff have done an outstanding job. We are sending you two additional copies, as well as copies to Governor Collins, John Perry, and William Killian. I am transmitting the latter with a brief letter saying that you suggested it. I trust that this is how you would like it handled.

The report is being distributed to our Board, the state councils, a list of 80 or so newspapermen and writers, a number of other agencies concerned with human relations, and our major contributors. We will welcome your suggestions for further distribution.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

DUVAL
HOTEL · TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

August 12, 1959

Dear Harold (and Leslie):

I am enthusiastic about SRC 12 "A Background on School Desegregation for 1959-60." It is more than an informative report. It is a statesmanlike document.

I would like to have an idea of the distribution to be given it. I would appreciate having copies sent, one each, to the following:

Hon. LeRoy Collins
Governor

Hon. John Perry
Administrative Assistant, Office of the Gov.

Hon. William Nilhain
Legal Assistant
Tallahassee, Fla.

Also 2 extra copies to me at the Detroit Hotel, St. Petersburg.

I appreciated the time which you gave me and your many courtesies during my visit to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Ben

P.S. I hope to see Lewis Nilhian and John Griffin in the morning.

The Detroit Hotel

RECEIVED AUG 17 1959

CENTRAL AVENUE AT SECOND STREET
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

August 14, 1959

Dear Harold,

Thanks for yours of the 12th — the last paragraph especially appreciated.

I have found no one more enthusiastic over this project than Nelson Poynter (Editor and President, St. Petersburg Times.) Wants all L Reports thus far and from here on.

They may have come to this office, but I want a collection for myself. Don't mind duplication. Send everything you have in separate batch for my attention.

I thought it would be effective to attend to this at once.

More about Poynter, of course, in eventual report.

Regards. Ben

P.S. He wants everything on the economic aspect. I would include the private school study.

The Detroit Hotel

RECEIVED AUG 17 1959

CENTRAL AVENUE AT SECOND STREET
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

August 15, 1959

Dear Harold,

The problem of transmitting confidential information occasionally arises. In the absence of a code, there might be more safety in writing two separate letters which need to be "integrated."

John Perry made a remark very privately and gravely and without much elucidation which may be significant. It may at least reflect some thinking, or hoping, in the Governor's office. What he said will be told in another letter.

Sincerely,

Ben

RECEIVED AUG 17 1959

The Detroit Hotel
CENTRAL AVENUE AT SECOND STREET
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

August 16, 1959

Dear Harold,

Referring to my letter of yesterday —

Don't be surprised if some are admitted next month in unexpected places. Just carrying out the pupil assignment law. No great formality, and no publicity, necessary. Any school board that wants to can go ahead and do it.

Don't be surprised if this happens. (In Dade County?)

Just anywhere.

(I thought this was a good idea, etc., but elicited no more conversation on the point)

Just don't be surprised if this happens.

Sincerely,

Ben

August 19, 1959

Colonel Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

At your convenience, you may want to read Paul Rilling's field report on Houston, following his recent visit there. Paul was mainly concerned with dissecting the human relations efforts, rather than analyzing the "power structure." As you will see, we have decided to give modest financial assistance to one of these groups.

Reflecting further on Carlton Putnam, I was reminded of an anecdote that Marional Wright tells. It seems that when Winston Churchill was in Parliament, a member of his party dramatically crossed the aisle and switched his allegiance to the Labor Party. Churchill rose and declared: "This, gentlemen, is the first time in recorded history that a rat has been seen swimming toward a sinking ship!"

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.
"Field Report on Houston, Texas" - Rilling

RBF candidate
(STANLEY BOONE)
8-21-58

Harold-

I spent a few hours last evening with Stanley Boone, the chap whom I once mentioned to you in connection with the RBF job. My opinion would be that he lacks the experience in business or public contacts which would be needed for immediate effectiveness.

Otherwise, I continue to see him as quite a top-notch man. His thinking on the race issue is the same as the Council's. He is quiet, but capable, initiative & punch. Has a very good appearance. My information about his public relations experience was incorrect. He has worked 6 or 7 years for Lockheed in industrial engineering & junior management jobs. He is completing now an M.A. at Tech (evening) in "industrial management." He seems to have taken about every economics course at Emory or Tech. He is a Major in the AF Reserve. A native of Alabama, reared in Columbus, Georgia. Seems to be somewhat restive at Lockheed. (Emory might like to know that he was, a few years ago a volunteer organizer for CIO). His address is 632 TRYON RD, N.E., Chamblee.

If Perelle is not available, you might give some thought to him. I am ~~so~~ guessing, however, that he would need more time than you would like to develop a feel for the job. In the meantime, I wish I had might find some way to have him drawn into the work of the Atlanta Council.

LESLIE DUNBAR

PA ✓
PR ✓
JC
LD ✓
MF

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED AUG 27 1959

August 26, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is briefly to report that I am back in Manassas. I arrived Monday night, as a matter of fact. A generally pleasant and satisfactory trip, as I shall report in detail when I get myself unraveled and squared away.

I shall also get on with the overall report on the project. Am doing an editorial for the New Republic today.

I have some very welcome letters from you. The Blacks were most kind to us. In fact, nearly all my contacts were cordial. I note your cruel reference to the great Carleton Putnam!

I found awaiting me also a very cordial letter from Harry Byrd, Jr. -- "I should like to talk with you" -- on which I shall, of course, follow through.

Sincerely,

Ben

Copy

July 27, 1959

Hon. Rolla Fitch
Administrative Assistant
Office of the Governor
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Fitch:

I am enclosing a very reliable ---and not too long ---report on the situation in the Washington schools.

Of course no such large scale integration is likely to happen now --or ever-- in Little Rock, but the picture in Washington is nothing like as bad as has been widely reported.

I do hope Governor Faubus will find at least a tolerable solution to his difficult problem there.

I greatly enjoyed my talk with you a few weeks ago and appreciated the honor of my brief talk with the Governor. If you should wish any further information from Virginia, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

Great Seal of the
State of Florida

LeRoy Collins
Governor

STATE OF FLORIDA

Office of the Governor

TALLAHASSEE

July 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

We were all delighted to learn that you will be back our way, around August 12, and we are looking forward to sharing experiences with you when you come.

Would you like for me to make a reservation at the Duval Hotel for you?

Even in darkest Russia the news of what happened in Virginia trickled through. "Sic semper tyrannus!"

Sincerely,

JOHN L. PERRY
Administrative Assistant

JLP:im

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia
RECEIVED JUL 23 1959

July 22

Dear Harold,

I believe my letter of yesterday went out with the date of my arrival in Atlanta erroneously written August 19. It should be Sunday, August 9.

I will get in touch with you during the afternoon and we will expect you and Mrs. Fleming for dinner Sunday evening, August 9.

You may have seen that Dalton has been appointed a Federal judge. He tells me that he expects no trouble from the Va. Senators

Regards.

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED JUL 23 1959

July 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I hope I have not given the impression that I am enthusiastic about Lightsey's "Historical Sketch." It is not the kind of thing I had hoped he would come up with. I have not committed the Council to acceptance of it, or mentioned any figure by way of fee.

However, we have the problem. The fee (which might be less than $300 as you think best), although going to Lightsey, will benefit the Committee for Public Schools and encourage it for the final spurt. With revision of the manuscript --which I will undertake-- I think the booklet will be worth the investment.

I am all too little acquainted with the situation in Atlanta and Georgia. (I hope to catch up somewhat on this on my next visit.) How many copies of the booklet do you think would be useful to HOPE?

I know little from personal experience of the embarrassment of identification with the Southern Regional Council. I have run into practically none of it in my contacts on this project. I am using SRC cards and stationery increasingly. I long for the day when we can walk in the South with dignity and our name will embarrass no one.

Lightsey's submitting the piece to us would seem to indicate that they were not concerned about the SRC in print. On the other hand, I can see how HOPE in Georgia might run into trouble over our tag on the booklet. In any case you know far more about all this than I do.

I thought of holding a supply of the booklets against future contingencies. For instance, a school-closing crisis might arise in South Carolina or Alabama or elsewhere. Then it might be extremely helpful to place a few of the booklets in the hands of people who are willing to promote save-the-school movements but don't know how to begin. In such situations I can well see that the SRC label might make it difficult.

We come back to the following plan:

2,000 copies printed by the Messenger Press. A number to be determined --perhaps 1,000 at first-- to be delivered to the SRC, Atlanta, for distribution with or without stamp. All copies to bear the simple imprint:

The Messenger Press
Manassas, Va.

The inside back page would contain a notice of availability of further copies and the same price scale as in the Turnpike Press' "The Truth about Desegregation in Washington Schools."

The foregoing is merely by way of moving toward a plan. I will submit a copy of my revision of Lightsey to you before going ahead.

I am spending Saturday, Sunday and Monday in Roanoke and Dalton's territory.

The school board chairman and superintendent from Little Rock visited Norfolk last week --on their own account.

We look forward to seeing you in Atlanta Sunday evening, August 19.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

File

Telephone ALpine 1-0171

REDMONT HOTEL

Corner Fifth Avenue, North, and Twenty-first Street

Birmingham 3, Ala.

Rec'd 8/30/58

August 26, 1958.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was nice to meet you and members of your staff on yesterday.

After thinking over our conversation I believe I could do the job you want. You answered the questions which were uppermost in my mind about this job.

I do not wish to consider two jobs at one time but I am under considerable pressure to make a decision about another position by Sept. 7th.

I shall be here at the Redmont until next Tuesday if you wish to contact me--or you may contact Duncan Hunter if you desire.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Dan Bowers

Daniel A. Bowers

Alabama Headquarters
AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSN.

Air Conditioned • Fireproof • Free Overnight Parking • Dining • Cocktail Lounge • Banquet Facilities

RBF applicant

RESUME: DANIEL ADONIS BOWERS

Born: Toccoa, Georgia. April 8, 1919.

Education: Private school first seven grades--
(Toccoa Falls Accademy, Toccoa, Georgia).

H High School; Toccoa Falls High School, Toccoa, Georgia.
Valedictorian, Senior Class President, Winner of
Ninth Congressional District Debate--two years).

College: Brewton Parker Junior College, Mt. Vernon, Ga.
Toccoa Falls Bible College, Toccoa, Georgia.
Degree--Bachelor of Arts in Biblical Education.

Milligan College, Bufalo, Tennessee.

Tusculum College, Greenville, Tennessee.
Degree: Bachelor of Arts--Major in Psychology,
minor in Sociology.

Graduate School:
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia.
Three years of graduate study leading to the degree
of Bachelor of Divinity.
Class president, senior class.

Professional Experience:

Worked for R. G. LeTourneau Co. for five and ½ years as machinist,
trainee, and operator. (during college years).

Student pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Ga.-1945.
Student pastor of Barnett Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, G. 2 years
Organized and first pastor of Cedarview Presbyterian Church
Kingsport, Tennessee. Built a new Manse. 1 year.
Pastor of first Presbyterian Church, Newport, Tennessee. 3 years.
(built new educational building).
Pastor of James Island Presbyterian Church, 3½ years.
(built new Church Building).
Associate Pastor of Park Lake Church, Orlando, Fla. 2 years.
(helped build 185,000.00 dollar addition).
~~xxxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxxx~~ Pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Alexander City, Ala.

Served as acting Stated Clerk of Holston Presbytery--Permanent clerk of the Synod of Appalachia and Temporary Clerk of the General Assembley of the Presbyterian Church in the United States in 1954.

Served as Chairman of Christian Education for the Presbyteries of Holston, Charleston and East Alabama.
Served as Moderator of Holston and Charleston Presbyteries.
Served as member of the Committee of Christian Education for the Synods of Appalachia, South Carolina and Alabama.

Has given following speaches and addresses:

City-wide Thanksgiving services for Newport, Tennessee, Orlando, Fla. and Alexander City, Ala.
Gave Veterans Day address to Rotary Club of Orlando, Fla. 1955.
Baccalaureate speaker to an average of four high schools each year.
Special lecturer at Town and Country Church Institute of Columbia Seminary in 1957.

CIVIC RESPONSIBILITIES:
Member of:
Kiwanis Club of Newport, Tenn.
Rotary Club of St. Andrews, Charleston, S. C. (board member).
North Orlando Kiwanis Club, Orlando, Fla.
Kiwanis Club of Alexander City, Ala. (board of directors-2 years).

Chairman of Fund Raising Campaign, American Red Cross, Cocke County, Tenn. 1948.
Chairman, Business Division of American Red Cross, Fund Campaign of Alexander City, Ala. 1956.
Chairman of the Community Chest, Fund Raising Campaign, Alexander City, Ala. 1957.

Presently member of the Board of Directors of the following organizations in Alexander City, Ala.
Chamber of Commerce.
Kiwanis Club.
Mental Health
Red Cross
Community Chest.
Underprivileged Children.

Family: Married and has two sons, aged six and four.

Sept. 3, 1959

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 1, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Conference, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I spoke to Ed Bromfield, editor of the Warren Sentinel, over the phone this morning with a view to driving over to Front Royal if he thought it advisable. He did not think an "outsider" could help at this juncture, although he would like for me to come over later and talk it all over.

He was very pleased at the way things were shaping up. He believed several hundred whites would attend the high school when it opens Sept. 8 in spite of the Negro pupils, and that enrollment would build up from then on.

25 or 30 die-hard extremists are meeting privately every Monday night, comparable to a WCC, but not much violence in the air. Most vicious influence is the Northern Virginia Daily.

General sentiment has improved. Recent Little Rock developments helped. The Baptist congregation which last year voted 2 to 1 to offer church premises for private school classes, yesterday refused to do so by a vote of 107 to 86. The Methodists took similar action.

The new principal of the high school, Robert A. Wood, Bromfield described as "forceful" and "splendid."

Another court hearing Thursday and a meeting of the private school group Thursday night to decide whether or not to stay in business.

Some talk of a business men's manifesto. I urged Bromfield to push this, telling him about Little Rock and recalling the statements issued by business men in Norfolk. He said something might happen within the next few days.

I am spending tomorrow in Norfolk, Brewbaker lunching with me.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

September 3, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Subject to your approval, and the other necessary ratifications, I have engaged J.J. Brewbaker as a part-time consultant under the Southern Leadership Project, beginning July 1, 1960. Mr. Brewbaker's retirement as Superintendent of Schools of Norfolk will take effect June 30, 1960.

Mr. Brewbaker understands that his travel expenses, as well as any cost for necessary office equipment and supplies will be paid by us, and that he will receive an honorarium of $50 per day for the time devoted to this work. This honorarium will apply both to time spent "on the road" and to time employed in any necessary work at home. Telephone charges and any other incidental expenses are also to be met by us.

It was understood in a general way that Mr. Brewbaker would give from one-third to one-half of his time to this work. He does not expect to undertake any other employment.

Mr. Brewbaker was born in Boutetourt County, Virginia, on June 6, 1895, and has resided only in this state. With the exception of four years of employment in a bank in Buchanan County, his entire career has been devoted to teaching and public school administration. He has been with Norfolk public schools for 32 years. Beginning with 10 years as a school principal, he was later Assistant Superintendent and has been Superintendent for the past 12 years.

Mr. Brewbaker is in vigorous health, has never known what it was to be "sick."

Allergic to flying, he will travel by train and auto.

My rather intimate friends at the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot confirmed my high opinion of Mr. Brewbaker.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

September 4, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I will appreciate your seeing that L Reports are sent to the editors listed below.

These, in the first group, are possibly already on the list. In cases where they are not, please begin with L1 and send subsequent reports from L6 on:

Mr. Nelson Poynter
Editor and President ~~and Editor~~
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mr. C. A. McKnight
Editor
Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, N.C.

Mr. Hugh B. Patterson, Jr.
Publisher
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Editor
Tampa Tribune
Tampa, Florida

Mr. Coleman Harwell
Editor
Nashville Tennesseean
Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Don Shoemaker
Editor
Miami Herald
Miami, Fla.

Mr. William C. Baggs
Editor
Miami News
Miami, Fla.

Jonathan Daniels
Editor
News and Observer
Raleigh, N.C.

The following should receive all L Reports, beginning with L1:

Mr. Lenoir Chambers
Editor
Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, Va.

Mr. Creed C. Black
Executive Editor
Savannah Morning News
Savannah, Georgia

I will appreciate it if a note can be attached to the first reports going to one of these addresses to this effect: "The attached reports are sent to you with the compliments of Benjamin Muse. Your name has been placed on the list to receive further reports in this series as they are issued."

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 5, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

Dear Harold:

I am working on a comprehensive report, which you will receive in preliminary form not later than September 21. My personal plan offers a less difficult drafting job.

I find that in the first five months I spent 44 days "on the road." I have also found that in the case of the shorter trips an approximately equal amount of time is spent in arranging schedule and briefing before each trip and in reporting and other incidental correspondence after my return. In the case of a longer period of consultation, with travel by auto, the before-and-after work is somewhat less. The work of consultation took approximately 80 days.

In addition, considerable time was spent in miscellaneous correspondence, in outlining or editing L-Reports, and one pamphlet, and in continuing study of our problem throughout the South.

Counting 22 working days to a month, or 110 days to five months, I calculate that I have devoted four-fifths of my time to the project.

The mathematical puzzle is explained by the fact that I have worked every Saturday and have often traveled on Sunday. My Washington Post column has been done on balance, and generally in fact, at night.

I expect to continue to allot about the same amount of time to the project. I assume that writing a new column for the Washington Post, as you kindly suggested can be blended with SRC work. I believe, therefore, it would be correct to consider this four-fifths of my time during the coming year.

I hope to separate myself gradually from the printing business and may do so entirely within a year. In this event, however, I would like to remain on a four-fifths time basis -- and slacken the pace.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Little Rock, Arkansas

115 West Sixth St. Franklin 4-4871

September 2, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Flattery will get you somewhere!

Seriously, I believe that because of my experience here that I have a responsibility to go wherever called upon in the South in order that I might be of service. The fact that you offer expenses and a mild honorarium would assist in helping me be more flexible.

I am at your service.

Regards,

Boyd

BR:ptp

Hotel PATTEN
CHATTANOOGA · TENNESSEE

September 7, 1959

Dear John,

Please add to L-Report mailing list, and send all L Reports to date to:

Mr. Seamus Shavin
334 North Crest Road,
Chattanooga 11, Tenn.

Thanks. I shall report in detail regarding the Shavins, etc later.

Best regards.

Sincerely,
Ben Mus

Cat. 8

submitted to file 10-9-59

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

September 11,1959

Mr.Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED SEP 14 1959

Dear Harold:

Here is my report. I am most anxious to know if it meets with your approval, or wherein it is out of line.

Having gotten it into less than four pages, it may be appropriate to read it to the executive committee, and distribute copies before or afterward, as you think best. I would like to know your wishes as to procedure.

I hope I can elicit some comment and advice from executive committee members.

I plan to travel the week of September 21, on a Knoxville-Chattanooga-Atlanta circuit--provided I can make connections with Brooks Hays in Knoxvile.

I thought of driving over to Atlanta from Chattanooga Friday morning, September 25, if I can have a talk with you that afternoon. I don't believe you will have much time for a talk over the week-end of the executive committe meeting.

After the executive committee meeting, I am thinking of flying to New Orleans. If you have any suggestions with regard to any of these places, I would like to have them.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

P.S. I could also reverse my travel schedule and see you in Atlanta on the 25th

September 1, 1959

THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT - AFTER FIVE MONTHS

The undertaking which we call the Southern Leadership Project was described in the original proposal to the Rockfeller Brothers Fund, on December 13, 1957, as "an intensive and systematic program aimed at 'moderate' leadership," and as "a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership in achieving orderly desegregation of public facilities."

In a subsequent letter, addressed to the Fund last April, the Council observed: "Business and industrial leaders, in their quiet and reluctant fashion, are increasingly spurred by the prospect of economic damage to make their influence felt." The Council noted that recent developments had made it increasingly important to emphasize the economic penalties of school uncertainty and public disorder, particularly the deterrent effect upon industrial prospects of actual, or threatened, closing of public schools.

Meanwhile, the Council did not, of course, imply "that advocacy of desegregation on moral or democratic grounds is useless or should be abandoned."

The Council stressed the importance of personal consultation, and it set forth certain proposed techniques, some of which were no doubt expected to be modified or discarded with changing situations, in the process of trial and error and upon knowledge gained from actual contact with Southern leaders. The pattern of method and emphasis needed also to be adapted in some degree to the background and personality of the individual directing the project.

In the spirit and within the broad framework of the objectives set up by the Council, after five months of identification with the project, I have come to view it and its possibilities in the following terms:

Editors, public-spirited business and professional men, school administrators, public officials, politicians and others who already are working for orderly adjustment can be helped with information on the experience of other communities and states and with other data which the Council can supply.

This service is rendered continually both by correspondence and by personal visit. A notable instance was the considerable time spent last spring in bringing to the Governor of Florida and

his official staff information on the experience of Virginia to help in thwarting segregationist attempts in the recent session of the Florida legislature. Assistance has also been given in a variety of ways to organizations in Virginia and Georgia fighting for the preservation of public schools.

Together with assistance in the form of information and advice, moderate leaders who are taking risks and persevering against odds in the good cause can be comforted and strengthened by a friendly visit. Here the work, in a wider and more varied field, resembles that which Paul Rilling is doing so ably among the Councils on Human Relations. It is a work to be carried on in matter-of-fact, often jovial, fashion, less by exhortation than by inference and by sheer companionship, but I consider it a function and a challenge of the first order. Modestly approached, it is in the spirit of the poet's ideal, to --

> "... move through the ranks, recall
> "The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
> "Praise, re-inspire the brave!"

The project of necessity is largely a matter of "playing by ear." It may be estimated, however, that the director should spend approximately one half of his time in travel and in visiting influential leaders in Southern Communities. In five months, during which I had undertaken to give three-fifths of my time to the project, I find that I have spent 44 days away from base. Some of this time was spent in consultation with the Council staff in Atlanta, and the travel period included several Sundays.

However, visits were made to, and conversations were reported with, 48 leaders, who may be classified as follows: 15 editors, 14 business men, 6 school officials, and 13 other public officials, including two state governors, the Virginia state attorney general and the mayor of Atlanta. Some of these leaders were visited several times. There were also half a dozen group discussions, in which reporters, professors, ministers and professional men took part.

Supplementing this personal contact, a series of reports is distributed regularly to several thousand addresses in the categories mentioned above. All of the research and publication services of the Council are available when needed by this project, but the mimeographed "L Reports," in handy form for a business file, are especially designed as an auxiliary to it.

Approximately one half of the director's time needs to be spent in planning for trips and briefing himself on the situation in the areas to be visited, in reporting after each trip, in suggesting material for L Reports, in some cases, editing these reports, in miscellaneous correspondence incident to the project and in a continuing study of the desegregation problem in the South.

Both in conversation and in published report, we have found it most effective to stress the following points:

1) the demonstrated futility of "massive resistance;"

2) the damaging economic effects of uncertainty, disorder and school closing;

3) the impracticability of using segregated private schools as a substitute for desegregated public schools; and

4) the harmlessness of school desegregation and the ease with which it has been accomplished in many communities.

It has been found important at the same time to correct, or combat, some of the widespread misconceptions and distortions of fact, with reference particularly to:

1) the alleged "mess" in the Washington, D. C., public schools;

2) the innate ability of Negro pupils; and

3) inter-racial marriage in desegregated school districts.

Conversations with deeply interested individuals sometimes develop into long discussions of many aspects of the race problem. At such times it is helpful to draw attention to notable examples of Negro excellence and to the dramatic burgeoning of Negro talent and achievement which we are witnessing today on the national scene.

Practical economic considerations appear to be the most effective at the present stage in drawing the attention of business leaders to the advantages of orderly compliance with the desegregation ruling. The project is business-like in its approach.

But it would be a mistake to assume that the business man is not concerned with the moral question. Too often on this issue the busy executive is not convinced that a moral principle is involved. But he is happiest when good business and righteousness coincide. Scratch beneath the surface of a Southern business leader and one is likely to find both a patriot and a humanitarian.

In the Council's original proposal it was concerned with the need for consultation between school administrators anticipating desegregation steps and others who have had experience in desegregation. We have found a way to meet this need by engaging the services of a school superintendent with experience in desegregation as a part-time consultant beginning next July. We believe this will be a most important activity during the crucial summer

months of 1960 and thereafter as desegregation is undertaken in an increasing number of Southern communities.

In the business field, we have arranged to make some use of the services of an admirable consultant in Mr. Boyd Ridgeway, executive manager of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Ridgeway has agreed, whenever called upon, to visit business and chamber of commerce leaders elsewhere in the South and tell them of the Little Rock experience and the remarkable achievement of the Little Rock chamber in helping to restore stability to that city.

In tentatively undertaking this project, my chief doubt was as to the possibility of reaching the ear of leaders over wide areas of the South. I was uncertain as to the willingness of such individuals to discuss this subject freely, and even of my ability to gain access to them. After five months my doubts on this score have been removed.

I have been helped in this respect by members of our own group and other friends, and my own political and journalistic background have been of some assistance. Often, however, even without these aids, I have found it possible, as a stranger, to make appointments with influential leaders and to engage in cordial and earnest talks with them.

Beginning, as I have been doing, generally in more congenial quarters, I intend increasingly to visit Southern leaders whose attitude is one of resistance to desegregation, but who are hospitable to new information and rational discussion.

I believe the project offers a promising opportunity for service to the cause, which will increase progressively as more and more contacts and friendships are established in more and more sections of the South.

Respectfully submitted,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 15, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here is a very tentative schedule of my possible travel during the remaining nine months of the project's fiscal year. This will undoubtedly undergo many changes, but the general picture may be a help to us both from several points of view.

Month	Proposed Travel	Days	Estimated Travel Expense
September, 1959	Knoxville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, etc. (auto)	7	$ 200.00
	Intra-Virginia (auto)	2	35.00
October, 1959	Atlanta, New Orleans (plane)	6	210.00
	Intra-Virginia (auto)	2	40.00
November, 1959	Augusta, Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, Atlanta (auto)	10	280.00
December, 1959	Dallas-Houston (plane)	6	280.00
	Intra-Virginia (auto)	4	80.00
January, 1960	Greensboro, Columbia, Savannah, Macon, Atlanta, Greenville, Spartanburg (auto)	10	300.00
	Intra-Virginia (auto)	4	80.00
February, 1960	Atlanta, Montgomery, Mobile, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Jackson, Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, Knoxville (auto)	20	500.00
March, 1960	Shreveport, Memphis, Little Rock (plane)	6	280.00
	Intra-Virginia (auto)	2	40.00
April, 1960	Nashville (plane)	4	140.00
	Intra-Virginia (auto)	2	40.00
May, 1960	Atlanta, Gadsden (Ala.), Montgomery, Columbus (Ga.), Columbia (S.C.) (auto)	10	280.00
			$ 2785.00

To help me get an idea of the status of the fund, I would like to have the figures for July and August disbursements, and the balance on September 1. Thanks

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIV SEP 21 1959

Dear Harold,

My latest schedule is to see you, not Wednesday as I phoned you, but Tuesday, as I shall do the trip by airline.

My original plan was to go by auto and make some calls in western Virginia on the way to Knoxville, leaving the long ride back from Atlanta for Saturday-Sunday.

However, my appointment with Brooks Hays for Friday afternoon in Knoxville and the desirability of spending a little more time with Galen Martin makes a quite different schedule advisable. I have decided on an airplane trip -- simply Atlanta-Chattanooga-Knoxville.

I am reserving flight to Atlanta for Monday evening, and will see you Tuesday morning. (If by any chance you should plan to be away Tuesday, please call me here Monday morning and I will make another change.)

I have a speaking engagement in Arlington Sunday evening.

I had a nice talk with Brooks Hays yesterday, and we both want to resume next Friday -- after he has "given the matter some thought."

Looking forward to our meeting Tuesday.

Sincerely,

Ben

September 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

I have just talked with Betty Harris at HOPE.

She feels that the Lightsey pamplet will be useful with their leaders and potential leaders here in Atlanta and elsewhere in the State. For the time being at any rate, she feels that 100 copies would be enough, with the understanding that more copies will probably be available later if needed.

Betty also informed me that the HOPE committee has decided to go ahead with plans for Boyd Ridgeway and Everett Tucker. They intend to stage an open, or public, meeting of the HOPE executive committee sometime during the first week of November, with the Little Rockians as guest speakers. They also hope to arrange some private conferences with appropriate Atlanta business and political leaders.

They are proceeding on the assumption that we will bear the cost of this "consultation." So I should think you might feel free to communicate with Ridgeway about it, if you wish to.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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MRS. HILDA GERIS
Office Manager

September 11,1959

Mr.Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED SEP 14 1959

Dear Harold:

We will be ready to ship "Organizing to Save Public Schools" next Tuesday. The bill--2,000 copies, 24 pages and cover--will be $300.00.

We shall send about 200 copies first to 63 Auburn Ave., and 50 copies to the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

It might be a good idea to ship 500 or more copies direct to HOPE. Please advise if we should do this, and give me the HOPE address.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 28, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 29 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for two letters of September 24, and particularly for your very kind references to my report and my work.

The sparing use which HOPE intends to make of "Organizing to Save Public Schools" will make it possible for me to release more copies to the Virginia Committee, which wants at least 1,000. I am not sure from your letter if you are letting HOPE have 100 from your supply. In any case I would be glad if you would do that, as I haven't the address. I will keep at least 500 in reserve for the present.

My business in Knoxville proved different from what I anticipated, but very encouraging. I missed Brooks Hays -- detained in Washington -- and Galen Martin is far away indeed from any situation in which a Ridgeway visit could be considered. He said he didn't mean the suggestion seriously for the present.

However, I had a full and useful schedule in Knoxville and made a little approach to the power structure.

I have the feeling of having left unfinished business in both Chattanooga and Knoxville, and I plan to return there next week after our executive committee meeting.

Detailed reports on my visits to those two cities may be delayed a day or two as I am in bed today with a cold.

The Committee for Public Schools board meeting in Richmond all day Saturday (about 16 present) was valuable to me in the reports on desegregation, etc., in various sections of the state. The committee has a balance of $158, all bills paid, and is planning an energetic campaign with a view to the session of the Legislature opening in January.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

SRC COPY

September 28, 1959

Mr. Boyd Ridgeway
Executive Manager
Little Rock Chamber of Commerce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Boyd:

I understand that HOPE has been in touch with you and Everett Tucker with a view to having you both visit Atlanta early in November.

I hope this will materialize. Whether one or both of you make the trip, the expenses, as we have informed HOPE, will be borne by us on the basis indicated in my letter of August 31.

I understand that you made an earlier trip to Dallas for similar consultation. Is this correct, and have you visited any other Southern cities for this purpose? I have in mind suggesting this in Dallas or Houston when I go there.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

SRC

COPY

September 28, 1959

Mr. Everett Tucker, Jr.
115 West Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Harold: I am getting 3 more copies, which is all they have, from CBS.

Dear Mr. Tucker:

Thanks indeed for sending me this stenographic recording of your appearance on "Face the Nation."

I noted your reference at the conclusion of that program to the desirability of establishing a "clearing house of experience."

In the absence of a formal clearing house, which would be difficult to arrange at this stage, my own object, in a modest way, is to serve a similar purpose.

In the case of my visit to Little Rock the experience was mainly one of instruction for me. I sensed that the situation was in admirable hands, and that Little Rock had had too many "consultants" already.

However, I find that school people, and others, in a number of cities are glad to have me tell them about the experience of Little Rock, Virginia, North Carolina, etc., and to counsel with them.

It is in that connection that I intend to make use of -- unabridged -- copies of this "Face the Nation" transcript. I assume that you will have no objection.

I think it is important to draw attention to the economic penalties of school-closing and disorder, but I am constantly impressed with the concern of Southern business leaders with the public welfare in a broader sense.

I am happy over Little Rock. The recovery there has perceptibly changed the whole climate in the South.

I hope I may be able to get to Little Rock again soon. I would like very much to shake your hand!

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

EVERETT TUCKER, JR.
115 West Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

September 21, 1959

Dear Mr. Muse:

It was nice to hear from you again and I have been wondering when your travels might bring you back to Little Rock.

I don't happen to have a transcript of my appearance on the "Dave Garroway Show", but a couple of days prior to this appearance, I was on the "Face the Nation Show" from Washington, and the CBS people were good enough to send me a stenographic recording of the entire show. Actually, I think this would be much nearer what you want than would have been a transcript of the Garroway appearance, as the Face the Nation performance went into a great deal more detail.

I do have an extra copy and I am happy to enclose it herewith. In whatever use you may plan to make of this material, let me caution you not to over emphasize the economic factors as causative agents in our determination to accept token integration in lieu of closed schools. Certainly in my own case, at least, this was a very important reason, but because of my position and some notoriety attached to it, it has been made to appear in some quarters — particularly the Deep South — that we compromised our principles here at Little Rock for a few lousy bucks.

I am not trying to minimize the part that economics played in the over-all picture, but it would be a mistake to conclude that this was the primary cause of our purported capitulation. As you well know, there are more and equally compelling reasons why Little Rock felt that it could no longer tolerate the situation which existed last year.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Everett Tucker, Jr.

ET:h

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Called Muse
10/13/59

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

October 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 12 1959

Dear Harold:

Brooks Hays, Adlai Stevenson and others, including Channing Tobias, conferred recently with representatives of the Field Foundation on the question of how the foundation can "spend some money" to promote orderly adjustment to the desegregation ruling in the South.

Mr. Hays was asked to come up with a project. He has no definite ideas, and in a talk in Knoxville Friday, he passed the task to me. He says the matter is urgent, wants me to give it priority and submit a plan as soon as possible.

My off-the-cuff suggestion -- which Mr. Hays liked (off the cuff) -- was a project to inform, advise and stimulate the Southern clergy on this issue.

On the research side it contemplates reviewing the experience of Southern ministers, with particular reference to their help in the actual initiation of school desegregation programs in Southern and border states. Statements issued by the clergy in various Southern communities should also be compiled.

A clergyman or team of clergymen should visit one minister after another across the South. A central office should keep up a correspondence with Southern ministers and serve as a clearing house of useful information.

I shall suggest that the project tie in with both the SRC and the Federal Council of Churches.

I plan to put my proposal in the mail (to Brooks Hays) Tuesday afternoon, which will give me time to get your comment, or a better suggestion from you, by phone.

I am in bed today, hoping to shake off the lingering cold which lowered my efficiency during the week -- although I hit the high spots, as I shall report in due course.

Regards.

Ben

RECEIVED OCT 15 1959

CONFIDENTIAL

C O P Y

October 14, 1959

Hon. Brooks Hays
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hays:

Complying with your request for a suggestion for promoting orderly adjustment to the desegregation ruling with the use of funds available from the Field Foundation, I submit the following, at least some part of which may be helpful to you:

I suggest a project to inform, help and encourage the Southern clergy in its witness for the truth and its appeal for Christian procedure in this field.

When I say "Southern clergy" here, I mean the Protestant clergy of the South. Because of administrative and other differences, and because they are relatively few in number in most Southern states, I would exclude Catholic (and also Jewish) clergymen from this purview -- except in that their cooperation would be invited.

Many have felt from the beginning that this is a job for the preachers more than any other group. Theirs surely is the greatest potential influence in conditioning the public for this historic change. The extent to which this influence has been exerted has been a disappointment to some. But I think those who lightly criticize the Southern clergy little understand the magnitude and complexity of the problem.

I have been very closely associated with many Protestant ministers in my work in this connection, and I have conceived a high admiration for them. Some are of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs and saints are made. Many others, though deeply troubled, have felt obliged, for the sake of the stability, or even the survival, of their churches, to remain silent on this issue. I know something of the inner struggle of these fine men, and I have deep sympathy for them.

The ministers who openly preach racial intolerance and defiance of the law, though conspicuous, are so few in number that they may be regarded as the inevitable exception to the rule.

With all this you are more familiar than I am. I merely wish to point out that, in making this proposal, I am conscious of the infinite delicacy of the problem from the clergyman's point of view.

I believe a service can be rendered without intrusion upon the individual minister's concept of the moral implications of segregation. My proposal would seek to help rather than to exhort. If it should have an exhortatory flavor, it would be only where the clear and immediate issue is one of law and order as opposed to violence, or one of uninterrupted public education versus school-closing. In such situations, I think, there would be no embarrassment in asking the clergy to make its influence felt.

Where desegregation is definitely scheduled and impending, clergymen may well be urged to prepare their congregations to accept it like good citizens and in a Christian spirit. In these situations the role of the churches can be tremendous, sometimes decisive. School authorities in some of the border state communities, such as St. Louis and Louisville, testify to the great contribution of the churches to the success of desegregation there. In the desegregation operations in the more difficult communities of Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee, individual clergymen and churches have played a very helpful part.

School boards are sensitive to the attitude of the ministers and feel a certain dependence upon them. As you know, I have talked with school administrators and school board members in a number of Southern communities. There is a feeling among many of these that this is basically a job for the churches, that the school boards cannot move until the ministers prepare the way.

I have heard such remarks as these from school board members: "In the past six weeks we have had visits from both Ku Klux Klan and White Citizen Council members. We get many communications from them. We haven't heard from a white preacher in two years. ...If we were sure the preachers would back us up, we might go ahead."

In one instance that I know of, I am personally confident that a positive assurance of support from the local ministerial association would be sufficient to tip the balance in a school board in favor of proceeding with a gradual program of desegregation.

Of course, there is already activity of the kind which I am suggesting. Individual ministers or commissions are engaged in such work in various denominations. They are laboring in a spirit of dedication with the limited funds available to them. But there is nothing like the large scale operation which the situation calls for.

The political atmosphere in the South has improved during the past year. The number of responsible leaders who recognize the inevitability of adjustment to the desegregation ruling has notably increased; the defiant "Never" is less often and less vociferously voiced. There has been a certain unmistakable swing of sentiment toward law and order and toward the preservation of public schools. In a wide area of the formerly resisting South the long, painful process of adjustment has at last gotten under way.

We are entering a stage where the influence of the Christian churches is supremely important. At the same time there is reason to believe that the risk of provoking dissension and criticism by positive action on the part of religious leaders has lessened.

The abortive attempts to substitute segregated private schools for desegregated public schools have been beneficial in one important respect. They have pointed up the alternatives, and made the issue in many sections one of law and order and public schools. They have relieved moderate citizens in many sections from the necessity of arguing the question of segregation itself, and have given a new opportunity and new courage to responsible leaders in politics and to moderate voices in the Southern press. Even more fervently cautious clergymen should hail the opportunity now to advance the cause merely by preaching abhorrence of violence and respect for lawful authority -- and by insisting upon uninterrupted public education.

The Southern states were never in greater need of positive help from their religious leaders. From the standpoint of all those who are anxious to see the South rise out of the present morass and move forward to its great destiny within the framework of Constitution and law, some plan for helping Southern clergymen to meet the challenge on a broad front is the most imperative of all present needs.

How to do it, and how to bring the resources of the Field Foundation to bear in this endeavor are questions which it is not easy to answer. I have not a confident answer as to the mechanics of procedure, but I believe the answer can be found.

I would begin with a "project" and a director.

Then certain definitely desirable research undertakings suggest themselves. Whether a regular research office should be established or whether individuals should be commissioned to undertake specific assignments, certain studies should be made and certain material should be assembled for publication.

There is a particular need for case studies of the part played by churches and clergymen in a variety of situations in school districts in Southern and border states where desegregation has already been accomplished. (As a matter of fact I am informed that a group of competent authors at Emory University are planning such a work and are in need of financial help.)

Another useful aid would be a compilation of the official statements on desegregation of the associations and conferences of each major denomination and of the National Council of Churches, together with a compilation of the statements made by inter-denominational ministerial associations, etc., in Richmond, Atlanta and many other Southern cities.

This research activity would be helpful standing alone, even if the remainder of my proposal should be found impracticable. But the greatest need is for personal contact with individual clergymen.

Traveling representatives, themselves clergymen, should visit as many Southern ministers as possible. To each these visitors would bring news of ministers in other sections, of their troubles and how they are dealing with this problem. When requested they could offer advice and any of a variety of available information which might be desired. Apart from either advice or information, in many sections this fellowship, the mere handshake of an understanding colleague, could mean much.

If all clergymen were of one denomination, and if we were building "from scratch," it would be relatively simple to set up an organization for this purpose. But, of course, we start from neither of these premises. We have to deal with

many denominations, and most of them have small, under-financed agencies already at work in this field. It probably would be necessary to work through reinforced and expanded denominational agencies rather than through one overall organization.

The director of this project, whose appointment would be the first step, should survey the agencies within the various denominations which are directly concerned with this problem, and learn the extent of their present activities and their immediate financial needs. He should discuss ways of expanding these activities and adding to their personnel. He should proceed judiciously to allocate funds to meet evident needs, while requesting, or himself preparing, estimates of the cost of bringing the activities of each agency within its denomination up to the level contemplated by this project.

This is only a tentative outline of a project which would take definite shape only after the director's initial surveys should be made. A more accurate estimate of cost could be made at that time. However, to give the director scope in planning and organization, I would suggest that $40,000 be allocated for the first year, with the understanding that twice that amount would be available during the second year.

I would like to emphasize the fact that my suggestions as to practical details are most tentative. They are offered only as a basis for discussion among persons better qualified than I am. The director might have to build his own project. My recommendation is only that a systematic effort be made through the generosity of the Field Foundation to bring the influence of Christian ministers fully to bear in the South's great crisis.

The Southern Regional Council, with its long experience and unique resources in this field, would be glad to give information, advice and help to those who may undertake to develop the project suggested above. For my part I will be happy to discuss this further with you and help in any way in which I can be of service.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

October 16, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Last week, while in New York, Harold received requests for 150 copies of the Lightsey report from:

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York, New York
(25 copies)

and

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
165 E. 56th Street
New York 22, New York
(125 copies)

If you have this number of copies available, or portions thereof, would you send them on? Labels are enclosed for that purpose.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 2.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

PA - If you have time, will you give some thought to text of this?

October 17, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

At the officially correct time, as we planned earlier, I would appreciate it if some announcement of my assignment to this project might be sent to each member of the council and to presidents and executive directors of state Councils on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Ben

Copy

RECEIVED OCT 20 1959

October 19, 1959

Hon. Ellis Arnall
Fulton Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Arnall:

I am taking the liberty of forwarding under separate cover a fat brochure put together by the Women's Emergency Committee of Little Rock and entitled "Little Rock Story."

This is, of course, a propaganda job, but I am sure it is factually accurate. I believe you will find it interesting to glance through and, possibly in some part useful.

I appreciated your letter of October 6. I shall indeed telephone you when I head for Atlanta again and seek an opportunity to confer with you.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

October 19, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Pursuant to your letter of October 16, 1959, we are forwarding "Organizing to Save Public Schools" as follows:

125 copies to Mr. Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service, 165 E. 56th Street, New York 22, New York

25 copies to Mr. George K. Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Desey Street, New York, New York.

We just received a check for $2.00 and order for 20 copies from Nat Griswold, executive director, Arkansas CHR. We are forwarding 20 copies to him and returning check.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

October 20, 1959

Chattanooga

Cat. 8

All L Reports except #8 and #9.

No. 1 should be sent alone first. Then 2 reports at a time with weekly intervals.

submitted 10-22-59

Mr. Harry J. Bolwell
1115 North Palisades Drive
Signal Mountain, Tennessee

Mr. Glenn W. Ellis
104 Pinehurst Avenue
Chattanooga 11, Tennessee

Begin

Mr. R. G. Fitzell
715 Oxford Road
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Mr. Lowell H. Greene
East Brow Road
Signal Mountain, Tennessee

Mr. DeSales Harrison
101 East Brow Road
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee

Mr. Joseph G. King
726 Old Dallas Road
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Mr. Joseph H. Lane
202 West Watkins
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee

Mr. Everett T. Murphy
102 Windmere Drive
Chattanooga 11, Tennessee

Mr. Carter Parham
412 East Brow Road
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee

Mr. Harry R. White
108 Dale Way
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee

Mr. Philip E. Worth
312 Williams Drive
Chattanooga 11, Tennessee

Mr. Sam I. Yarnell
1816 Hixson Pike
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Mr. Raymond Witt
Volunteer Bldg.
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Add to list, but send all previous L Reports in 1 package:

Submitted to Phil 10-22-59

Mr. Kenneth B. Piper
1119 Concord St.
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

OK as per

L Reports no doubt have already gone to the address below, which I sent you from Chattanooga. It is included only for the record:

Mr. Seamur Shavin
334 North Crest Road
Chattanooga 11, Tennessee

Reports mailed
already on stencil list

Received L-12 950

All back reports mailed

October 21, 1959

ADDITIONS TO L REPORT MAILING LIST

Please begin by sending L1 alone to each address. Then catch up by sending the earlier L Reports two at a time at intervals of a week or so.

submitted 10-22-59 -L1
" 11-10-59 -L2 & 3

#8 Contacts

Honorable Sid McMath
National Old Line Insurance Co. Bldg.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Granger Williams
National Old Line Ins. Co. Bldg.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Linton Allen
President
First National Bank of Orlando
Orlando, Florida

Hon. LeRoy Collins
Governor of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Mr. J. W. Flannagan
Vice-President
Florida Power Corp.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mr. Cody Fowler
Citizens' Building
Tampa, Florida

Hon. William B. Killian
Legal Assistant
Office of the Governor
Tallahassee, Florida

Mr. W. H. Muse
113 Live Oak St.
Beaufort, N.C.

Mr. Thomas Boushall
President
Bank of Virginia
Richmond, Va.

Hon. Horace Edwards
City Manager
City Hall
Richmond, Virginia

State Senator Edward L. Breeden, Jr.
Bank of Commerce Building
Norfolk, Va.

#10 Federal Gov't Agencies and Members of Congress

Hon. Brooks Hays
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

10-22-59 L1
11-10-59 L2 & 3
11-20-59 L4 & 5 submitted
12-8-59 L6 & 7
12-10-59 L8 & 9 stopped
to be mailed next week L10 & 11 & 12

#9 **Mass Media**

Mr. Ormund Power [redacted]
Orlando Star
Orlando, Fla.

Mr. Creed C. Black
Executive Editor
Savannah Morning News
Savannah, Georgia

Mr. Steve Hall
City Editor
Savannah Evening Press
Savannah, Georgia

Editor
Lynchburg News
Lynchburg, Va.

Mr. Perry Morgan
Editor
Ledger-Star
Norfolk, Va.

Editor
Roanoke Times
Roanoke, Va.

Editor
Washington Daily News
Washington, D.C.

Send all L Reports to date in a package to these and enter names on regular L list: Submitted to Rhie 10/20/59

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Administration Bldg.
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Mr. Paul A. Muse
c/o Free Lance-Star
Fredericksburg, Va.

9

OK. are sent.

via air mail

October 21, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

This is to deal with several matters at once, just before I jump off to Williamsburg:

(1) Quite right about the rate of remuneration; revised check enclosed, along with another for travel. The slip-up on the former was occasioned by my failing to get the new mandate to Mrs. Alexander promptly enough.

(2) The letter to Brewbaker is fine.

(3) Thanks for letting me see the good letter from Arnall; am returning it enclosed.

(4) I will send out an announcement of your assignment to the Leadership Project as soon as I get back and can get at it. I'll probably clear it with you first.

(5) Your plans for the period just ahead make good sense. Birmingham isn't urgent and can be put on a back burner. Also, you shouldn't feel any great pressure in the case of the corporation executives; Les and Bob Thompson are working on more analysis of this whole question.

(6) I believe the best way to handle travel expenses and otherwise for Tucker and Ridgeway is through HOPE while they are here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

(Signed in Mr. Fleming's absence.)

(Checks Nos.693, 694; $51.57 & $270.61, respectively)
(Ltr. to Ben. Muse from Ellis Arnall, dtd. 10/6/59, returned)

Copy

October 20, 1959

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Administration Building
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council approval was given to the arrangement which I made with you, with one modification, or a more definite understanding in one particular.

It is understood that you will serve as a consultant on the problem of public school desegregation on a part-time basis, beginning July 1, 1960. I had talked to you casually in terms of "one-third" or "one-half" of your time.

To facilitate budgeting calculations the Executive Committee desired to fix this at up to one-third of your normal working time. I suspect that one-third time is as much as you will want to give to this work, and I trust that this understanding is satisfactory to you.

The honorarium is at $50 per day, either in travel or in necessary correspondence and planning at home. Travel expenses will be paid. When automobile is used, the rate is 8¢ per mile. Subsistence is at actual cost or $12 per day.

The Executive Committee shared my pleasure at the prospect of your rendering this service, for which you are so admirably fitted.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse
Director
Southern Leadership Project

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED OCT 20 1959

October 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I am addressing to Brewbaker, but which I will hold until I receive your comment.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

October 17, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am studying my program for the immediate future.

I have a great deal to do here to begin with. My expanding files are badly in need of organizing, there is some correspondence to be attended to; and I want to do considerable work on the L Report mailing list. There are also several trips to be made in Virginia, including one to see Brewbaker. All of this could make good use of at least ten more days.

I had considered Dallas and Houston for the next more distant destination. I am taking and clipping Dallas and Houston papers and had been making some preparation for a trip to those cities. However, none of this will be wasted by postponing the Texas trip.

You suggested a reconnaissance in Birmingham, and that idea is rather fascinating. I am quite ready for that.

John Wheeler is anxious for me to go back to Durham and visit some other places in North Carolina.

Now Paul Rilling suggests that this would be a good time for me to go to New Orleans, and he has given me a few leads there. Unless you would like for me to go to Birmingham first, I would be inclined to head for New Orleans.

There is also the proposal that I go to New York, or other points north, to talk with executives of some corporations having plants in the South. I will be glad to schedule a trip of this sort when I get further information regarding the plan.

I will keep New Orleans and Birmingham in mind for priority trips, and would be glad to have any further leads with regard to those places.

I shall be in Atlanta, of course, for the annual meeting, November 11.

Sincerely,

Ben

P.S. My daughter, Mrs. Philippa Millard, is becoming increasingly useful in scanning and clipping newspapers, looking up particular data, filing, typing and other secretarial duties.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

October 17, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I assume that someone from your office will contact Everett Tucker and Boyd Ridgeway when they come to Atlanta to arrange for their travel expenses and honoraria -- or would you like for me to write them further in this regard?

Sincerely,

Ben

October 23, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

The Leadership budget is healthy, and there's no reason why you shouldn't get a typewriter. Paul Anthony suggests that, appearance of the work being the main consideration, perhaps you should consider one of the less expensive electric models. You might want to do this if it wouldn't raise secretarial problems; the electric typewriter, as you probably know, calls for a somewhat different technique which takes a while to master.

In any case, feel free to acquire whatever machine will best suit your needs.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Adv. PA

RECEIVED OCT 21 1959

October 20, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

None of the three typewriters available to me here is of recent vintage. A new machine would speed typing a little, and it would be helpful to have some of my letters -- requests for appointments, etc. -- in clean, dignified type (probably pica).

With funds apparently available in the current RBF allocation, a new typewriter might be an appropriate capital investment for SRC.

It is not a "must" and I would not suggest it if it means any strain on finances. However, if you approve, I will look into the matter of purchasing a new Royal for about $250.

Sincerely,

Ben

October 26, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Last week at Mr. Dabbs' Williamsburg conference on "images," Francis Pickens Miller raised with me a question about the Lightsey report. He and other public school supporters in Charlottesville are unhappy over the fact that Lightsey's account didn't spell out the process of collapse of massive resistance -- "like writing a history of Gettysburg without mentioning Pickett's charge."

Col. Miller's first thought was that the pamphlet ought to be withdrawn and, if possible, a complete account substituted. After some discussion, he agreed there would be little point in withdrawing the relatively few copies of the existing report. But he did propose that a more complete review of the Virginia "switch" be done -- preferably by you. He talked at length to the group about the behind-the-scenes role of the business leaders in Charlottesville and at the famous December meeting with Almond. He would be happy to give you all the help he could and, in any case, hopes you can visit Charlottesville to pick up all the background of local developments there.

If you can make the investment of time and effort, I think you could do a very useful booklet

of this kind - not as a substitute for Lightsey's but something quite different. How do you feel about it?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- Miller also threw out the suggestion that Colgate Darden be asked to counsel with leadership in lower South states and communities.

H.C.F.

mimeographed copy of Ben Muse

"L" Report for Five Months sent to:

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Admn. Bldg.
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Va.

10/27/59
M.F.

At request of Ben Muse

September 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Here is a copy of your report and a covering memorandum which I am sending to the Executive Committee as background for the October 5 meeting.

I trust I haven't given you the impression that I am in any way dissatisfied with the report. On the contrary, it combines eloquence, brevity, and effectiveness -- as we have learned to expect of everything you write. I am only anxious that our Board members and foundation supporters not underestimate the exciting potential of the project as indicated by your achievements to date.

It was good to have you with us the other day, with ample opportunity for discussion. I am putting our agreed-upon recommendations before the Personnel Committee tomorrow.

John Popham called me last night and reported that you two had got together. It sounds as though he and Martin Ochs were helpful in putting you in touch with a few key people in Chattanooga. I hope the Knoxville visit will be equally successful.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - 1.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM September 24, 1959

To: The Executive Committee

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Re: Attached Report on SRC's Southern Leadership Project by Mr. Benjamin Muse.

At the October 5 meeting, one of the matters before you will be the terms of Mr. Muse's continuance as director of the Southern Leadership Project. From the last Annual Meeting and other meetings of the Executive Committee, you will recall discussions of this program aimed at reaching uncommitted decision-makers in the South, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Mr. Muse has prepared the attached report as a summary of the project experience to date and a basis on which to plan for the future. I pass it on to you in advance of the meeting with my heartiest endorsement. If I have any reservation at all, it is that Ben Muse has described too modestly the initial achievements and the evident promise of the project. In oral discussion and in later program reports, we will undertake to present more of the concrete evidence on which rests the staff's enthusiasm for the project and Mr. Muse's direction of it.

Meanwhile, I hope you will find time to read the attached report as background for our discussion on October 5.

:

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

September 1, 1959

THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT - AFTER FIVE MONTHS

The undertaking which we call the Southern Leadership Project was described in the original proposal to the Rockfeller Brothers Fund, on December 13, 1957, as "an intensive and systematic program aimed at 'moderate' leadership," and as "a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership in achieving orderly desegregation of public facilities."

In a subsequent letter, addressed to the Fund last April, the Council observed: "Business and industrial leaders, in their quiet and reluctant fashion, are increasingly spurred by the prospect of economic damage to make their influence felt." The Council noted that recent developments had made it increasingly important to emphasize the economic penalties of school uncertainty and public disorder, particularly the deterrent effect upon industrial prospects of actual, or threatened, closing of public schools.

Meanwhile, the Council did not, of course, imply "that advocacy of desegregation on moral or democratic grounds is useless or should be abandoned."

The Council stressed the importance of personal consultation, and it set forth certain proposed techniques, some of which were no doubt expected to be modified or discarded with changing situations, in the process of trial and error and upon knowledge gained from actual contact with Southern leaders. The pattern of method and emphasis needed also to be adapted in some degree to the background and personality of the individual directing the project.

In the spirit and within the broad framework of the objectives set up by the Council, after five months of identification with the project, I have come to view it and its possibilities in the following terms:

Editors, public-spirited business and professional men, school administrators, public officials, politicians and others who already are working for orderly adjustment can be helped with information on the experience of other communities and states and with other data which the Council can supply.

This service is rendered continually both by correspondence and by personal visit. A notable instance was the considerable time spent last spring in bringing to the Governor of Florida and

them advance a policy of compliance with the Supreme Court's school decisions.

his official staff information on the experience of Virginia to help ~~in thwarting segregationist attempts in the recent session of the Florida legislature.~~ Assistance has also been given in a variety of ways to organizations in Virginia and Georgia fighting for the preservation of public schools.

Together with assistance in the form of information and advice, moderate leaders who are taking risks and persevering against odds in the good cause can be comforted and strengthened by a friendly visit. Here the work, in a wider and more varied field, resembles that which Paul Rilling is doing so ably among the Councils on Human Relations. It is a work to be carried on in matter-of-fact, often jovial, fashion, less by exhortation than by inference and by sheer companionship, but I consider it a function and a challenge of the first order. Modestly approached, it is in the spirit of the poet's ideal, to --

> "... move through the ranks, recall
> "The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
> "Praise, re-inspire the brave!"

The project of necessity is largely a matter of "playing by ear." It may be estimated, however, that the director should spend approximately one half of his time in travel and in visiting influential leaders in Southern Communities. In five months, during which I had undertaken to give three-fifths of my time to the project, I find that I have spent 44 days away from base. Some of this time was spent in consultation with the Council staff in Atlanta, and the travel period included several Sundays.

However, visits were made to, and conversations were reported with, 48 leaders, who may be classified as follows: 15 editors, 14 business men, 6 school officials, and 13 other public officials, including two state governors, the Virginia state attorney general and the mayor of Atlanta. Some of these leaders were visited several times. There were also half a dozen group discussions, in which reporters, professors, ministers and professional men took part.

Supplementing this personal contact, a series of reports is distributed regularly to several thousand addresses in the categories mentioned above. All of the research and publication services of the Council are available when needed by this project, but the mimeographed "L Reports," in handy form for a business file, are especially designed as an auxiliary to it.

Approximately one half of the director's time needs to be spent in planning for trips and briefing himself on the situation in the areas to be visited, in reporting after each trip, in suggesting material for L Reports, in some cases, editing these reports, in miscellaneous correspondence incident to the project and in a continuing study of the desegregation problem in the South.

Both in conversation and in published report, we have found it most effective to stress the following points:

1) the demonstrated futility of "massive resistance;"

2) the damaging economic effects of uncertainty, disorder and school closing;

3) the impracticability of using segregated private schools as a substitute for desegregated public schools; and

4) the harmlessness of school desegregation and the ease with which it has been accomplished in many communities.

It has been found important at the same time to correct, or combat, some of the widespread misconceptions and distortions of fact, with reference particularly to:

1) the alleged "mess" in the Washington, D. C., public schools;

2) the innate ability of Negro pupils; and

3) inter-racial marriages in desegregated school districts.

Conversations with deeply interested individuals sometimes develop into long discussions of many aspects of the race problem. At such times it is helpful to draw attention to notable examples of Negro excellence and to the dramatic burgeoning of Negro talent and achievement which we are witnessing today on the national scene.

Practical economic considerations appear to be the most effective at the present stage in drawing the attention of business leaders to the advantages of orderly compliance with the desegregation ruling. The project is business-like in its approach.

But it would be a mistake to assume that the business man is not concerned with the moral question. Too often on this issue the busy executive is not convinced that a moral principle is involved. But he is happiest when good business and righteousness coincide. Scratch beneath the surface of a Southern business leader and one is likely to find both a patriot and a humanitarian.

In the Council's original proposal it was concerned with the need for consultation between school administrators anticipating desegregation steps and others who have had experience in desegregation. We have found a way to meet this need by engaging the services of a school superintendent with experience in desegregation as a part-time consultant beginning next July. We believe this will be a most important activity during the crucial summer

months of 1960 and thereafter as desegregation is undertaken in an increasing number of Southern communities.

In the business field, we have arranged to make some use of the services of an admirable consultant in Mr. Boyd Ridgeway, executive manager of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Ridgeway has agreed, whenever called upon, to visit business and chamber of commerce leaders elsewhere in the South and tell them of the Little Rock experience and the remarkable achievement of the Little Rock chamber in helping to restore stability to that city.

In tentatively undertaking this project, my chief doubt was as to the possibility of reaching the ear of leaders over wide areas of the South. I was uncertain as to the willingness of such individuals to discuss this subject freely, and even of my ability to gain access to them. After five months my doubts on this score have been removed.

I have been helped in this respect by members of our own group and other friends, and my own political and journalistic background have been of some assistance. Often, however, even without these aids, I have found it possible, as a stranger, to make appointments with influential leaders and to engage in cordial and earnest talks with them.

Beginning, as I have been doing, generally in more congenial quarters, I intend increasingly to visit Southern leaders whose attitude is one of resistance to desegregation, but who are hospitable to new information and rational discussion.

I believe the project offers a promising opportunity for service to the cause, which will increase progressively as more and more contacts and friendships are established in more and more sections of the South.

Respectfully submitted,

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

October 28, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I learned a few hours ago of the death this morning of a brother, and I am driving down this afternoon to attend the funeral tomorrow in Durham. Heart attack. He was fine until last Saturday.

Your letter of the 26th raises questions seriously affecting my plans and way of life for coming months. However, I have written several letters and am more or less committed to a traveling schedule until our board meeting November 11.

I shall fly to New Orleans Sunday evening, November 1, and stay there at least through Thursday, November 5. You can communicate with me at the Dinkler-St. Charles.

The news that Francis Pickens Miller will join our council is tremendous. If he is ready to throw himself into this movement, as apparently he is, he will be a powerful reinforcement.

Colgate Darden charts his own course, and is not easily moved by "asking". I urged him repeatedly to speak out more positively in the Virginia crisis. However, a visit to him is overdue. He is incidentally an intimate friend of Brooks Hays. (He organized the Brooks Hays testimonial dinner.) Mr. Hays has talked to him about my present activity and said he was very much interested. I shall arrange a visit to him soon after my return to Virginia two weeks hence, and hope to make an ally out of him.

(I have been trying to see Harry Byrd, Jr. and Lt. Gov. Stephens. Harry is in Cuba, and Stephens was away when I drove through Smithfield last week on the way to Norfolk. I have a further cordial letter from Attorney General Harrison, to whom I sent "Little Rock Report.")

The idea of writing a review of the collapse of massive resistance in Virginia appeals to me very much. I would not like to undertake it without contemplating a major effort -- running, possibly, to 30,000 words. It would necessitate reducing my out-of-Virginia traveling this winter to a minimum. These are the considerations that occur to me now. However, I like the idea and will be very glad to write the book, if you desire me to do so.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED NOV 2 1959

October 31, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am taking off for New Orleans tomorrow with somewhat more preparation than for previous trips and with considerable help from both Phil Stern and Brooks Hays. I am warned that Mayor Morrison will be impossible to see on account of his campaign for Governor, but I have many excellent leads.

I am writing particularly to get your opinion on the desirability of sending a copy of my reports on this trip, and possibly on some future trips, to Mr. Hays -- and preparing them with this in view. Mr. Hays phoned from Knoxville with some New Orleans suggestions.

In another letter from Ellis Arnall, the latter hopes "that on your next trip to Atlanta we may have the opportunity of visiting together."

I shall try to time my visit to Atlanta for the board meeting so as to get in a good talk with him.

Sincerely,

Ben

via air mail

November 2, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

I am terribly sorry to hear of your brother's sudden death. It must have been a heavy blow to you, especially since it happened so unexpectedly.

All of your friends here at SRC join me in sending you whatever comfort our sympathy can give.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCFmf

C O P Y

SCHOOL BOARD OF THE CITY OF NORFOLK

School Administration Building
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

November 3, 1959

Mr. Benjamin J. Muse
Southern Leadership Project
Southern Regional Council
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Since I received your letter of October 20, defining in some detail the plan of my association with the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, I have received also several reports, all of which are very interesting. I shall read them as time permits and get as well informed as possible on the work of the Council and on what is expected of me.

Your interest and the expression from the Executive Committee are encouraging. I have decided that I would like to begin my association with you and the Council on July 1, 1960, as outlined in your letter.

We discussed briefly my title, the nature of my work, and the manner that my connection with the Council would be announced. In light of conditions and opinions still existing over most of the South, it seems to me that my services would be more sought after and I personally would be more acceptable to the greatest number ofpeople if we could stay away from the words, "desegregation" and "integration." Some people would be antagonistic from the beginning if they thought I was interested in desegregating the schools. I feel that the climate would be better if they felt that my services were made available for counseling in the solution or adjustment of situations arising from the recent Supreme Court Decision. In keeping with these thoughts I suggest that my title be, "Public School Consultant."

Perhaps the announcement of my association with theCouncil could be something like the following:

> "J.J. Brewbaker, Superintendent of Schools of Norfolk, Virginia, has accepted a position with the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, Atlanta, Georgia, as a Public School Consultant. Mr._____ will succeed Mr. Brewbaker as Superintendent of the Norfolk Public Schools. In his new position, Mr. Brewbaker's services are made available by the Council to superintendents of schools, school board members and other interested citizens throughout the South for counseling in the solution or adjustment of problems in public school administration, especially those problems arising from the 1954 Decision of the U.S. Supreme Court."

Probably something about my educational background and experience should be added.

Please give me your candid opinion.

Sincerely yours,

J.J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools

November 13, 1959

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Administration Bldg.
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

I have been delayed in answering your very welcome letter of November 3 owing to absence in New Orleans and Atlanta.

I think your suggestion of avoiding unnecessary use of the words, "desegregation," and, "integration," is excellent.

The reference to this problem in your proposed announcement is admirable, and quite enough. I think a sketch of your career in public education should be added.

"Public School Consultant" would seem a satisfactory title for letterheads and cards -- unless we think of something better.

I hope we can get together again sometime in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse
Director
Southern Leadership Project

Sheraton-Charles

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

November 5, 1959

Dear Harold,

Your letter expressing your sympathy and that of the group at SRC on my brother's death was deeply appreciated.

I have made my reservation to fly to Atlanta Monday evening. November 9. I have plenty to do here until then. Phil Stern's friends and others here have been both helpful and hospitable.

Looking forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely,

Ben

Atl Const. 11/5/59

Georgia Business

Challenge from Little Rock: 'Courage' Can Save Schools

By JIM MONTGOMERY

Atlanta's top business and professional leaders "will have to show the courage of open leadership" before the school crisis erupts here if they hope to prevent repetition of the disruption in public education which battered Little Rock.

Jim Montgomery

That is the intense conviction of Boyd Ridgway, executive vice president of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce.

Expressed in an interview here Wednesday, this challenging advice to Atlanta's as yet publicly mute business leadership stands as a crucial lesson pounded in by the hard knocks of experience during Little Rocks' two-year ordeal.

"The solution to our crisis in education," Ridgway declared, "came as it had to from the community leaders—the top business, professional and educational people—best represented as a group by the Chamber of Commerce.

"After nearly a year and a half of ignoring the issue, the chamber directors early this year unanimously adopted a policy which openly advocated reopening of the public schools even if this necessitates some integration.

"This paved the way for the August opening of our four high schools, closed a year earlier by gubernatorial proclamation to avoid integration."

Ridgway, here to address a meeting of HOPE, Inc., (Help Our Public Education) Wednesday night, is convinced that the "courage of open leadership—leadership that is strong and has asserted its position—had to be shown" in Little Rock as it will have to be shown here.

Asked what he thinks the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce should do, he commented:

"I think the Atlanta chamber has a responsibility to be completely informed on this issue so that it will be in a position to provide leadership.

"Preventing interruption of public education is completely dependent on the community's leaders.

"It is up to them to provide direction."

Citing economic AND cultural development as the two major responsibilities of a chamber of commerce to its members and the people in the area it serves, he said that since education is a primary part of the cultural development of any city, it is therefore a responsibility of a chamber of commerce.

He said the Little Rock chamber had to reestablish communication between members on the issue, but that once it did "we got to talking and found that the majority of us agreed that our greatest need is to keep the public schools open.

"Why, lots of fellows who had been sitting on the fence—unwilling to take a stand for fear of economic recourse—realized they could express the courage of their convictions because they wouldn't be sitting out there all alone."

Primary reason for the chamber's open school stand, Ridgway emphasized, was the damage this educational loss was inflicting on Little Rock's cultural development.

Yes, he added, it was hurting business, too, but "we were a lot more concerned about what our children were losing than about the lousy bucks we were losing."

Among the still mounting economic and cultural penalties inflicted on Little Rock by the school crisis, Ridgway listed:

1. No new industry since violence first erupted in September, 1957. An industry which located there some months earlier, planning to build a new plant to employ upwards of 1,600 local people, eventually did open and still operates a small pilot plant employing about 300 people.

2. Cancellation of plans to relocate a metal fabricating plant in Little Rock which would have provided 350 to 400 local jobs. Directors of the Midwestern company involved had to rescind their plans when the wives of personnel who were to be moved objected to going to a city which had no public high schools in operation.

(And remember, Ridgway said, the real motivation for getting new industry is to create new jobs, primarily so that rural citizens displaced by farm mechanization won't have to leave the state to make a living. We want new industry mainly to prevent such breaking of family ties, and the loss to some other state of our own investment in the education of our young people.)

3. Personnel losses—"I personally know two" of the seven doctors who moved away from Little Rock because of the school crisis; a branch plant manager was promoted to a job in another state five months ago, and his position is still open; also vacant are the positions of other executives who have been transferred or moved on account of the school troubles.

4. Schools last year lost 88 teachers, or 11 per cent of the city's total, but have been able to replace most. However, they didn't need an additional 18 teachers which they would have had difficulty obtaining, because student enrollment hasn't shown normal 5 per cent per year increase. Little Rock schools had 19,896 students enrolled in fall of 1956, the year before the crisis, only 18,950 in the fall of 1959.

5. Real estate values are reported to have declined by as much as 10 to 20 per cent in some cases, while governmental statistical reports show residential construction has been declining steadily for over a year—just the opposite of the national trend—and that building permit values this September were barely half as high as in the same month of 1958.

Ford Workers | COMPLETE MUTUAL FUNDS

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Les:

An old friend enclosed these clippings with a Christmas card. As I already have the same in a scrapbook, I am sending them along as of possible interest in an idle moment to you and Harold and others at SRC. Happy New Year.

Ben

MEMO

TO: JC
PR

FROM: LWD

Ben Muse wants to know how many copies of Action Patterns in School Desegregation we have on hand, the distribution of them so far, and any suggestions as to how to get them in the hands of school boards.

Mr. Muse says that he is disturbed that so few school board members have ever heard of it.

We have 40 left. All the distribution I have done is to state groups and four copies to Atlanta League of Women Voters. (Some state groups got multiple copies). We could send them to school superintendents through our list. A school board list probably could be compiled. - JC

MF -

Please file this in Leadership Project file.

H.

DRAFT

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

This is a report on the status of the project supported by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's grant of June 1958.

The delay in the activation of the project has been a matter of concern for the officers and staff of the Council. We have appreciated the patience and understanding shown by the representatives of the Fund, and want to be sure that the delay is fully explained. It proved difficult beyond all expectations to find a person qualified to serve as director of the project and available for full-time employment in Atlanta. Despite our most concentrated efforts -- some fifteen potential candidates were personally interviewed -- it was not possible before now to fill the position properly.

Fortunately, this impasse has been broken. As of April 1, 1959, the Council has employed Colonel Benjamin Muse of Manassas, Va., as project director for an initial period of six months. We feel that Mr. Muse is extraordinarily well equipped for this assignment by virtue of his experience in the diplomatic service, his political career, and his distinguished record as a writer on Virginia affairs for the Washington Post and Times-Herald

by mutual agreement. We felt that, at the end of this initial period, both the Council and Mr. Muse would be

better able to assess the effectiveness of the arrangement, and possibly to consider a full-time and longer-range commitment.

The Fund's first grant payment of $40,000 is virtually intact. Except for an expenditure of $2,759.98 last summer for groundwork on research and materials for the project, these funds have been reserved pending selection of a director.

We do not propose, therefore, to request any further payment under the grant this year. If it is satisfactory

to the Fund, we should like to consider June 1, 1960, as the first anniversary of the project, at which time the second instalment may be considered payable.

We also feel that it would be appropriate to review the terms of the project in the light of developments since the grant was originally requested in December 1957. While the general purpose and framework of the project remain valid, shifts in public emphasis during the past year-and-a-half suggest the desirability of a restatement of the project with certain modifications in approach.

The single biggest development in Southern race relations has been the narrowing of the legal alternatives to a choice between some degree of desegregation or the closing of public schools. The State of Virginia closed and later, under pressure of public opinion, reopened the public schools in three communities where limited desegregation was ordered. Public high schools in Little Rock are still closed, although there is evidence of mounting public dissatisfaction which may foreshadow a reopening in the near future. The main point, however, is that the reality or prospect of closed schools has stirred new elements in the South to activity on the side of compliance.

In Virginia, Georgia, Little Rock, and Florida new citizens efforts have been organized with the specific, emergency purpose of preserving public education. Business and industrial leaders, in their quiet and reluctant fashion,

are increasingly spurred by the prospects of economic damage to make their influence felt. As the Atlanta situation has indicated, educators and other professional groups are finding their voices as the threat of school closing becomes a real and present danger. And as the issue of court-ordered school desegregation comes to a head in more deep South communities, this pattern of developments may be expected to spread.

At the time the project was originally proposed, the problems of lawlessness and violence were in the forefront; indeed, the project was informally christened "Operation Law and Order." Law enforcement is still and will continue to be an essential factor in the Southern transition. But the developments summarized above suggest that other claims on self-interest warrant greater emphasis, at least for the time being. The categories of leadership that will be most decisive now appear to be parents, educators, business, financial, and other economic leaders. Public officials directly involved in the school decisions at all levels of government will, of course, continue to wield crucial influence.

(Religious leaders, although important, are deliberately omitted, since their actions in this field are motivated largely by moral considerations rather than self-interest; moreover, the Council works closely with them through other programs.)

We propose, then, that the framework of the project be enlarged to include activities directed at these and similar segments of Southern leadership concerned with the preservation of our educational and economic institutions. This program might appropriately be redesignated the "Southern Leadership Project." As before, the touchstone continues to be practical self-interest, and methods and techniques remain basically the same.

It would be possible to write at greater length of the opportunities for the project presented by current happenings in the region. But we will reserve this for progress reports on the work itself and for discussion with staff members of the Fund.

Meanwhile, we hope that the actions reported and the proposals made in this letter will meet with the approval of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. All of us in the Council are continuingly grateful to the Fund for this important assistance, and we are deeply committed to justifying the confidence you have placed in us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

9 Nov 59

Mr. Fleming:

Further interest, and guidance on your part, will be appreciated.

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

RECEIVED NOV 12 1959

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

9 November 1959

Dear Mr. Muse:

We missed you 'from your accustomed place' and were gratified to learn of your expanding approaches through the Council. We have maintained contacts through the years with Mr. Fleming and earlier with his predecessor, Dr. George S. Mitchell. We still communicate with the latter in Scotland.

I hope the enclosures will be found interesting. I feel that if an analytical report can be made available, possibly along the lines of Southern Regional Council Reports on Little Rock, definitive assistance will be provided for many who are seeking ways of resolving perplexing situations.

We hope you find your expanding field interesting and profitable.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosures

Mr. Benjamin L. Muse
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Mr. John Hope
Mr. Harold C. Fleming

COPY

C O P Y

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Little Rock, Arkansas

115 W. Sixth St. FRanklin 4-4871

November 9, 1959

RECEIVED NOV 19 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Everett and I have just returned from Athens and Atlanta, Georgia. We spoke to the people of Athens Tuesday night (Nov.3) at the Country Club. There were almost three hundred people present -- a pretty strong cross section of the community except for the City Council and the School Board. The School Board conveniently decided to schedule the dedication of a new building on the same evening. As far as we could judge, we were well received.

The following day in Atlanta, Everett appeared on Television, and I was interviewed by Jim Montgomery, Business Editor of the Constitution.

Later, at the home of Hamilton Lokey, we met with three members of the School Board and the Mayor. The presence of the School Board members was off the record.

Ralph McGill, earlier in the day, agreed to have his name on the masthead of the Hope group if they felt it advisable. He seemed to think it might be detrimental.

After the informal gathering at the Lokey home, we both spoke before an audience of roughly one hundred people. I was disappointed in the size and caliber of this group. With the exception of Lokey and perhaps five other leadership representatives, the group was composed of a few dedicated women, curiosity seekers, and "plants" by the opposition. Six of the latter group were removed by the police.

To quote Ralph McGill, "When one is very busy, one always leaves the unanswered letters from friends at the bottom of the stack." Hence--I will make reference to your letter of September 28!

I have not spoken at Dallas. I have corresponded with one or two people in Houston. We have not spoken anywhere else except this trip to Athens and Atlanta. I have had a rather lengthy letter published in the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion Ledger, which you might find of interest and some possible value.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Boyd Ridgway
Executive Vice President

New Orleans, November 1-9, 1959

Addresses of People Seen

(Also Addresses of Some Apparently Not Wishing to See Me)

Mr. George W. Healy, Jr.
Editor, Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Mr. William Munroe
Editor, WDSU-TV
Royal Street
New Orleans, La.
TUlane 4371

Mr. Sumter D. Marks, Jr.
President, Chamber of Commerce
New Orleans, La.
JAckson 2-9924

Admiral William Riggs
Executi ve Vice-President
Chamber of Commerce
315 Camp Street
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Charles Nutter
Director, Internat'l House
New Orleans, La.
(Did not wish to see me)

Mr. Isidore Newman
President, Maison Blanche
901 Canal St.
New Orleans, La.
JAckson 2-3434
(Unsuccessful effort to
secure appointment)

Mrs. Moise Cahn
40 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans, La.
UNiversity 6-6282

Dr. Albert Dent
President, Dillard Univ.
2601 Gentilly Blvd.
New Orleans, La.
WHitehall 3-8861

Hon. J. Skelly Wright
U.S. District Court
P.O. Building
New Orleans, La.

Msgr. Henry C. Bezou
Archdiocesan Supt. of Schools
724 Camp St.
New Orleans, La.

Walker
Ass't. Supt. of Schools
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Pat Barneman
Director of Public Relations
School Board
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Lloyd Rittines
President
Rittines Engineering Co.
VE 1-2606
(Vice-President, School Board)

Mr. Matthew Southerland
Assistant General Manager
Pan American Life Insurance Co.
(President, School Board)

Mr. Louis Rickie
President, Tulane Hardwood Lumber Co.
New Orleans, La.
(School board member, Catholic)

Mr. Stephen B. Lemann
Whitney Building
228 St. Charles
New Orleans, La.
JAckson 5-8182

Mr. Lester E. Kabacoff
2110 American Bank Building
200 Carondelet
JAckson 5-2357

Mr. and Mrs. Edward M. Baldwin
3518 Chestnut St.
(Office) Marine Building
219 Carondelet
(Office) TW 1-8425
(Attorney -- Lemann)

Mr. and Mrs. William Sorum
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Harold P. McCall
Associate Editor
Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Seat companion on plane from Atlanta to Washington, Nov. 11, 1959:

Mr. Dwight W. Martin
Baton Rouge, La.
(Owner WDAV (?)—TV, close friend of Sterns)

New Orleans, Nov. 1-9, 1959
Leads for a Possible Future Visit-

Mr. Kenneth Vines
Political Science Dept.
Tulane Univ.
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Edgar B. Stern, Jr.
President, WDSU-TV
520 Royal St.
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Darwin Fenner
New Orleans, La.
(Tulane trustee)

Mrs. Edgar B. Stern
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Richard Freeman
New Orleans, La.
(Delta Airline Director,
with Mrs. Keller)

Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr.
1701 Arabella St.
New Orleans, La.
TWinbrook 5-4014
(Associated with Mrs.
Cahn)

Rabbi Julian B. Feibleman
6227 St. Charles
(Residence) 530 Walnut, UN 6-8064
UNiversity 1-2802
(Hays)

Mr. Leo Bielman
President
New Orleans Baptist Theological
Seminary
New Orleans, La.
(Hays)

Mr. George Dreyfous
1609 Nat'l Bank of Commerce
New Orleans, La.

(Atty., Chairman Louisiana
Civil Liberties Union -- Hays)

Dr. J. D. Grey
Pastor
First Baptist Church
4301 St. Charles
TW 5-8632
(Residence) 4524 S. Galves
TW 5-5435
(Hays, Dent)

Hon. Hale Boggs
Member of Congress
New Orleans, La.
(Hays)

Mr. John F. Tims
President
Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.
(Once received award from
NCCJ, but described as hopeless
bigot)

Dr. James T. Redman
Superintendent of Schools
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Theodore Shepard
Member, School Board
New Orleans, La.

Mr. A. P. Tureaud
Chief Counsel
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored
People
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Jack Nelson
New Orleans, La.
(Opponent Emil Wagner)

Mr. Henry Walther, Jr.
President, Chamber of Commerce
Walther Bros., Inc.
Electrical Appliances
1722 Poydras
JAckson 2-7731

Mr. Joseph M. Jones
President
Board of Trustees
Tulane University
New Orleans, La.

Judge John Minor Wisdom
New Orleans, La.
(Dissent in Civil Ri ghts
Commission case, Lemann)

Mr. Bryan Bell
New Orleans, La.
(Candidate, State Sen.; old friend
Lemann and Stern, candy and oil business)

Judge Shirley G. Wimberly
New Orleans, La.
(Long man --Lemann)

Father Louis J. Twomey, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

Father Joseph Fichter, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Clifford Favro
New Orleans, La.
(Philanthropist -- Dent)

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 12, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I believe I wrote on October 31 requesting $200 for my revolving fund. I will appreciate your attending to this at your earliest convenience.

It was nice to see you in Atlanta this week and I appreciate your many courtesies.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Sent
11/12/59
RHA

also Salary Check

C O P Y

November 12, 1959

Mr. Sumpter D. Marks, Jr.
Hibernia Bank Bldg.
812 Gravier Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Marks:

I enclose a copy ofa routine report to the Southern Regional Council (63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.), which will be of interest to you.

Our "conference" of November 6 was, of course, a painful experience, and altogether to be regretted. I am most anxious in my travels to avoid unwelcome intrusion.

I remember very pleasantly my earlier visit to your office.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

File

C O P Y

BROOKS HAYS

Knoxville, Tennessee

November 13, 1959

Dear Ben:

Just a line to thank you for your great kindness in sending me this extremely helpful report (on stimulating the preachers). This is just what I wanted. I am making good use of the material and will tell you more about it when I see you.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks Hays

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 13, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

First of all, I hope you are quite well again and that forcing yourself to go through the strain of the annual meeting did not set you back.

I was also sorry to see Wednesday afternoon consumed in discussion of a proposed statement. I wonder if a statement is worth the sacrifice of all discussion of program, etc. by the board.

If it came to my program I would find it difficult to explain. I find it difficult myself at times to conceive.

Just going around talking about desegregation with liberals or near-liberals, supplying information where possible and reporting and suggesting research to the Atlanta office -- is one way of describing the project. I have no power to cast out devils.

When I sum up a week's work in New Orleans, for instance, I wonder how much and wherein I was able to help.

To catch the right people at the right time in the right mood is a fortuitous and slow-moving matter at best. Many hours are spent at the telephone, (and you know something about that.)

Apart from the Chamber of Commerce incident, two of the prospects on Paul Rilling's list apparently did not want to see me. Nutter, of International House, frankly, though courteously, did not want to discuss the matter. Several promises by the secretary of Newman of International House to try to set up an appointment came to nought.

Many are simply out of town. Three of Brooks Hays' friends were in Germany, Japan and New Zealand respectively!

From the standpoint of information, I could hardly have been more successful in getting at the heart of things. My survey of the whole picture I think will be of some value to the staff. Incidentally, I plan to write this survey in a manner which will make it possible to send copies to

several outsiders, including the Sterns' attorney, Kabacoff, who put his own information at my disposal. Other reports, on specific interviews, will be for our private use -- except in one case.

A copy of the report on my "conference" at the Chamber of Commerce, which is enclosed, has been sent to Chamber President Marks just to give him a better idea of what I am doing.

I had a few very good conversations, and my reports on them will give an impression of service rendered, but I wish to point out that a great deal of time is spent in just trying to build up a schedule and in going over familiar ground with liberals already of our persuasion.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Don Musl

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Harold:

I believe I should send you copies of my letters as a matter of routine, excepting Thank-you letters, letters asking for appointment, etc.

Regards.

Ben

November 14, 1959

Mr. William Munroe
Editor
WDSU TV
520 Royal Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Bill:

Ray Witt, a grand fellow and a member of the Chattanooga school board, would like to do more, but feels at this stage that he can only preach respect for law. He has done that exceedingly well in this address, "The Majesty That Is America." You may find it of interest and possible value.

Let me thank you again for your many courtesies on my recent visit to New Orleans. Please remember me to Bob Fahs and others of your staff, and very particularly to Mrs. Munroe.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 18, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Msgr. Henry C. Bezou, Superintendent of Catholic Parochial Schools, New Orleans, November 3, 1959

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel, with whom I requested an appointment referred me to Msgr. Henry C. Bezou, the archdiocesan superintendent of schools.

Msgr. Bezou, whom I took to be a man in his late sixties (the Archbishop is 82) spoke very deliberately and with grave dignity. He remarked that he understood our conversation would be off the record.

Referring to the Archbishop's announcement regarding the desegregation of parochial schools, he said the Archbishop is tempering his zeal for Christian truth and justice "with prudence."

He was elated over the interracial harmony displayed at the Holy Name Society convention (reported on in my New Orleans Survey). He said that a disproportionate number of Negroes had participated, "because they knew they would be welcome." He said he had rarely seen a "more devout and orderly crowd."

He wished "that Rainach could have seen that parade!" Incidentally, he remarked that Rainach was getting undue publicity in the press. The press gives daily publicity to the five leading candidates for Governor and ignores the other six. He wished the press would ignore seven!

I did not ask him when desegregation of the parochial schools would begin, and I did not get the impression that a firm decision had been reached. He said a committee of both clergy and laymen had the matter under constant study. In answer to a question he said they had not finally decided whether desegregation would be grade-by-grade or otherwise. (He had a copy of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation.")

He said his problem would be easier in one respect than that of the public schools, since most parochial high schools are either for girls or for boys exclusively.

He wondered how a lowering of standards could be avoided when the races were mixed on a large scale and was under the impression they had been lowered in Washington, D.C. I told him this was not the case (and later sent him our L-Report on the subject).

He said that integration of the parochial schools would not be a sweeping thing. There would be no rush of Negro pupils to attend white schools and they would not be required to leave Negro schools. There would be far fewer Negro applicants for enrollment in mixed schools than is widely imagined. Some Negro schools would probably remain Negro schools indefinitely.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

November 20, 1959

Mr. John R. Yungblut
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Merit Employment Program
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Yungblut:

In case you do not have this information already, following are the members or our Southern Regional Council in Louisiana and Mississippi:

Miss Florence Sytz
Tulane School of Social Work
New Orleans, Louisiana

Father Alexander O. Sigur
P.O. Box 532
S.L.I. Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

Mr. J. L. Reddix
Jackson College
Jackson, Mississippi

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
808 Mamie St.
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Mr. A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Jos. B. Brunini
123 North West Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

November 19, 1959

Mr. Boyd Ridgway
Executive Vice-President
Chamber of Commerce
115 West Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Boyd:

Many thanks for your letter of November 9. I am just catching up with my correspondence after returning from New Orleans.

I talked with our office in Atlanta over the phone and, I believe, they have forwarded checks for travel expenses. Please advise also the days spent away from Little Rock by you and Mr. Tucker in order that the honorarium may be attended to.

I think your letter is an all too modest recapitulation of your immensely helpful mission. It is hard to get Atlanta business men to wake up on this thing, but you left much valuable food for thought over a wide area. (I read a little reference to it in the New Orleans Times-Picayune).

I read your letter to Tom Ethridge. I thought you were probably too kind to him, but you know him and the Mississippi climate. It must be hard for the light of reason to penetrate there. Incidentally, I plan to venture into Mississippi probably next February. Maybe you can give me some Mississippi leads in due course.

How is business in Little Rock? Are industries looking your way again? I would like to be able to say that things are better in Little Rock now that the school situation has been stabilized.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

November 19, 1959

Mr. John R. Yungblut
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Merit Employment Program
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Yungblut:

I was very glad indeed to get your letter of November 2 -- on my return from a trip south.

Actually I was in New Orleans when you wrote. I knew of your assignment to the Merit Program office and had a note to call upon you if I got as far as Baton Rouge -- which, however, I did not. We are both probably too new to the Louisiana-Mississippi field to be of much mutual help at this stage, but I would like to have talked with you.

Your assignment to visit isolated liberals in Mississippi and Louisiana for the purpose of encouraging them in their convictions, relating them to one another, etc. interests me very much indeed. I can think of nothing that offers a greater opportunity for service. I would like to join you in this and cooperate with you. It seems, however, that my schedule will preclude my getting into that area before late in January.

In the meantime I would like to have any pertinent information that I can get. Dr. Dabbs wrote me about Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, and I shall get in touch with him. I hope you will let me hear from you from time to time.

I enclose as of possible interest to you a copy of my report on New Orleans.

I shall be thinking of you during the next two months, with some envy, and with every wish for success in your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Gilbert
Fidelity Onion Skin

J. BLANC MONROE
MONTE M. LEMANN
J. RABURN MONROE
MALCOLM L. MONROE
WALTER J. SUTHON, JR.
BAT P. SULLIVAN, JR.
D. DOUGLAS HOWARD
MELVIN I. SCHWARTZMAN
ANDREW P. CARTER
WALTER J. SUTHON, III
THOMAS B. LEMANN
NIGEL E. RAFFERTY

JAMES D. JOHNSON, JR.
FERNAND F. WILLOZ, III
STEPHEN B. LEMANN
EUGENE G. TAGGART
JOHN L. GLOVER

MONROE & LEMANN
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
WHITNEY BUILDING
NEW ORLEANS 12

CABLE ADDRESS
"RONCAL"

November 19, 1959

File 9722-D

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thanks very much for your kind note, and especially for the copy of your memorandum concerning your New Orleans visit, which I found encouraging and entirely accurate; indeed the only small correction that can be made in it is in the middle initial of Jimmie Davis, which is "H" rather than "A".

I don't know how much effect the work you are doing will have, but I am sure that there are many, like myself, who are most grateful for it. I hope we will have a chance to see you again.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Stephen

SBL:RJX

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA
NEW ORLEANS 12

November 18, 1959

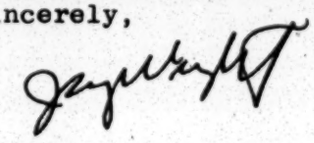
CHAMBERS OF
J. SKELLY WRIGHT
DISTRICT JUDGE

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I enjoyed having lunch with you and Mr. Kabacoff last week in New Orleans. I am also in receipt of the copy of the Phi Beta Kappa report on desegregation in the schools which you so kindly sent. I am reading it with much interest.

Sincerely,



JSW:mas

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 21, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Atlanta, Tuesday, November 10, 1959: Ralph McGill, Ellis Arnall

An unscheduled visit to Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution Tuesday morning was limited to half an hour of friendly conversation over coffee. McGill was interested in latest developments in Virginia and the Byrds, as well as the situation in New Orleans.

Regarding Atlanta, McGill said that the business men "have no guts" excepting a few like Dick Rich. He had been present at a heated meeting in which it was Dick Rich against the crowd.

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall really feels there is a possibility that the people will call upon him in 1961 to save the public schools. "If they close public schools, they will elect me Governor." He said, if happily they should not close public schools, he would be remembered as the man who saved the schools, but he thought there was only a remote possibility they would stop short of school-closing.

Talmadge, he said, might know better, but Vandiver is a confirmed bigot. "He believes segregation is in the Bible."

Gov. Arnall is obsessed with idea of a taxpayers' suit to prevent the closing of one public school without closing all in the state. Why hadn't they done that in Virginia? He said there would surely be such a taxpayers' suit when they closed the first school in Georgia -- (I assume he intends to see to it.) Then every public school in Georgia would have to close. That would precipitate an explosion which would be heard all over the South, and would mark the beginning of the end of the resistance to the Supreme Court decision.

He remarked that it was natural for him to be the champion of public schools. He had always fought for them. He wrote the emphasis on public schools into the Georgia Constitution.

He thought that Judge Hooper had wrongly linked his decision on Atlanta public schools with action by the state legislature.

Gov. Arnall indicated that his announcement of his availability for the governorship on a moderate platform had had a more important reaction than I had supposed. He showed me copies of five issues of the Augusta Herald (the last being in October) in which his announcement and platform were given conspicuous play, along with long stories about Arnall's previous career and many pictures.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Already Put on stencil

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Cat. 8

November 24, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Please send L Reports as follows:

L-6 and L-8 to:

Rabbi Julian B. Feibleman
6227 St. Charles
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Leo Edelman
President
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. J. D. Grey
Pastor
First Baptist Church
4301 St. Charles
New Orleans, Louisiana

Father Louis J. Twomey, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Father Joseph Fichter, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Stephen B. Lemann
Whitney Building
228 St. Charles
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Mr. Edward M. Baldwin
Marine Building
219 Carondelet
New Orleans, Louisiana

L-6 and L-11 to:

Hon. Thomas Hale Boggs
Member of Congress
New Orleans, Louisiana
Federal Bldg.

Mr. Isidore Newman
President, Maison Blanche
901 Canal Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

PR
PA
MF (file)

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

November 24, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold

I have decided to do a story of the collapse of "massive resistance" in Virginia, and, in fact, have plunged into the undertaking.

I believe that, limiting my other work with SLP correspondence, some travel in Virginia, and a trip north (if the approach to corporation executives materializes) I can complete this within six weeks. At least, that is the schedule which I have set for myself.

Sincerely,

Ben

November 30, 1959

Via Air Mail

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Since my correspondence is as sadly in arrears as ever -- in fact, somewhat more so -- this has to cover several matters at once.

(1). I was doubly sorry to go under on the eve of the Annual Meeting since it deprived you and me of the opportunity to get caught up in conversation. The experience with Riggs in New Orleans was certainly enough to nauseate you, but I hope you won't let it bother you unduly. There are a lot of these neanderthal types around -- some of them in important positions -- but they're not going anywhere, except to oblivion. SRC has already outlasted many of them.

(2). Aside from the Chamber unpleasantness, your reports on New Orleans are fairly encouraging. I'm especially glad to learn of your luncheon with Judge Wright and Mr. Kabacoff.

(3). It is good news that the arrangement with Brewbaker has been satisfactorily concluded. We will be guided by your joint thinking when the time comes to announce the relationship. At some appropriate time, you might "immunize" him a bit against the sort of thing you ran into in New Orleans. He is sure to encounter the same -- or, worse, specific smears of SRC -- sooner or later. We have plenty of counter-material available here.

(4). A letter will soon go forward from Mr. Dabbs, inviting Brooks Hays to membership in SRC. My guess is

he will decline, but I thought you should know.

(5). You may have noted that I described your assignment in my written report dated October 19. This report went to members, state councils, contributors, and influential friends of SRC. Do you think this is sufficient announcement of the project? If not, let me have your candid views on what further steps we should take.

(6). I had hoped to talk with you about the proposal that you write a comprehensive account of the collapse of "massive resistance" in Virginia. But I am happy that you have decided to do it; the temporary curtailment of your other activities will, I believe, be more than repaid. I do hope you will have a chance to discuss the project with Francis Pickens Miller, who will be pleased by your decision.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

November 30, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Sorry, but the December issue is already set up. I like the excerpt very much and wish I could use it.

Yes, thanks, I did have a pleasant Thanksgiving holiday and trust you did the same.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 28,1959

Mr.John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear John:

I may be too late, and this may be without merit anyway, but I would like to submit for consideration with a view to inclusion in the next issue of New South the following excerpt from my column in the Washington Post of December 23,1956:

"I have a theory that it is an honor to have a cross burned in front of one's home.

"At this Christmas time I would like to see burning crosses--or let me say, shining crosses--before the homes of thousands of courageous men and women in Virginia and in the South who are suffering vilification and abuse in the good cause.

"The pitiful cross-burners may, indeed, be the unwitting instruments of a gracious purpose. For they are erecting the symbol of One who said:

"' Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad...'"

I hope you had a happy Thanksgiving.

Sincerely,

Ben

File

Sheraton-Charles

Note change in name

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

November 3, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Etc.

Dear John:
Kindly send 1 copy each, with my compliments, of L-6 (D. C. Schools) to

Msgr. Henry C. Begou
Archdiocesan School Board
724 Camp St.
New Orleans, La.

and

Judge J. Skelly Wright
U. S. District Court
Post Office Bldg.
New Orleans, La.

Please send Judge Wright also a copy of "Action Patterns in Public School Desegregation".

Many thanks.

Alan Max

Sent - 11/4/59
B.C.C.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

October 31, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Kindly delete from Page 1 of additions to the L List sent you October 21, the name of W. H. Muse, Beaufort, N.C. -- my brother who died this week.

Sincerely,

Ben

P.S. I have not yet received any copy of L-11. Please address 5 copies to me by air mail at the Dinkler-St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans. Thanks.

October 27, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is the L-Report binder and the copy of your report. We have mailed it to Mr. Brewbaker with your compliments. This is the last of the supply of your report with the exception of Mrs. Flowers' file copies; but if you desire, we will mimeograph an additional supply. Please let me know the quantity if you desire additional copies.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

October 26, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thanks for yours of the 21st. A few more items for your kind attention.

I find I made a mistake also on Page 2 of additional L list set you October 21. In Norfolk "Ledger-Star" should be Ledger-Dispatch.

I do not need to have lists of chamber of commerce officials and school superintendents.

Five copies of each L-Report is enough to send me unless I ask for more in a specific case.

Could you send me one L-Report binder?

Are there additional mimeographed copies of my report of October 1, "The Southern Leadership Project -- After Five Months?" If so, I would appreciate your sending one or two more to me, and one to:

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Administration Building
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia.

With anticipated thanks.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

October 21, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thank you for the typed list of L Report addresses.

The only other categories besides the ones sent to you are those of the Chamber of Commerce officials and School Superintendents. Harold had suggested that we send all the listings except these two categories. I can send you these names also if you wish. Please let me know.

As to the Labor group, as you may know, Emory Via, former labor consultant for the Council, was here late this summer for a few days and did some work at the Council. He, after consultation with Harold, gave me the names to add to the list.

You should have been receiving 25 copies of each L Report. I shall see that you get more of L 9.

The supply of back L Reports varies fro about 25 for earlier numbers to several hundred for the later ones. The reason for this is that we have nearly exhausted earlier supplies with names added after the initial run. As the address list has grown, we have added to the total number mineographed. I have tried to have at least 200 additional copies mimeographed each time to supply future demand.

The additional lists have arrived, and we are following your instruction in regard to them.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

October 20, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I have had copies made of the ribbons of addresses from the L Report mailing list which you gave me recently in Atlanta. I enclose one copy which may be of some use to you.

You may wish to move Rep. Stewart L. Udall from #8 List to #10 "Gov't Agencies and Congressmen."

I would like for you to change the form of addressing Attorney General Harrison (page 14 of these sheets) to:

Hon. Albertis Harrison
Attorney General of Virginia
Richmond, Virginia

I am surprised to find that, excluding our own board members, more than a fourth of all these names are labor union officials, nearly half of whom reside in the North and West. I do not know why we undertook this very broad approach to organized labor.

I would appreciate an indication in a general way of what and whom our remaining list embraces. You did not give me the categorical lists of chambers of commerce, public school officials and possibly other groups.

I am preparing some additional lists of addresses which I shall mail in a few days. I hope we can send some earlier L Reports to these addresses, two at a time rather than all in a batch, as I shall indicate.

I would like to have a rough idea -- not necessarily an actual count -- of L Reports on hand. In case of a new mimeographing, I would suggest that the dates be deleted. Some of these reports may be useful for many months to come.

I would also like to know what system is followed in mailing L Reports to me. I received approximately 30 copies of L10, only 1 copy of L9. I think now that 5 copies of each report will be sufficient for me here, unless I request more in a particular instance.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

October 15, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Replying to yours of the 7th., we shipped 200 of "Organizing to Save Public Schools" Monday. I trust they have arrived by now.

We have something over 300 copies left.

Sincerely,

Ben

October 7, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

We now have less than 30 of the "Organizing to Save Public Schools."

We found that after we supplied copies to the interagency people, the state groups, and interested individuals plus the 100 for HOPE, we were already well into the 100 which came yesterday. Today, Paul Rilling got 25 copies for New Orleans.

We now have a request for 30 copies from the Georgia Coundil on Human Relations and the Council is interested in purchasing more later.

In view of this, I wonder what you think about letting us have another supply? As yet, we have not had any request from the other states; but I expect some later.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

October 1, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Vriginia

Dear Ben:

The AP story on L-9 has also appeared in the Chattanoogs Times, Burlington, N. C., Times-News, Charlotte Observer, Charlottesville Progress, Asheville Times, Richmond Dispatch, and the Danville Bee.

Enclosed are thermofax copies of two editorials which mention the report.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures

September 29, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas
Virginia

Dear Ben:

We have supplied Mrs. Harris with the 100 copies of "Organizing to Save Public Schools." This has nearly exhausted our supply. Could we have another 100?

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

September 28, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

The Associated Press article on L-9 also has appeared in The Savannah, Ga., News; The Troy, Ala., Messenger; and the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

September 25, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Enclosed we are sending you tapes on the L-list distribution.

Also enclosed is a run down of categories for distribution. You will notice that it is broken down into more categories than we had mentioned earlier. This is to enable us to mail other items without setting up a separate stencil list.

Also included are two supplementary lists - one of additional names and changes of addresses which are now at the addressograph company for new stencils, the other is a supplementary list including names not yet sent to the addressograph company and the names of people we keep on cards.

I am sorry to have to send you this list in such a manner but as yet we have not been able to get a complete alphabetical listing by categories since the additions and deletions have been rather numerous. However, I hope this will meet your needs. If not, let me know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures

September 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Copies of the AP stories on L-9 which you have already seen also appeared in the Louisville, Kentucky Times, the Mobile Register, the Dallas Times and Herald and the Providence, Rhode Island Journal.

I have requested that tapes of our L-Report list be run off and as soon as I receive them from our mailing department I will send them along.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

September 18, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is a clipping concerning one of our L-Reports which I thought you might be interested in seeing. An identical article has also appeared in a Selma, Alabama paper.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

September 8, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

With the exceptions of Hugh Patterson, Lencir Chambers, and Jonathan Daniels of Raleigh, all the names you sent me on September 4 are already receiving the L Reports.

We have mailed copies to these three in accordance with your request and have added their names to our list.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Sent 8/19/59

Hotel TAMPA TERRACE
TAMPA, FLORIDA

August 18, 1959

Dear John:

Please send 15 copies L-6, Davis Report, etc. – also "anything possible on the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce" (the reprint?) – only one copy of the latter – to

Mr. Charles C. Gottlieb
Stevens Markets, Inc.
6209 N.W. 27th Ave.
Miami, Fla.

Regards.

Ben Ulmer

File

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 9, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter of July 6, enclosing the reprint of the article on Little Rock's business.

I think this should go to the full L list. It seems like very telling material to me.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

info given to Mr Brewbaker to pass on to him

Dear John:

I would like to be sure that Supt. Brewbaker in Norfolk gets a copy of THE LOUISVILLE STORY--transcript of Omer Carmichael's Atlanta TV program.

Thanks.

Happy New Year!

Ben Muse

C O P Y

EVERETT TUCKER, JR.
115 West Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

December 4, 1959

Dear Mr. Muse:

I was both surprised and pleased to receive in the mail a day or so ago a check for $150.00 -- an honorarium for the little talks I recently made to groups in Athens and Atlanta. This was entirely unexpected and unsolicited and I am at something of a loss to know whom I should thank for it. (Ridgeway apparently didn't tell Tucker of this arrangement)

Also, I would like your candid comment as to whether or not the Southern Regional Council can "afford" such generous gestures. Certainly I expected no remuneration for my meager efforts and if you think this money could be spent to better advantage in other ways, I shall of course be happy to return it. Furthermore, I have a few qualms in abandoning my completely amateur position.

Since you were interested in having copies of the remarks I made on national T. V. networks last summer, it occurred to me that you might find some use for a copy of the talks I made over in Georgia about a month ago, and so I am enclosing one.

Isn't it about time for you to be getting down this way again? I would be happy to see you and to compare notes with your progress since you last were here.

Cordially yours,

Everett Tucker, Jr.

ET:h
Enclosure

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

C O P Y

PHELPS, DUNBAR, MARKS, CLAVERIE & SIMS
Counsellors at Law
Hibernia Bank Buklding
New Orleans 12

December 4, 1959.

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P.O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia.

My dear Mr. Muse:

I have your letter of November 12th with enclosed copy of your report.

When you were here I was unable to ascertain what you were seeking to accomplish. After reading your letter and your report, I must say that I am still unable to do so. I feel, as I did at the time of the conference in Admiral Riggs' office, that you never did "make a clean breast" of your purpose.

Very truly yours,

Sumter D. Marks, Jr.

December 8, 1959

Mr. Everett Tucker, Jr.
115 West Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Tucker:

Thanks for your letter of the 4th. I am particularly glad to get this copy of the talk you made in Georgia.

The Southern Regional Council is far from affluent. It needs all the money it can get to carry on the many phases of its work in the field of interracial relations.

However, the honorarium which you received was paid out of a special allocation from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for the particular work which I have undertaken. This includes expressly the financing of visits on the part of school authorities with experience in meeting the desegregation problem to other communities which are confronted with it. Such expenditures are amply covered by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund allocation, and we feel that they are an excellent investment in Southern progress.

It occurs to me that this is in the spirit of the "exchange, or some kind of clearing house" referred to on the "Face the Nation" program when you were the guest, and which you thought would be a good idea. I noted your remark that you "would be happy to participate in it, if it was desired, South-wide."

It is a difficult operation to arrange at this time, as we both have reason to know, but I think it is a good thing toward which to work.

Frankly, the Southern Regional Council goes all the way in favoring the gradual elimination of compulsory segregation, and that is my own personal feeling.

Nevertheless, there is far wider agreement simply upon the inevitability of desegregation, because it is now the law of the land, and the practical advantages in carrying it out in an orderly manner -- and without sacrificing public schools. That is generally my actual approach, and that, I believe is your position. That is the basic platform on which, I think, the South will pull through this crisis.

I was in New Orleans at the time of your visit to Atlanta. I am now taking time out to write a story of "massive resistance" in Virginia before I travel again.

I would like very much indeed to have an opportunity to discuss all these matters with you, and I look forward with particular pleasure to visiting Little Rock again in the not too distant future.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

December 8, 1959

Mr. Sumter D. Marks, Jr.
Hibernia Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Marks:

With reference to your letter of the 4th., it occurs to me that it might be wise in such cases to ascertain the "purpose" of your visitor before arranging a conference with him.

For my part, I am puzzled no end to know what <u>your</u> purpose was in arranging that incredible conference. I think you should "make a clean breast" of it!

Or shall we call the incident closed?

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

SRC

December 18, 1959

Mr. William Bagwell
Southeastern Office
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bagwell:

I propose to visit Raleigh Christmas Week or early in the new year to confer with the Governor and others regarding the situation in Yancey County.

Paul Rilling has suggested that you can help me in this mission, and I will appreciate all the information, advice and help you can give. Perhaps you can suggest some people whom it would be well for me to see. I would like to have copies of any reports which you have made on the Yancey County situation, if extra copies are available.

Thanking you in anticipation and with best wishes for the Christmas season.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

PR –
PA –
LWD ✓

B R O O K S H A Y S
Knoxville, Tennessee

Member,
Bd. of Directors
Tennessee Valley Authority

December 17, 1959

Dear Ben:

I am glad to write the letter to Governor Hodges. Hope the enclosed is acceptable.

I am planning to go over to Raleigh sometime myself to confer with him on the same subject and if you precede me I would appreciate your giving me any impressions that might be helpful as I pursue my own studies which apparently are paralleling yours rather closely.

My wife and I send our regards and best wishes to the Muses.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Enclosure

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P.O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

C O P Y

EVERETT TUCKER, JR.
115 West Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

December 14, 1959

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you for your letter. The next time I see Winthrop Rockefeller, I will thank him for whatever his part may have been in making the honorarium possible.

I would like to see the story you are writing on "Massive Resistance" in Virginia.

Season's Greetings.

Cordially yours,

Everett

ET:h

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

December 21, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am acknowledging your letters to Harold and Les of December 17 and 19.

While Harold is presently at home laid up with a cold, he has told me to tell you that he hopes to be sufficiently recovered by December 27th and is looking forward to seeing you then. Les adds that he, too, is expecting you on that date.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

VIA AIR MAIL

December 23, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your recent communications. We are glad to learn that you are planning an early visit to Raleigh; the letter from Brooks Hays to the Governor should be helpful.

We shall also look forward to your manuscript on the collapse of massive resistance -- whether in rough or finished form. I concur wholeheartedly in your idea of discussing publication with Doubleday or another of the well known publishing houses. It would serve the cause well if your opus appeared as a commercially published book.

Your request for leave next summer is approved, with envy. By July 15, you will have some days of leave accured (computed at the rate of one and one-half days of leave for each month of full-time service). Thus some substantial part of your absence would be regular, paid leave.

Best wishes to you and Mrs. Muse for a very pleasant Christmas and New Year's.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AIR MAIL

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your recent communications. We are glad to learn that you are planning an early visit to Raleigh; the letter from Brooks Hays to the Governor should be helpful.

We shall also look forward to your manuscript on the collapse of massive resistance -- whether in ~~whole~~ rough or finished form ~~or in instalments.~~ I concur wholeheartedly in your idea of discussing publication with Doubleday or another of the well known publishing houses. It would serve the cause well if your opus appeared as a commercially published book.

Your request for leave next summer is approved, with envy. By July 15, you will have some days of leave accrued (computed at the rate of one and one-half days of leave for each month of full-time service). Thus some substantial part of your absence would be ~~an~~ regular, paid leave.

Best wishes to you and Mrs. Muse for a very pleasant Christmas and New Year's.

Sincerely,

HCF

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

December 14, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As I warned you, the theme of the collapse of massive resistance has been too much a part of me for me to deal with in a sketchy way. I have bitten off quite a chunk, and I don't want to give it anything less than my best. So please don't hold me to my suggested time limit.

I shall see Francis Miller. (He was in New York last week.)

I also plan to get down to Raleigh soon, as suggested by Paul Rilling. I am trying to get a letter of introduction to Gov. Hodges, if possible, first.

After I finish the massive resistance magnum opus I plan to spend several months in more or less continuous travel.

I mentioned earlier the plan of my wife and me to go to Europe next summer to attend the wedding of our daughter, Carlota, in Vienna. Our schedule is firming up, and I would like to make formal request for leave of absence without pay from July 15 to August 31, 1960.

Returning to the matter of the massive resistance manuscript, would there be any objections to my sounding out Doubleday, or some other publisher in regard to it? It quite possibly will not be saleable, but if it should be taken by a commercial publisher, the purpose of the Southern Regional Council might be as well, or better, served. Naturally, my salary and expenses for the period of this work in this case would be refunded to the Council.

In any event the manuscript will be submitted first to you. I may even send some of it in less than final form to Les Dunbar for criticism and help -- which is a mean trick to play on anyone.

Your note of December 9 was much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ben

December 28, 1959

Mr. Paul E. Green
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Green:

I am driving down to Raleigh Wednesday, January 6 to see Governor Hodges, with whom I have an appointment for Thursday, January 7, at 10:30 A. M.

I would appreciate an opportunity to talk with you, if you are free, Wednesday evening, the 6th. It would be ideal if you could dine with me at the Washington Duke in Durham, meeting me there at about 6 P. M.

I plan to talk about the Yancey County situation with the Governor and I would particularly like to get your views and advice before seeing him.

I hope you are enjoying the holiday season.

Sincerely,

December 28, 1959

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have an appointment with Governor Hodges for Thursday morning, January 7, when I plan to discuss the Yancey County situation with him.

Brooks Hays both phoned and wrote to the Governor for me, and he plans to follow up with a visit of his own to him.

William Bagwell, returning from Christmas with his wife's family in Baltimore, lunched with us here Saturday and gave me a 4-hour briefing on the Yancey County situation.

I would appreciate any advice from you for my conversation with the Governor. I also hope to see Paul Green and Jonathan Daniels among others.

Do you know of any individuals in Yancey County who might approach the school board helpfully upon a suggestion from the Governor?

I shall probably leave here the morning of January 6.

I look forward to seeing you and talking over this matter at our coming executive committee meeting. Hope you are enjoying the holiday season.

Sincerely,

December 28, 1959

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
President
Raleigh News and Observer
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Daniels:

You may recall the writer from my column in the Washington Post on Virginia affairs, which the News and Observer did me the honor of reprinting on several occasions.

I have been with the Southern Regional Council since last April, on an assignment to travel in the South and visit with leaders who have a constructive approach to the school desegregation problem.

I would particularly like to talk with you about this situation -- and to realize a long-felt desire to meet you.

I shall be in Raleigh Thursday and Friday, January 7 and 8, having an appointment with Governor Hodges Thursday morning. Could you see me at some hour convenient to you on Thursday afternoon, January 7, or Friday, January 8?

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

December 28, 1959

Mr. Irwin Carlyle
Wachovia Bank Bldg.
Winston Salem, N.C.

Dear Mr. Carlyle:

I am driving to Raleigh Wednesday, January 6, for an appointment the next morning with Governor Hodges. I will probably spend Friday also in the Raleigh-Durham area.

I plan to talk with the Governor about the Yancey County situation. Fortunately, William Bagwell lunched with me here Saturday and gave me a four-hour briefing on Yancey County.

I would appreciate any advice from you in connection with this errand. Do you know of one or two individuals in Yancey County who might approach the board of education helpfully on a suggestion from the Governor?

I hope I may get a chance to see you on some early visit to North Carolina, and talk these matters over with you.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

January 13, 1960

Hon. Brooks Hays
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hays:

Governor Hodges was most cordial, when I called upon him last Thursday, thanks to your generous letter. He said he appreciated my coming, and seemed to enjoy going over developments in various sections of the South.

I am afraid, however, there is still trouble ahead over the Yancey County problem. The Governor is thinking along the lines of getting a school built for the Negroes, but I don't think he will solve it that way. It is much too late for that. In fact, I don't think he is very confident that he can solve it that way.

I am enclosing photocopies of newspaper clippings on the Yancey County affair, some of which may not have come to your attention. I believe the situation there is full of potential danger to North Carolina's good name, to Governor Hodges' fine record and even to his industrial program.

I talked also with Attorney General Seawell, at Governor Hodges' suggestion. Seawell said the Yancey County School Board "hasn't a leg to stand on" from a legal point of view. Of course, the outcome of the suit is a foregone conclusion.

Judge Warlick has indicated that his heavy spring load will preclude his getting around to the case before July. It would be a mercy to all concerned if he got at it sooner.

Delay in this instance will benefit nobody, and the longer the thing drags on the more North Carolina's prestige will suffer.

It is admittedly a difficult situation, aggravated by a perennial dogfight between Democrats and Republicans in Yancey County. North Carolina's local option plan also prevents the State from intervening in a local situation. But the cost to North Carolina will be out of all proportion to the importance, if any, of merely delaying the admission of 27 Negro children to white schools, and everything possible ought to be done to get this thought across to the Yancey School Board.

I am giving you this brief report in preparation for your own visit to Governor Hodges. I believe it is a favor to the Governor to urge the desirability of getting this spectacular case of discrimination corrected as soon as possible.

Incidentally, Governor Hodges' industrial program did even better in 1959 than in 1958 from the standpoint of jobs provided, although the total investment figure was about $25 million less.

With warm regards and thanking you again for your help.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

TO: MF

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
JONATHAN DANIELS, EDITOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

January 14, 1960

EW-file clip

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you for sending me the other articles on Yancey County. I am enclosing an article I wrote on the subject. I may write others, and if I do, I will send them to you.

I also thought you might have further use for the copy of the advertisement in the New York Times which you sent me, and I am returning it to you.

It was good to see you the other day.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jonathan Daniels

Enclosure

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

January 16, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Kindly send, with my compliments, L-Reports 1, 6, 8, 11 and 13 to the following address:

Mrs. James H. Semans
1415 Bevins Street
Durham, North Carolina

mailed 1-18-59

Also please put Mrs. Semans on regular list for future L-Reports.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Ben

January 28, 1960

The Rev. John B. Morris
3502 Piedmont Road, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Morris:

I am enclosing the only two guidebooks to food and lodging facilities available to Negrees that I have been able to find. "Go" and the TMC Travel Guide. I once thought of studying this problem, but I now have many activities ahead of it and am not likely to have occasion to refer to these pamphlets in the near future. However, I would appreciate it if you would kindly return or replace them in due course.

The guidebooks, I think, are essentially pathetic. This is a most important problem in interracial relations -- and an inviting field in which to work.

With kind regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

January 28, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Administration Bldg.
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Thanks for your letter of the 19th.

I am planning tentatively to be in Norfolk on Wednesday, February 10, and I would like to know if you will be in town, and have some free time then. This is partly dependent on an appointment in Williamsburg and a dinner invitation of indefinite date from the Meachams in Norfolk to me and my wife. We may end up by fixing our date over the phone.

In the meantime, I am enclosing some material which may interest you. The SRC has asked me to leave off other activities long enough to write the story of massive resistance in Virginia, and I am giving most of my time to that just now.

I am enclosing some of this Ms., not to burden you, but because I think you will be interested, and I will appreciate any comment or corrections. When I deal with the Norfolk experience, I shall particularly appreciate your help.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

February 16, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Dear Ben:

Your answers to Mr. Brewbaker concerning expenses, seem quite adequate. Actually, the $12.00 subsistence arrangement is one that we have worked out with you and we make the rules as we go along. If you and Mr. Brewbaker would prefer we can revert to the usual system af paying actual expenses, though either arrangement is satisfactory to us.

There are several minor questions. Will Mr. Brewbaker's expenses be sent to you or directly to us? If sent to us, would you like a periodic accounting? When next you are in Atlanta we will go over all of these and make such arrangements as you think necessary.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

February 13, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Mr. Brewbaker asked some questions about accounting for travel expense. These answers, which I gave him, based on my own practice, I am submitting to you for confirmation or correction:

When traveling by auto, bridge, tunnel and expressway tolls are charged in addition to mileage (since they generally save additional mileage by a longer route.)

When on the $12 per day subsistence basis, tips to hotel employees are a part of subsistence and are not otherwise chargeable.

However, tips to baggage porters at airports and railway stations, when traveling by air or rail, are chargeable.

In accounting for subsistence for a part of a day, I gave him this rule-of-thumb: overnight, $6; breakfast, lunch, dinner, $2 each.

If this does not conform to the usual practice, please let me know.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

February 20, 1960

Mr. Loye W. Miller
Editor
News-Sentinel
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

I appreciated your courtesy on my visit to Knoxville last September, and I remember very pleasantly our little talk about the school desegregation problem.

It seems to be coming to your city now, and, from what I hear, Knoxville is going to take it in its stride --thanks in large part to the wise editorials of the News-Sentinel.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing an editorial from the Roanoke World-News on an extremely smooth integration job in Floyd County, Virginia. It is a little message from this formerly massive resistance state which might be of timely interest to your readers.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

February 20, 1960

Mr. Galen Martin
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Thanks indeed for your letter of the 17th., with the names for the L-Report list, and the assortment of good news.

I enclose a copy of an editorial from the Roanoke World-News on the recent desegregation in Floyd County, Va., which went over very happily. You may be able to make use of it. I am sending a copy to Loye W. Miller in the hope that he will reprint it.

I hope to get to Knoxville for a brief visit sometime in March.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

February 25, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thank you for your letter of February 12 concerning Mr. Brewbaker's participation in the National Conference on Citizenship. I appreciate the thoroughness with which you presented the question.

We have considered the matter at some length. Clearly the Conference is only tangentially related to our interests; on the other hand, there appears to be no question of disharmony in our respective values and aims.

Perhaps the best way to view the question is in terms of the usefulness of such participation, under our aegis, to Brewbaker's effectiveness on our behalf. If you and he feel that membership in the Conference will advance our purposes in this way, feel free to proceed.

I take it that the financial obligation involved in such membership and participation would not be a major item.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

cat 8

February 20, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

3/1/60

Here are some names for addition to the list to receive L-Reports. I would suggest that each be sent L-1, L-8, L-13 and L-15 in one package for a start.

The names are:

Mayor John Duncan
City Hall Park
Knoxville 2, Tenn.

Mr. Will W. Griffin
4256 Halloway Drive
Knoxville 19, Tenn.

Mr. Leonard Hurley
4070 Kingston Pike
Knoxville 19, Tenn.

Mr. David M. Blumberg
Fidelity Bankers Trust Bldg.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. Leonard R. Rogers
Locust Hill Drive
Knoxville, Tenn.

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Mailed 2-26-60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

February 13, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With J. J. Brewbaker

Superintendent of Schools

Norfolk, Va., February 10, 1960

I spent about two hours with Mr. Brewbaker, who is joining the Leadership Project on a part-time basis July 1. He was anxious to see me, and had written, offering to meet me in Richmond.

Part of the conversation was of a personal nature, by way of getting mutually better acquainted. He also had many questions about the SRC and various individuals prominently identified with it. We also talked about the situation in various sections of the South and the people with whom I had talked on my rounds, especially public school officials. He had told many of his friends of his coming association with us, but the newspapers, with whom he is very friendly, are withholding the public announcement until he gives the signal -- probably in June.

Incidentally, he thought the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot "the best newspaper in the South," and expressed admiration for Perry Morgan, new editor of the Ledger-Dispatch, who had transformed that formerly segregationist paper.

He spoke of his plan to continue to attend annual meetings of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators. His role would be simply that of a consultant on school desegregation; he would make himself known as such to the Southern representatives and prepare for later visits to some of them. He also raised a question of attending the National Conference on Citizenship (a matter which I have discussed by letter).

Mr. Brewbaker's experience, and his accomplishment in Norfolk qualify him admirably for discussing all aspects of the desegregation problem with fellow educators. Probably most important of all will be his ability to encourage school administrators to go ahead and to reassure them that little trouble need be expected. He is discreet and tactful, a Southerner, with an ideal personality for this purpose. He knows many Southern school administrators already. He is enthusiastic about this assignment, and is deeply determined to make a contribution to the solution of the South's great problem.

I dined with W. S. Meacham, associate editor of the Virginian-Pilot, who is a warm friend and admirer of Brewbaker. He said that "Brew" was the ideal choice for this job. He added that "Brew" was visibly happy over the prospect.

Brewbaker was retiring from the Norfolk school administration sooner than necessary, because of the vindictive attitude of Mayor Duckworth and the Norfolk City Council. These "massive resisters" had made trouble for Brewbaker ever since the 1955 Supreme Court ruling. During the past year, they no longer hoped to stop school integration, but have used every possible means of punishing "Brew", steadily packing the school board with his enemies and obstructing his work in other ways.

Meacham said the prospect of this SRC activity had rejuvenated Brewbaker. He told him: "Your greatest achievement may lie ahead" -- and Brewbaker seemed to have some of that feeling.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

February 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Brewbaker has raised the very interesting question of participation by the Southern Regional Council in the National Conference on Citizenship.

Brewbaker has been a member of the NCC for some nine years, representing the Norfolk Public Schools, or, on one occasion, representing the Governor of Virginia. He is very enthusiastic about this activity, in which he is a "group leader." The NCC executive Director, Carl B. Hyatt has urged him to continue to serve as a group leader, without a sponsoring organization, after his retirement as Norfolk school superintendent. He apparently would prefer to represent the SRC, with the financial angle possibly in mind.

At any rate he suggested the possible desirability of SRC participation, and the idea seemed worth considering. You may be amply familiar with the National Conference on Citizenship, and, in fact, the question of our participation may have come up before. However, in case not, here is some of the information which I had from Brewbaker:

An NCC booklet states:

"Founded in 1946

"Carried forward under auspices of the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association

"Chartered by the United States as an independent entity in 1953

Its statement of "Purpose" reads: To support and strengthen the efforts of the people in maintaining the blessings of freedom and justice and in protecting and perpetuating the principles and ideals upon which this Nation is founded; to develop a more thorough knowledge of citizenship rights and responsibilities; to inspire a deeper devotion to citizenship obligations; to en-

courage ever more effective participation in citizenship activities and to promote a spirit of cooperation on the part of all citizens."

The first president of NCC was Judge John J. Parker. The present president is Judge Walter M. Bastian. The secretary is Lawrence A. Oxley (Negro). The directors include Brooks Hays and probably others of your friends.

Among about 100 organizations represented on the Planning Committee (13th Conference) were B'nai Brith Girls, B'nai Brith National Commission on Civic Affairs, U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Ford Foundation, Howard University, League of Women Voters, National Conference of Christians and Jews and the National Jewish Welfare Board.

Leonard P. Aries, of NCCJ, and Carl C. Taylor, of Ford Foundation, were group leaders along with Brewbaker.

Pres. Truman attended one Conference. Pres. Eisenhower regularly sends a message. Chief Justice Warren has been Honorary Chairman for a number of Conferences, and attended one.

Attorney General Brownell and Attorney General Rogers have each addressed the Conference, dealing forthrightly with segregation and the Brown decision.

I note from the "Summarization Report" of the 9th Conference (the only one that I have) these allusions to our problem:

"Viewing the decision in the segregation case, it was felt that this indicated a trend toward equality in the caliber of education throughout the country... It would not be amiss to point out, as one group recognized, that the Federal Government moves into any particular field only when the states fail to meet the issues presented."

Again:

"So far as segregation is concerned, it is necessary to reach the homes through the organizations represented, and by education. Patience is required and, as well, time, the healer of all wounds; and this applies to all minority groups. As a matter of fact, the belief was prevalent that the real problem in minority cases lies not with the children, but with the parents."

The NCC is not a militant civil rights organization, and the race problem is not its central theme, but it is interracial, and Brewbaker says, altogether opposed to any discrimination on account of race, creed or color. It would seem that, while we have not the broad purposes of NCC, our own objective of equal opportunity for all citizens harmonizes completely with them.

I am enclosing a folder on the NCC and a copy of the program of the 13th Conference.

Sincerely,

Ben

P.S. If the NCC has an annual 4-day meeting

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

February 12, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With C. H. Humelsine,

President, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

February 9, 1960

My hour's talk with Mr. Humelsine was pertinent and well worth while, because of his close relationship with the Virginia power structure. He had been in close touch with the business leaders who brought pressure to bear upon Governor Almond in November and December, 1958, and January, 1959.

Mr. Humelsine's philosophy: "I have no race prejudice -- at least, none that I know of. I am against segregation in schools and official things. Social relationships are a different matter -- I suppose that is a question of environment. But the whole thing has to move very slowly." He didn't believe in trying to rush it. He disapproved of white "extremists" who go out of their way to cause race mixing -- say: "I don't want my child to be deprived of the privilege of mixing with Negro children" -- and the like. Such groups, in which he vaguely included Human Relations Councils, he said did more harm than good. Also Negroes who tried to go too far too fast. The important thing was to take integration when it comes and keep public schools open -- have more and better schools.

He talked at some length about the absence of race discrimination in Colonial Williamsburg, and the conferences and dinners there in which Negroes and whites mingled.

He seemed relatively little interested in developments elsewhere in the South, but was intensely interested in the problem in Virginia -- and in Williamsburg. He had studied closely the situation in Williamsburg, where a peculiarly difficult problem loomed, owing to the fact that the relatively liberal city shares the same school administration with strongly prejudiced James City County.

The subject of the opposition of Virginia business men to school-closing was broached when I remarked that the attitude of business men in the school crisis had been generally disappointing.

What? He didn't see it that way in Virginia at all. It was the business men who saved the situation. He didn't know a single business leader who favored school-closing. (He corrected this to say that nine out of ten of them were against it.) He thought Virginia business leaders moved in the right way at the right time -- and it was all off-the-record, as it should be.

He named among the business leaders active in the movement, Saunders, Rhoads, Batten, Armistead, Powell and Bemiss; but, like Saunders, he said the names were not for publication. He said most of them preferred segregation and were also "Byrd men."

Note:

Francis Miller secured the cooperation of representative business leaders in Charlottesville, but only after long effort. Blair Buck and other Committees for Public Schools leaders complained often of the "cold shoulder" which they received from important business men.

Forrest P. White, of the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools wrote in the Atlantic Monthly (Sept., 1959):

"Did these leaders later come forward when the schools actually closed?

... Their silence was profound. No bank president, only one owner of a large business, no person ever elected First Citizen of Norfolk, no former director of the United Community Fund, no past president of a hospital board of directors, only one person outstanding in city government -- in short, almost no one of real prominence declared himself openly as favoring public schools under the only conditions in which they could be maintained: with such integration as the federal courts ordered."

Nevertheless, it is clear that many of the state's leading business men insisted vigorously, and effectively, that the episode of closed schools must end -- though their activities were largely secret and remain so to this day.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

KNOXVILLE AREA HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL

Post Office Box 1011
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

March 2, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

The editorial from the Roanoke World-News which you sent to Mr. Miller, editor of the News-Sentinel, was reprinted in that paper February 27. Thanks for helping with this. Developments are occurring rapidly here. We look forward to your visit in March.

Sincerely yours,

Galen Martin

GM/bje

Dear Harold,
You may find
this amusing
Ben

March 8, 1960

Mr. Sherman Briscoe
Chairman, Press Institute
Capital Press Club
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Briscoe:

In the mimeographed Report of the Second Annual Press Institute of the Capital Press Club, which I have just received, I note with a degree of horror the following remark attributed to me:

"As to crime and illegitimacy, white propaganda, and morality among whites, what is needed, the columnist said, is more contraceptives, instead of throwing charges back with a 'so's your old man' attitude."

I would not make such a statement under any circumstances. I am shocked that such a statement in any case should have been permitted to appear in your report.

I said thatthe widespread use of contraceptives prevented illegitimacy statistics from giving a reliable picture of sexual immorality.

However, I said that regardless of the accuracy or inaccuracy of Negro crime and illegitimacy reports, the Negro press should direct its main attention not to questioning the charges, or throwing them back with a "so's your old man" attitude, but to correcting the evil. I urged a campaign against crime and immorality on the part of the Negro press.

The objective is decency and morality, not -- Heaven help us -- contraceptives.

I am sure my remarks were very clear. I talked informally with some of the group afterward, and I did not find anyone who had misunderstood them.

I would not bother you with a minor typographical error, but this is a most serious matter. I must insist that a correction be sent to every recipient of the Report.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

With kind regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

March 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been wanting to write you a few lines regarding my personal situation, or predicament.

First of all I am greatly embarrassed at having plunged into a writing project much more ambitious, and more time-consuming, than you had in mind. I should have had a better idea of the time required. When Yarmolinsky, of Doubleday, suggested my writing a book of this sort three years ago, he said I had "better plan to give it the best part of a year." I have given this about two full months (in my routine, six long days a week).

I am very anxious to finish it -- the overhauling -- somehow, perhaps in a few weeks squeezed in between other Leadership work. I feel that the luncheon counter matter has an urgent claim on my time right now.

Now before I return to North Carolina, I am sending the Ms. to a member of the legislature who has kindly offered to go over it. Other copies of chapters are in circulation among friends. When I get back to work on it later in the month I should have a collection of comment and suggestions.

The time which I give to my printing now is quite insignificant. I have moved my headquarters from the plant to my house. (I discontinued paying the nominal office rent last December.)

However, in view of all the irregularities of my situation, I would not, of course, suggest any change in the arrangement by which I charge SRC for only four-fifths of my time.

In fact, I feel like a truant, and am very apologetic indeed.

Sincerely,

Ben

COPY

Furnished By Ben Muse

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR LEROY COLLINS - MARCH 24, 1960

Mr. Fowler and I are greatly pleased by the fine Florida citizens who have accepted appointment to the new commission. We are confident they are the kind of people who will serve with credit and distinction to Florida.

It will be the job of this commission to provide leadership not only at the state level but to assist by advice and counsel wherever possible similar bi-racial committees in the cities and towns throughout the state.

It will not stand by and wait for trouble and disorder to develop. Instead, it will seek out ways in which progress can be made in many areas and how the underlying causes of racial tension and discord can be eliminated.

This is going to be a hard-working commission, for it is no easy task they have undertaken.

I will give them all the help the office of Governor can supply.

But, more important, I believe this commission will have the enthusiastic support of the great majority of Floridians, who so earnestly desire to help in the intelligent and reasonable solution of our race relations problems.

No state ever had a greater opportunity to prove itself, and I have every confidence in the ability and desire of this commission and the people of Florida to measure up.

We should not expect miracles from the commission. Problems in this area are highly complex and difficult as everyone

knows. But the commission will give to the work its best, and I believe most Floridians join me in wishing it God speed.

The Governor's office announces the appointment of the following members to the Governor's Commission on Race Relations:

Cody Fowler, Tampa, attorney, chairman of the commission

Ben Benung, Clearwater, Sheriff of Pinellas County

Perry C. Harvey, Jr., Tampa, president and business agent of International Longshoreman's Association, Local/408, affiliated with the AFL-CIO

Mrs. C. D. Johnson, Quincy, chairman of the Florida Children's Commission

Rev. E. C. Tillman, Daytona Beach, pastor of Mount Bethel Baptist Church

John B. Turner, Miami, civic leader and businessman, vice president of Orange State Oil Company

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Auburn 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

HFN
LD

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 26, 1960

To: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: Correction on Page 6 of March 24 Memorandum

Posted

For the record, I would like to make a correction in the middle of Page 6 of my Memorandum of March 24. Franklin was not "Franklin McNeil" and, unfortunately I have lost my record of his name.

Have you information on the states which have laws requiring segregation in eating places?

Regards.

Ben

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 26, 1960

To: Mr. Harold C. Fleming ✓ From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: Luncheon with Bob Estabrook, Washington Post

I accepted a standing invitation to lunch with Bob Estabrook of the Post, yesterday, seeking words of wisdom and possible editorial help. He also invited Ben Gilbert, city (and also Southern) editor. I found them not very well informed but greatly interested.

When I got back to Manassas I found a phone call from a Post reporter who had been assigned to make a Southern tour and wanted to call on me for briefing -- Miss Elsie Carper.

Ben

COPY Furnished By Ben Muse

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
April 2, 1960 Tampa, Florida

The Commission met today in Tampa with state-wide representatives of business groups affected by racial demonstrations.

The Commission is encouraged and heartened in its work by the cooperation and helpful attitude of the groups meeting with it today.

A state-wide business advisory committee is being formed to work with the Commission and will meet in the immediate future.

The Commission also established state-wide advisory committees in law enforcement, legal matters, university affairs, religious affairs and press, radio and television, whose membership will be announced soon.

Favorable response has been received to the Commission's recommendation that each Florida community establish a local biracial committee. Several communities already have created such committees and others are being formed.

The Commission staff will begin Monday to work with the many localities requesting assistance.

Two staff assistants have been appointed by the Commission. They are William M. Rose, administrative assistant for the State Road Department, and Saul A. Silverman, attorney and part-time instructor in the School of Social Welfare at Florida State University, both on loan to the Commission.

Commission offices have been established in the State Office Building in Tampa.

Commission members attending the meeting today were Don Genung of Clearwater, vice chairman; Perry C. Harvey of Tampa, the Rev. E. C. Tillman of Daytona Beach and John B. Turner of Miami.

Chairman Cody Fowler of Tampa and Mrs. C. D. Johnson of Quincy did not attend, because of out-of-state previous engagements.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

April 19, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I should say about $35 should be mailed to Sid Bost, Twin City Sentinel, Winston-Salem, for his piece, which seems to give the picture there very well. The situation seems to be approaching some kind of climax there and I plan to look in on it next week.

In the throes of Massive Resistance again, I expect to pass up the Penn Community Center meeting, at which I have no doubt we shall be well represented.

However, I propose to attend the executive committee meeting on a southern auto trip, on which I shall talk with people in North Carolina both going and returning.

My plan is to spend a few hours at 63 Auburn Ave. Thursday afternoon, April 28, for a fill-in on the general situation, then continue to Tallahassee for a brief visit, driving back to spend Monday and Tuesday (May 3) again at 63 Auburn Ave.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

April 19, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I don't quite understand the problem of the Sumter County Turks or our part in it. In principle I think Brewbaker's relations should be with school authorities rather than with the plaintiffs in desegregation suits. However, I understand that the matter is not urgent, and we shall be able to talk about it within the next two weeks.

Incidentally, I have in mind a number of people to whom Special Reports and other Student Protest material should be sent. I am attaching a list of these. Some of these, no doubt, are getting the material, but I would like to be sure that it is going to all of them. Will you kindly put this in the proper hands? Thanks.

Sincerely,

Ben

P. S. Have you a spare copy of the Patrick Report (Winston-Salem)?

put on speaker case file 6-2-60

"Compliments of Ben Muse"

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

To Prime Price Report

For Student Protest material, beginning with Special Report of April 1:

Hon. Paul A. Johnston
Director
Department of Administration
Revenue Building
Raleigh, N.C.

Hon. Horace Edwards
City Manager
City Hall
Richmond, Va.

Hon. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.
Governor of Virginia
Richmond, Va.

Mr. Geo. H. Aull, Jr.
City Manager
Durham, N.C.

Gen. J. R. Townsend
City Manager
Greensboro, N.C.

Hon. George H. Roach
Mayor
Greensboro, N.C.

Mr. John Gold
City Manager
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Editor
Morning Herald
Durham, N.C.

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
Editor
Raleigh News and Observer
Raleigh, N.C.

Mr. Robert F. Campbell
Editor
Twin City Sentinel
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Mr. Lenoir Chambers
Editor
Norfolk Virginian Pilot
Norfolk, Va.

Mr. Perry Morgan
Editor
Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
Norfolk, Va.

Mr. H. W. Kendall
Editor
Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, N.C.

Speaker list

Dr. Clarence H. Patrick
Wake Forest College
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Hon. John Thurfees
Mayor
City Hall
Winston-Salem, N.C.

research list sent 5-19-60 w/ A SPM, plus April 21 + May 10

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 9, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Please send Special Report to, and put on the list to receive other material on the Student Protest, the addresses below:

Rev. John Cunningham
President
Presbyterian Foundation
Wachovia Bank Bldg.
Charlotte, North Carolina

Rev. W. W. Finlator
434 Yarmouth Road
Raleigh, North Carolina

Hon. Jas. S. Smith
Mayor,
City Hall
Charlotte, North Carolina

mailed 5-11-60
put on special card list

Thanks.

Ben Muse

Benjamin Muse

May 13, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your letter concerning distribution and for your memorandum of May 11 on the lunch-counter situation. The latter is exceptionally good and informative; it encourages me to continue hoping for some breakthroughs. I have sent a copy post-haste to Dave Freeman, whom I will see Tuesday, May 24; this will give me a chance to discuss with him renewal of the RBF grant and what form of annual accounting they want beforehand.

As to distribution, I agree wholeheartedly with your views. As you know, we have discussed this matter internally more than once; but it is clear that we have not achieved a satisfactory working arrangement. I am passing your letter on to Les and John as a basis for another, more determined approach to the problem.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS / Bloomington, Indiana / EDison 9-9704

COPY

May 16, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Consultant
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

It was very good of you to give us an opportunity to examine the interesting material you have gathered for the projected book on Virginia's Mass Resistance. We continue to be tremendously interested in the matter and when you have completed the book and done a very extensive organizing and revisions job that seems to be necessary, we should like very much to have a chance to see the completed manuscript. As a matter of fact, one of our readers here is most impatient for you to complete the work so that we can consider the possibility of proceeding with publication. Another of our readers has suggested that it would add interest and depth to the story if we could be told a little more clearly how the crisis affected representative classes of ordinary citizens, Negro and white, what their reactions were, etc. Also, we think the reader would like to know a bit more about what the NAACP was doing with an evaluation of their work. And, of course, I am sure you realize an expansion and writing up of the material is necessary. Also, we noticed the lack of a conclusion which would survey and analyze the story in retrospect and comment on the future.

The manuscript is being returned to you under separate cover today. We shall be eager to hear from you further.

Cordially yours,

Bernard B. Perry, Director
INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

ch

This is the first sign of life from Indiana U. Press to which an early version was sent March 26.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 16, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

At Paul Christopher's suggestion, I called Friday upon Boris Shiskin, director, AFL-CIO civil rights department in Washington. I also met Don Slaiman, assistant director. They both inquired cordially about you.

Shiskin was interested in hearing about Florida. He said that he would -- without referring to my visit -- get in touch with Frank Rosh, Florida AFL-CIO president and urge that he cooperate with the Florida Commission on Race Relations.

They gave me a copy of a May 5 report to the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which I enclose herewith. Do we receive material regularly from this group? Talked enthusiastically about the AFL-CIO civil rights regional advisory councils now building up. A recent meeting of the Southern advisory council drew representatives from all Southern states except Georgia and Florida. Tennessee AFL-CIO president Stanton Smith, now chairman, will probably be succeeded by Harry Boyd, Virginia AFL-CIO president. The North Carolina AFL-CIO resolution endorsing the lunch counter protests is being brought to the attention of other state AFL-CIO leaders.

Yarmolinsky said over the phone that it will probably be two or three weeks before Yale Press says anything definite about my book. "That's the way they work, and it can't be helped." Nevertheless, he said he will try to push it along when he goes to New Haven this week.

I am taking off tomorrow morning for Knoxville, where I shall be for a few days at the Farragut.

Sincerely,

Ben

Not for publication

Report of the Civil Rights Committee

to the

AFL-CIO Executive Council

May 5, 1960

Since its report to the Executive Council presented last February, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee has held one meeting on April 21. Its Subcommittee on Compliance also held one meeting on March 7, 1960.

In the course of these two and a half months, two additional International affiliates of the AFL-CIO have established civil rights committees of their own: the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union and the International Longshoremen's Association. This means that a total of 5 additional International Unions have established internal civil rights machinery of their own since the San Francisco Convention last September.

In addition, President Meany has appointed the AFL-CIO Midwestern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights made up of representatives of the six Midwestern State Central Bodies, including Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan and Ohio. Each of these State Central Bodies has a civil rights committee of its own. The first meeting of the Midwestern Advisory Committee will be held in Chicago on May 16.

On May 17, the Sixth Anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision on school desegregation will be observed at a luncheon to be held at the Sherman Hotel in Chicago, under the joint sponsorship of the Midwestern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights and the National Civil Rights Committee of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Invited speakers are: Chairman Charles S. Zimmerman of the Civil Rights Committee, Vice President Joseph D. Keenan, Milton P. Webster, First Vice President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Augustine Bowe, Chairman of the Chicago Commission on Human Rights.

COMPLIANCE WORK

Local 26, IBEW, in Washington, D. C.

Since last February, President Meany has been serving as a Subcommittee of the Executive Council on this case certified to the Council by the Civil Rights Committee.

Since that time the President's Committee on Government Contracts, on President Meany's suggestion, has ordered electrical contractors and subcontractors in the District of Columbia to enforce the nondiscrimination clause in their contracts by hiring qualified Negro journeymen whether or not they are referred through the union.

A number of qualified Negro electricians have applied for jobs in connection with the forthcoming construction of new Federal buildings, where electrical subcontracts are held by H. P. Foley Electrical Company and Walter C. Doe Electrical Company, both of Washington, D. C.

To date, none of these applicants has been hired, although some have been told by the subcontractors that they would be called when needed.

The President's Committee has been told by one Subcontractor that the Negro electricians who have applied were qualified to do light electrical wiring, but were not qualified to handle heavy conduits going in the foundations of buildings.

Labor members of the President's Committee then proposed, and the Committee agreed, to obtain through agencies responsible for these projects, complete information from these Subcontractors as to their requirements for qualified labor on each project, giving the number of workers needed in each skill classification, their skill qualification requirements, and the date when each skill group would be needed for employment on the project.

While the President's Committee has taken steps to obtain this information from the Subcontractors concerned, to date, it has not been received.

In the meantime, Vice President Keenan reported to the Civil Rights Committee on April 21, that Local 26 had informed the IBEW President Gordon Freeman that they would admit qualified Negro apprentices into the apprenticeship training program in which Local 26 participates. According to Vice President Keenan, President Freeman informed Local 26, that the International Brotherhood will take Local 26 over and put an administrator over the Local, in the event the Local failed to comply or took any action to prevent any Negro mechanic from working on any job.

Rodmen's Local 201 of the International Association of Bridge, Structural & Iron Workers in the District of Columbia.

Since the last Executive Council meeting, when it was reported that Local 201 had made an excellent public statement on their nondiscrimination policy and stated that they would welcome Negro rodmen into membership, and qualified minority youths into their apprentice training system, several of the qualified Negro rodmen who had registered at the union-referral hall, have been referred by the union to jobs under Government contracts as well as to jobs in private employment.

The men working on these jobs have proved to be wholly satisfactory and are well satisfied with their reception and their relations with the union men on the job sites.

The Civil Rights Committee feels that Local 201 is to be congratulated on the manner in which they have proceeded to carry out their pledges of nondiscrimination in spite of the often unfair and inaccurate newspaper criticism they have been subjected to.

Cleveland Local 55 of the United Association of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the U. S. & Canada

Since the last Executive Council meeting when it was reported that through the efforts of the Civil Rights Department and of Vice President Schoemann, a

meeting had been arranged between the Negro applicants and the officers of Cleveland Local 55. Civil Rights Department's Assistant Director Brown has met with the Local's officers, Cleveland Negro community leaders and Negro plumbers who applied for membership. The Local's officers finally agreed to process 6 applications of Negro plumbers at a time. However, the examinations have not as yet been given. It is hoped that qualified Negro journeymen will be accepted into membership in Local 55 at an early date.

International Longshoremen Association

The matter of compliance with AFL-CIO Civil Rights Policy by the ILA in some of its local unions in New York City can be summed up as follows:

The Civil Rights Committee had recommended that the ILA establish a civil rights committee of its own and attempt to negotiate with New York shipowners inclusion in their contracts of a nondiscrimination clause.

Since the last Executive Council meeting the ILA has established such Civil Rights Committee. It is hoped that the committee will deal with the problems that still exist on the New York Waterfront.

Segregated Facilities in Union Halls in Memphis

In February 1960, on a complaint from members of Local 988 of the UAW in Memphis, the International Union ordered its local union officers to comply with UAW policy and remove from water fountains and washrooms signs bearing labels "White" and "Colored".

Upon refusal the UAW put the local under trusteeship. UAW Secretary Emil Mazey advised that in the process of dealing with the problem of the local union, the question had been raised that the Labor Temple in Memphis in which the Memphis AFL-CIO Central Body held its meetings also had segregated facilities as well as the local union hall of the Firestone Local of the United Rubber Workers.

Assistant Directors Brown and Slaiman went to Memphis to investigate the situation.

They reported that indeed the facilities were segregated in the two buildings. In regard to the Rubber Workers' Local, the matter was referred to International President Buckmaster of the URW who said that he would assign the investigation of the situation to one of his representatives. He also pointed out that in recent years, tremendous strides had been made in this local union in upgrading Negro members and erasing race differentials between white and Negro members. He had been in Memphis on a number of occasions and had never received a complaint with regard to segregated facilities.

In regard to the Labor Temple, it was found that although the Central Body met at the hall it did not control the building, and that the ownership of the building rested in a committee made up of representatives of the unions which had their offices in the building as a separate corporation.

The Civil Rights Department will continue to work on the problem.

Painters

The Committee would like to note that, in the District of Columbia, Local 1831 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America began an organization drive in March 1960 to recruit both Negro and White painters in the home building and building maintenance field. It received applications from 10 Negro painters within days after the drive began. This is noteworthy since at the D. C. Commissioners hearing, the Painters' District Council in the District of Columbia had stated that although they maintained a policy of nondiscrimination, they had no Negro member in any of their 3 locals in the District of Columbia.

Building and Construction Trades Department

Since the last Executive Council meeting, before he had retired President Richard Gray of the Building & Construction Trades Department on February 26, 1960, released a policy statement on the question of the nondiscrimination policy of the AFL-CIO, in which he endorsed the policy and emphasized that his Department would investigate and correct any incidence of discrimination in employment or apprenticeship, and took the initiative in requesting that the President's Committee on Government Contracts notify the Department of any complaints that were made.

American Federation of Musicians

Since the meeting of the Executive Council last February, President Kenin of the American Federation of Musicians has reported the successful merger of the separate White and Negro locals in San Francisco, California. An agreement has been reached to merge the Negro and White locals in Denver, Colorado and Sioux City, Iowa, by July 1. In addition, six segregated locals in Ohio have been advised that they will have to merge within 60 to 90 days.

There are no longer any local unions in the A.F.of M. segregated by race in any community West of Nebraska. President Kenin of the A.F.of M. is continuing to pursue the remaining problems of racially segregated locals. He is confident that, by the end of the year, 10 additional locals will be merged.

"SIT-INS" PROTESTING THE DENIAL OF SERVICE TO NEGRO CITIZENS AT LUNCH COUNTERS, IN RESTAURANTS AND OTHER PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION.

On March 18, the Third Annual Convention of North Carolina State AFL-CIO resolved unanimously to express its approval of the efforts of "Negro student groups throughout the South, who are demonstrating, through the use of peaceful labor techniques, such as the picket line, the sit down and the consumer boycott, for equal rights to eat in public eating facilities."

This resolution also expressed the disapproval of the North Carolina AFL-CIO "of the unwarranted police actions now being carried out in many of these demonstrations as violations of the rights of American citizens to free speech and free assembly."

In a number of cities in many parts of the country, local central bodies of the AFL-CIO have taken independent action to support boycotts and organized picket lines at chain stores whose branches in the South have refused to serve citizens because of their color.

At a March meeting, the Civil Rights Committee's Subcommittee received a first-hand report from a group of student leaders taking part in the "sit-in" campaign.

At its April meeting, the Civil Rights Committee endorsed the action taken by President Meany on March 14, calling upon President Eisenhower to instruct the Attorney General to take immediate steps to restore civil rights in Montgomery, Alabama, and in any other area where local law enforcement fails to provide equal justice to Negro and white alike.

The Civil Rights Committee also noted with satisfaction the indication of support to the sit-ins by President Meany and Vice President Reuther, and decried the false charge of "Communist instigation and leadership" of these peaceful and democratic actions.

CONFERENCES

Since the February Executive Council meeting, the following civil rights conferences were held at which representatives of the Civil Rights Department spoke and participated:

In Boston, where the Massachusetts AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee held a conference on April 2, with over 275 delegates in attendance. In Minneapolis, where on April 23, the Minneapolis AFL-CIO Central Labor Council held its 4th Annual Institute of Human Relations, with 120 delegates. In Indianapolis, where a representative from the Civil Rights Department spoke at a Steelworkers' District 30 conference of 100 delegates, held on April 29.

The Department will also be represented at a civil rights conference to be sponsored by the Omaha, Nebraska, Central Labor Union, AFL-CIO, at the University of Omaha, on May 7.

COMMUNITY SURVEYS

In order to broaden the approach to the civil rights problems confronting us in specific community situations, plans have been formed to undertake several community-wide civil rights surveys. The first pilot survey project is to be undertaken in Baltimore, Maryland, at an early date. This survey will examine the civil rights problems within the ranks of organized labor, as well as employment patterns and practices in the whole community. The purpose of the survey is to locate the most important problem areas and to obtain all relevant information on the best ways of dealing with the problem of discrimination effectively.

Charles S. Zimmerman, Chairman

Boris Shishkin, Secretary

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

May 21, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I enclose a copy of a letter of May 18 from Dr. Patrick, together with his travel expense account, covering his recent trip to Florida, totalling $141.70. In addition he was promised an honorarium of $50 per day. He should be forwarded a check for $241.70.

done

Galen Martin was with me in Knoxville only Tuesday. He spent the remainder of the week attending a meeting of his Unitarian organization in Boston. However, I will arrange to keep in touch with developments in Knoxville.

I would like to see that the following are on the list to receive Student Protest material:

Dr. James A. Colston
President
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Porterfield Bradby
Director of Public Relations
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Hon. John Duncan
Mayor
City Hall
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Harry W. Brooks
President
Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Charles Herd
Manager
Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

Rev. Jos. J. Copeland
4719 Lyns View Pike S.W.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. W. M. Nash
Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

done

I am rushing a few copies of Ken Morland's report to friends in Knoxville.

I received a telegram ten days ago from the Phelps Stokes Fund, asking me to hold my dates open for the Holly Knoll Conference June 17-19, and saying "letter follows." I received no letter, but I am writing Mr. Patterson acceptance of the invitation.

I have to prepare something for the Capital Press Club tomorrow. A comprehensive report on Knoxville will go forward early next week.

Regards

Sincerely,

Ben

done

P.S. Would it be asking too much to ask you to send me a copy of Reporter with your article? I did not have access to the right news stands. I will return it if you ask that.

May 21, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RHA please do HCF

Dear Harold:

I enclose a copy of a letter of May 18 from Dr. Patrick, together with his travel expense account, covering his recent trip to Florida, totalling $141.70. In addition he was promised an honorarium of $50 per day. He should be forwarded a check for $241.70.

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Manager
Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

Rev. Jos. J. Copeland
4719 Lyns View Pike S.W.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. W. M. Nash
Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

MF Pls have this taken care of HCF

I am rushing a few copies of Ken Morland's report to friends in Knoxville.

Copy made & sent 5/23/60 WCS

MF - Ben adds a handwritten PS asking for a copy of my Reporter article. will return if necessary.

I received a telegram ten days ago from the Phelps Stokes Fund, asking me to hold my dates open for the Holly Knoll Conference June 17-19, and saying "letter follows." I received no letter, but I am writing Mr. Patterson acceptance of the invitation.

I have to prepare something for the Capital Press Club tomorrow. A comprehensive report on Knoxville will go forward early next week.

Sincerely,

WAKE FOREST COLLEGE

Winston-Salem, North Carolina

COPY

Dept. of Sociology

Home Address:
Box 7314, Reynolds Station
Winston-Salem, N.C.

May 18, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Inclosed are the expense account forms. I left Winston-Salem a little after four o'clock on Thursday, May 12 and returned about five thirty on May 14.

The basic plan which is being set up in Florida appears to me to be sound. I like the committee members and the staff. They are working at their assignment and are determined to do a thorough job. There are some decided advantages in their not being professionals, however, they will need some guidance from people like yourself. I think they are wise in not pressing for any definite action until after the state election. They need some person who can go over their written materials and make them less theoretical, delete the jargon, and correct errors. I have agreed to go over their guide or prospectus for the local community self-study.

Next Monday is the day of decision in Winston-Salem. It seems to be understood by all that the courses open to us now are only two: (1) Serve all at the same lunch counter or (2) Permanently go out of the lunch counter business.

Let me know when you can get up this way again.

Sincerely,

Check #1621; $24.70
5/23/60 wt.

Clarence Patrick

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

May 23, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Capital Press Club and National Press Institute

May 21, 1960

I attended this meeting from about 11 A. M. to 10 P. M.

The theme of the day's discussion was "the image of the Negro." I remarked that the lunch counter demonstrations had given the nation a fine image of courageous, intelligent, well-behaved Negro youth. I learned that Rappleye, of Time Magazine, had made the point more emphatically in the 9 A. M. session.

Percy Green, the irrepressible Mississippi editor, was much in evidence all day long, talking endlessly and off the subject. Green, who is widely regarded as a renegade Negro who "sold out" to the White Citizens Council, was all but thrown out of the meeting two years ago, but by dint of good-humored pertinacity he has come to be amicably tolerated.

Green's theme this year was the necessity for economic advancement -- jobs and money. A Green gem: "You can't fight with one hand and beg with the other!" If you make enough money, you are automatically integrated. To be integrated in a corporation, all you have to do is buy stock!

The chief honoree and hero at the evening banquet was Ezell Blair of North Carolina A & T, who started the Student Protest Movement. Ezell remarked to me that some of his group had been arrested. They were demonstrating again and would keep on fighting. He seemed much more bitter than when I saw him last.

His speech was an ambitious performance. His opening remarks were a touching example of the boy's fine natural instincts.

"I wasn't the father of this movement. It was Joe McNeil, my roommate. He's my best friend."

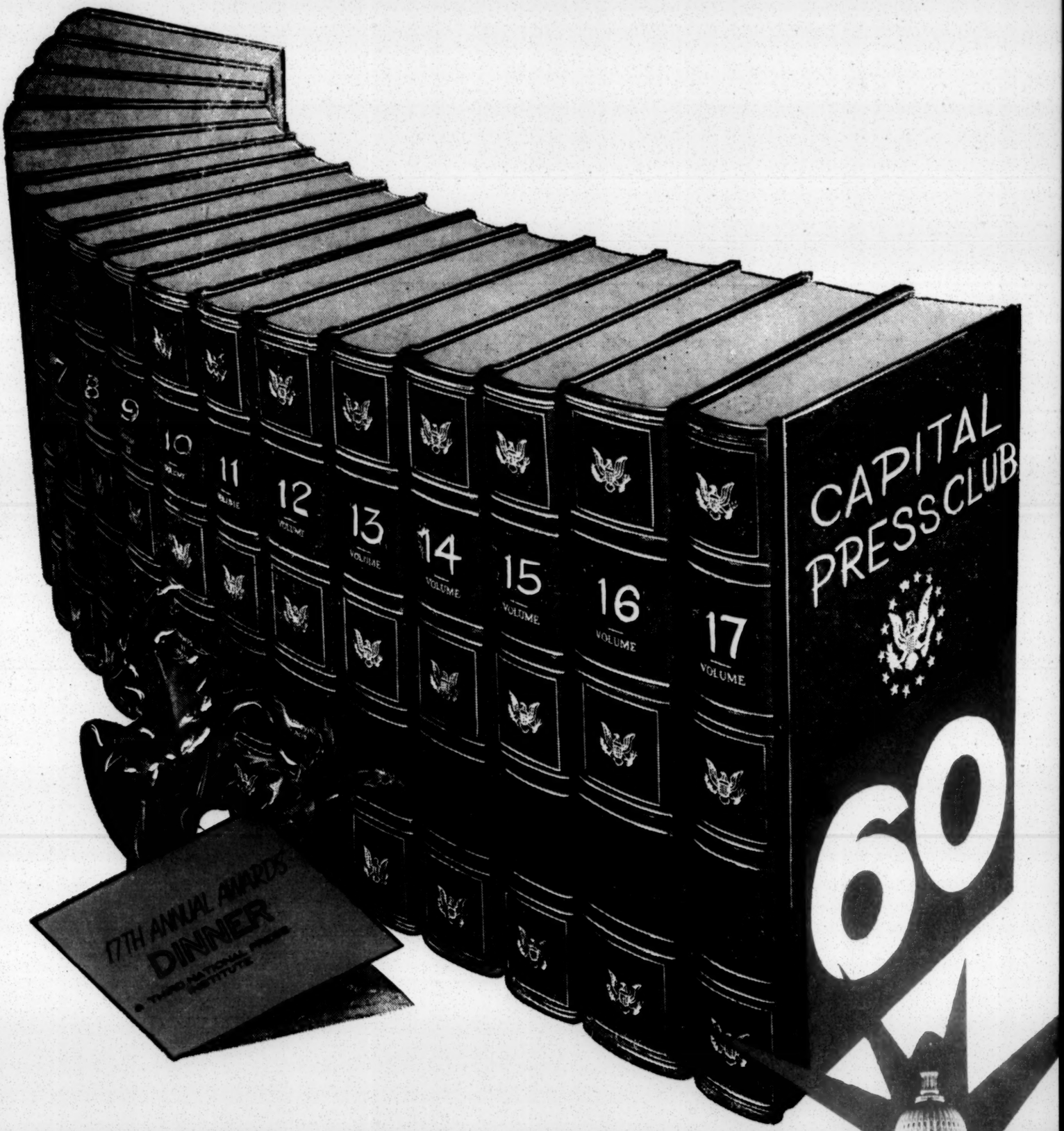
His speech was a labored display of schoolboy eloquence, interspersed with excessive and inapt quotations, but he had a fine voice and may be a budding orator. Very belligerent all the way through. Samples:

"The time has come to do things, not say things."

"The new Negro is ready to stand up and be counted—whatever the reprisals may be."

Benjamin Muse

SOUVENIR PROGRAM - WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 21



Capital Press Club

Family Favorite... at TV Time!

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Coca-Cola
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

Here's a happy combination of good things available in homes throughout modern America: quality entertainment on the family TV set . . . quality refreshment in bottles of delicious Coca-Cola. Family fun and ice-cold Coke are natural partners . . . everywhere.
Do you have enough Coca-Cola in your refrigerator?

FANNIE GRANTON

A Message

FROM

The President

THE members of the Capital Press's Club welcome you to our Third Annual National Press Institute and our 17th Annual Awards Dinner.

In this space age when students are taking the lead in world-shaking events, let us all vow to be perpetual students when we write, read and interpret the news in order to offer our best potential to those who rely on us for information.

FANNIE GRANTON
1958-1960

Past Press Club Presidents

1944-45 Al Smith, *Chicago Defender*
1945-46 John Young, *Pittsburgh Courier*
1946-47 Arthur Carter, *Afro-American*
1947-48 James Hicks, *National Newspaper Pub. Assn.*
1948-49 Herbert Henegan, *U. S. Dept. of Agriculture*
1949-50 Al Smith, *Chicago Defender*
1950 Lemuel Graves, *Pittsburgh Courier*
1950-52 Oscar Haynes, *Afro-American*
1952-54 Alfred Sweeney, *Afro-American*
1954-55 Odis Von Blasingame, *United Broadcasting Co.*
1955-56 William Parker, *Freedmen's Hospital*
1956-57 Simeon Booker, *Johnson Publishing Co.*
1957-58 Sherman Briscoe, *U. S. Dept. of Agriculture*

a good year's work...

CAPITAL PRESS CLUB HIGHLIGHTS ...

THE VISIT OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA.

THE VISIT OF THE HONORABLE WAYNE LYMAN MORSE, DEMOCRATIC SENATOR FROM OREGON.

THE VISIT OF REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN THRUSTON B. MORTON, SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY.

DINNER AND COCKTAILS WITH SENATOR AND MRS. JOHN KENNEDY, DEMOCRAT, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE CAPITAL PRESS CLUB

IF you are forty years old now, you were just 24 when the Capital Press Club was organized in February of 1944 in the upstairs dining room of John Carter's restaurant on You Street.

Alfred E. Smith, then chief of the Chicago Defender bureau here, was elected chairman; the late William Clark of OWI was named treasurer, St. Clair Bourne, press officer for FDR's FEPC, was appointed newsletter reader, and Margaret Stewart of the Afro became secretary.

Highlights of the year: An address by Vice President Henry A. Wallace at a regular meeting at Club Bengasi and speeches at the Slowe Hall annual dinner by Judge William H. Hastie and the late Marshall Field, founder of the Chicago Sun. The journalism award went to White House Correspondent Harry McAlpin.

After three six-month terms, Al Smith was succeeded by John Young, III, whose series in the Courier on his visits with governors across the South catapulted him to Washington as chief of the Courier's Bureau.

Highlight of his 1946 term: Selection of Lionel Hampton's unit as the Band of the Year and a followup dance which netted the club $2,000. This made possible the club's first downtown dinner. The Willard was the place, and Housing Expediter Wilson Wyatt was the speaker.

Art Carter, editor of the Afro, reintroduced normalcy, except when Pearl Bailey came. Then Jimmy "let's have a party" Hicks of NNPA was elected president with Herb Henegan, now of USIA, as his stabilizer. Jimmy moved to New York to open an NNPA office there, and Herb took over the reins. Jackie Robinson and Lena Horne were visitors, and Drew Pearson was the annual dinner speaker at Howard University.

Al Smith came back in '48 — the year Truman surprised the nation — and Lem Graves, then chief of the Courier's Bureau, followed on his heels. But Mutual Security beckoned and he was off to Paris, leaving his chores to Oscar Haynes of Afro, Gunther, Progressive.

After two terms and a brave attempt to help save the Martinsville Seven, Oscar passed the gavel to Al Sweeney of the Afro, now of the Cleveland Call and Post. George Fleming's Progressive Life began furnishing the trophies. Good dinners, funny skits, the appearance of Fay Emerson, an award for President Truman, and a word from Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter marked the era.

Odis Von Blasingame of WOOK was next in line with his dinner at the Raleigh in 1955. Bandung was the theme and Vice President Nixon and Congressman Powell were the speakers. Freedman's W. T. Parker then got the nod, introduced night meetings, and honored Congressman Dawson and Postmaster General Summerfield.

Simeon Booker of Ebony, Jet, Tan, and Hue had a colorful but YMCA dry term. Vice President and Mrs. Nixon were special dinner guests and Mrs. Bolton was the speaker. The talk was about Ghana and William Worthy.

The battle of the Parties — Paul Butler vs. Meade Alcorn at the equally dry YWCA — highlighted the term of Sherman Briscoe of Agriculture. The first national press institute brought journalists here from as far as Florida in '58. Jim Hagerty, Senator Douglas, and Carl Rowan sparked the dinner amid missiles and sputniks.

Fannie Granton of Johnson Publications, is rounding out her second term as president of the club. During her first, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP was dinner speaker, and honors went to Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Mrs. Burma A. Whitted (and others who aided Charlottesville's out— of-schoolers), Clarence Mitchell, Benjamin Muse, ANP's Claude Barnett, and the 75-year-old Philadelphia Tribune.

Fannie's second term has seen the club at the home of Senator John Kennedy as well as dining with Senators Humphrey and Morse.

Sherman Briscoe

17TH ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

Dinner Program

Saturday, May 21, 1960 Grand Ballroom, Willard Hotel

INVOCATION.....The Reverend Jerry Moore
Pastor, 19th Street Baptist Church

WELCOME.....Miss E. Fannie Granton
President, Capital Press Club

TOASTMASTER - Dolphin G. Thompson

President, Associated Counselors International

● CAPITAL PRESS CLUB AWARDS

Competitive Scholarship.....To Be Announced
Presented by Tomlinson Todd, Americans All

Bonus Award for Scholarship Winner
Presented by Barbara Harris, Joseph V. Baker Associates

Mass Communications.....L. T. Palmer, Jr.
Tri-State Defender
Presented by Anne B. Turpeau, Howard University

Human Relations.....Lester B. Granger
National Urban League
Presented by Hugo Warren, The Observer

Civil Rights.....Ezell Blair, Jr.
North Carolina A & T College
Presented by Charles Lewis, U. S. Information Agency

Community Relations.....Mrs. Edith Meyer
Presented by Rosemarie Tyler, Afro-American

● NEWSMAN'S NEWSMAN AWARDS

Advertising and Promotion .....To Be Announced
Presented by John Panagos, United Broadcasting Co.

Public Relations.....To Be Announced
Presented by Charles A. Ray, North Carolina College

Photography.....To Be Announced
Presented by Guichard Parris, National Urban League

Newswriting.....To Be Announced
Presented by J. A. Rogers, Pittsburgh Courier

REMARKS.....Miss Granton

Benediction..... Mr. Moore

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Ethel L. Payne.....Vice President
E. Josephine Lowery.....Treasurer
Anne B. Turpeau.....Secretary
Tomlinson D. Todd.....Corresponding Secretary
Alice A. Dunnigan.....Chairman, Program Committee

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Edward Peeks
Clifton D. Holland

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M-M-M

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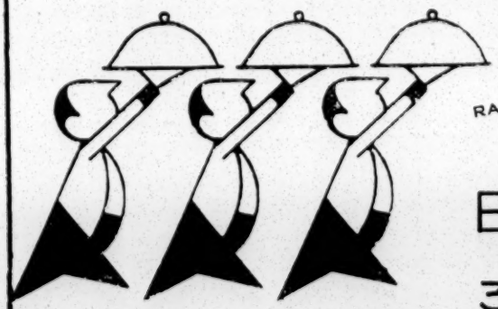

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THE NEWSMAN'S NEWSMAN AWARD

THE Newsman's Newsman Award was established in 1945 to pay tribute to members of the Capital Press Club whose work, in the opinion of their fellow club members, had been outstanding during the previous year. Until 1957 the winner of the award was chosen by the popular vote of Capital Press Club members. For the past three years, however, Capital Press Club members have been submitting published samples of their work to an impartial board of judges comprised of non-members.

For several years prior to 1957, the Capital Press Club held annual competitions among its membership to determine the best work for the year in the fields of Journalism, Public Relations, and Photography. The awards were known as "The Capital Press Club Annual Awards" and the entrees were submitted to impartial judges. For example, in the 1949 Capital Press Club Awards competition, Fred Harris received the award for the best news photography of the year; Lloyd Genus received the award for the best advertising copy of the year, and Otto McClarrin received the award for the best work in Journalism for the year. In addition to these competitive prizes, the group held an annual vote to determine the "Newsman's Newsman" of the year. At that time Al Smith, of the Chicago Defender and Lem Graves, of the Pittsburgh Courier received a tie vote for the award.

In 1957, the annual "Capital Press Club Awards" and the "Newsman's Newsman Award" were combined under the title of the Newsman's Newsmen Awards. At the 14th Annual awards dinner of that year three trophies were awarded - one for newswriting, another for photography, and a third for public relations.

In 1958, the competition was expanded to include advertising and promotion. The Newsman's Newsmen trophies, for a number of years, were contributed by Mr. George G. Flemming, Territorial Supervisor of the Progressive Life Insurance Company. The trophies for 1960 were donated by Mr. Richard Eaton of the United Broadcasting Company.

NEWSMAN'S NEWSMAN AWARD

1945 Al White, *U.S. Dept. of Agriculture*
1946 Sherman Briscoe, *U.S. Dept. of Agriculture* (Writing)
Fred Harris, *Pittsburgh Courier* (Photography)
1947 James Hicks, *National Newspaper Pub. Assn.*
1948 Lemuel Graves, *Pittsburgh Courier*
1949 Al Smith, *Chicago Defender*
Lemuel Graves, *Pittsburgh Courier*
1950 Ralph Mathews, *Afro-American*
1951 Alice Dunnigan, *Associated Negro Press*
1952 Revella Clay, *Pittsburgh Courier*
Alfred Sweeney, *Afro-American*
1953 Simeon Booker, *Washington Post*
1954 Lois Taylor, *Afro-American*
1955 Ethel Payne, *Chicago Defender*
1956 Pearlie Cox, *Afro-American*
1957 Samuel Hoskins, *Afro-American* (Writing)
Maurice Sorrell, *Afro-American* (Photography)
Ernest Goodman, *Howard University* (Public Relations)
1958 Edward Peeks, *Afro-American* (Writing)
Maurice Sorrell, *Afro-American* (Photography)
Monica Betancourt, *Afro-American* (Advertising)
D. G. Thompson, *Thompson-Simmons Associates* (Public Relations)

●RECIPIENTS IN 1959

Edward Peeks, Afro-American (Writing)
Maurice Sorrell, Afro-American (Photography)
Monica Betancourt, Afro-American (Advertising)
D. G. Thompson, Thompson-Simmons Associates (Public Relations)

AL SMITH, former chief of the Washington Bureau of the Chicago Defender, founded the Capital Press Club in 1944. He is now working in New York City.

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RICHARD M. NIXON
Vice President

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
President

THRUSTON B. MORTON
National GOP Chairman

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1960

Dear Miss Granton:

It is indeed a pleasure to extend greetings to the members of the Capital Press Club on the occasion of your Seventeenth Annual Awards Dinner.

Because I have had the privilege of being your guest at a similar event in the past, I particularly appreciate this opportunity to compliment you on the praiseworthy objectives of the Club and on the splendid work of your members.

I share your pride in the growth of the Capital Press Club and in the increasing importance which is attached to your work in interpreting events in the United States and the development of our policies, both domestic and international.

With congratulations on your skillful and conscientious efforts to carry out this task with objectivity, and best wishes for a most enjoyable evening,

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

annie Granton
nt
Press Club
n, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1960

Dear Miss Granton:

Please give my greetings to those attending the Seventeenth Annual Awards Dinner of the Capital Press Club.

In the growth of our Nation -- and our Nation's Capital -- the working Press has played a major role. It has helped our people to know the facts, to weigh the facts and to act responsibly as the facts dictate. This is in the highest tradition of American journalism.

I am delighted to add my best wishes to the members of the Capital Press Club.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Miss E. Fannie Granton
President
The Capital Press Club
Washington, D. C.

THIRD NATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE

PROGRAM

Saturday, May 21, 1960 Jackson Room, Willard Hotel

ARE MASS MEDIA PROJECTING A REPRESENTATIVE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO?

9:00 - 10:45 a.m.

Greetings.....E. Fannie Granton, President

District Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin

Purpose of Institute.....Sherman Briscoe, Chairman, Institute Committee

SYMPOSIUM

- What Image of the Negro Now Is Projected by Mass Media?

Moderator: Dolphin Thompson, President, Associate Counselors International

Panelists: Alice Dunnigan, ANP; Sterling Alford, U. S. Information Agency; Harold Burt Meyers, Time Magazine; George Murphy, Afro-American Newspapers; Lawrence Beckerman, Station WTOP.

Questions and Discussion

Consultants: Randolph L. White, Charlottesville-Albermarle Tribune; Luther Jackson, Washington Post and Times Herald; Dorothy B. Porter, The Negro Collection, Howard University.

Summary: Moses S. Belton, Director of Public Relations, Johnson C. Smith University

CANADA DRY-COKE BREAK

11:00 - 12:30 p.m.

Anne B. Turpeau, Presiding

SYMPOSIUM

- What Is the Representative Image of the Negro?

Moderator: James L. Hicks, New York Amsterdam News

Panelists: J. A. Rogers, Pittsburgh Courier; Ben Gilbert, Washington Post and Times Herald; Helen G. Edmunds, Department of History, North Carolina College; George Butler, President's Committee on Defense Contracts, Edward Mazique, National Medical Association

Questions and Discussion

Consultants: Benjamin Quarles, Morgan State College; Lewis Fenderson, Howard University; John Thornton, Pittsburgh Courier; Attorney Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, Pittsburgh Courier.

Summary: Glanville Sawyer, Director of Public Relations, Tennessee A & I State University

LUNCH

1:45 - 3:45 p.m.

SYMPOSIUM

- How Can the Distortions in the Currently Projected Image of the Negro be Corrected or Reduced?

Moderator: William A. Fowlkes, Atlanta Daily World

Panelists: Art Carter, Afro-American; L. F. Palmer, Tri-State Defender; Percy Green, Jackson Advocates; James A. Bayton, Department of Psychology, Howard University; Benjamin Muse

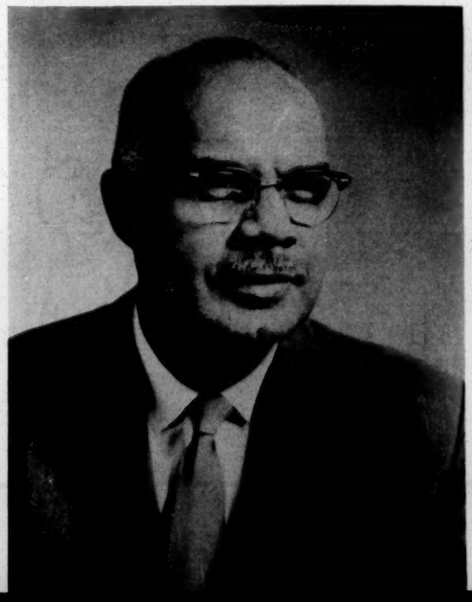
Questions and Discussion

Consultants: Art Carter, Afro-American; August Meier, Department of History, Morgan State College; Barbara Harris, Joseph Baker Associates; Lois K. Alexander, National Association of Fashion and Accessory Designers

Summary: Charles A. Ray, Director of News Bureau, North Carolina College

Reporters: Constance Daniel, Edward Peeks, Dutton Ferguson

LESTER B. GRANGER



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NEWSMAN'S NEWSMEN AWARDS

NEWSWRITING

1. Lemuel Graves
   Chief of the South American Desk
   U. S. Information Agency
   Washington, D. C.

2. Coit Hendley
   Assistant City Editor
   Washington Evening Star
   Washington, D. C.

3. Bernard L. Yudain
   Publisher's Representative
   Time, Inc.
   Washington, D. C.

PHOTOGRAPHY

1. Lawrence Jacobs
   Picture Editor
   Washington Post and Times-Herald
   Washington, D. C.

2. Robert Scurlock
   Customcraft Studio
   Washington, D. C.

3. Walter Wood
   Picture Editor
   Washington Evening Star
   Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

1. William A. Arnold
   Director of Public Information
   President's Committee on Government
   Washington, D. C.

2. Ludwig Caminita, Jr.
   Sessions and Caminita,
   Public Relations
   Washington, D. C.

3. Otto Schaler
   Business Relations
   American University
   Washington, D. C.

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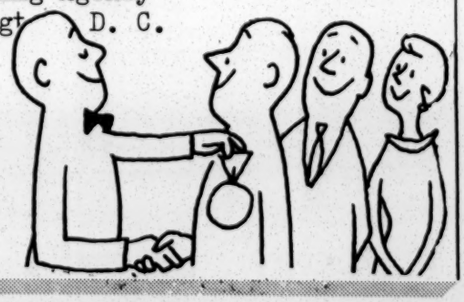

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LENNY GREEN, Sports (6-6:05 P.M.)
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June 1, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your letter of May 28, with enclosures, and for the copy of your letter to Brewbaker. We will take care of the various matters raised in your letter, and I will watch with interest the future developments in Knoxville and Winston-Salem.

As to Brewbaker, I have read the text of his speech with great distress of spirit. I am not only dismayed that Brewbaker feels this way, but I am completely at a loss to understand how he squares his point of view with the Southern Regional Council. Of course, the speech is at variance with everything I have heard about him, and there may be some explanation of this lapse. The matter is made all the more difficult because of his well publicized announcement of his consultant relationship with SRC (I agree with you that the publicity was wholly good and constructive.) In any case, I will not acknowledge his letter and speech pending word from you on his response to your letter and any further communication you may have with him. I simply wanted you to know how deeply concerned I am.

As you probably know by now, the Price report has been finished. It and the Morland report are being released to the press for next Monday, June 6.

We shall look forward to seeing Patrick's report, and I am expecting Westfeldt's manuscript any time now.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I appreciated receiving the copy of your Reporter article, which I read with great interest. There were few surprises in it, after all our conversation, but it was an excellent job.

I have received a formal invitation to the Holly Knoll meeting, to which I look forward with particular pleasure. I assume I shall see you there.

I don't know how much information you have regarding the little-publicized Alexandria Mayor's Committee, which held its second meeting yesterday. The first was held on May 17, 20 members, 16 white and 4 colored. The mayor himself active. Pat Weiss, manager of Murphy's, quite helpful. Rev. Wm. E. Basom, chairman, James Hayman, vice-chairman, Mrs. Eileen Eddy, (president AHRC) secretary. (There is mixed eating now among tourist parties at the Old Towne Club). They are <u>most anxious to avoid all publicity</u>. I will keep in touch.

done 6/2/60 wf

I would like to see our Student Protest material go to:

Hon. Leroy Bendheim
Mayor of Alexandria
126 S. Royal Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Hon. Armistead L. Boothe
State Senator
505 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia

I would appreciate it if the first mailing to the above two could go with my compliments.

The following should also be added to the list to receive Student Protest material:

done 6/2/60 mf.

Mrs. George A. Eddy
5151 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia

Rev. W. E. Basom
3423 Old Dominion Blvd.
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. James Hayman
2517 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia

I am enclosing clippings of the Knoxville Journal series on Nashville. I would appreciate it if these might be thermofaxed, at least two copies being sent to me. I have in mind sending a set to a New Orleans school board member and another to the superintendent of Catholic parochial schools in New Orleans -- at least as a friendly service.

Patrick advised that Thompson, from Woolworth's Atlanta office, spoke for the three Woolworth stores in Winston-Salem and that he went to Greensboro to try to reactivate the Mayor's Committee there. Recalling that Woolworth managers were in the forefront of the desegregation moves in Corpus Christi and Galveston, it would seem that Woolworth is making some effort to get out of the doghouse.

Winston-Salem seemed an especially valuable exhibit for other struggling Mayor's Committees. However, I can readily understand that the lunch counter desegregation movement has reached such proportions that we need to settle down calmly now to a system and a routine which are within our capabilities. I think our swift job of reporting on the new phenomenon was of inestimable value.

Wasn't Mayor Hartsfield wonderful on the Murrow program!

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

COPY

May 28, 1960

Dr. Clarence Patrick
Department of Sociology
Wake Forest College
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dear Pat:

Just a line with further reference to the report on Winston-Salem lunch counter desegregation which you have kindly undertaken to write.

What we want is the information needed by other committees working on the problem -- which no one is in a better position than you to judge. However, what our friends are most anxious to be able to assure the merchants is that desegregation doesn't materially hurt business. It may be necessary to wait ten days before a reliable statement can be made on that point in Winston-Salem.

Information about the composition of the interracial committee, the plan for initial desegregation, publicity policy and the effect upon public order will also be helpful.

I envy you the satisfaction of your great achievement.

Best Regards.

Sincerely,

COPY

May 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I appreciated receiving the copy of your Reporter article, which I read with great interest. There were few surprises in it, after all our conversation, but it was an excellent job.

I have received a formal invitation to the Holly Knoll meeting, to which I look forward with particular pleasure. I assume I shall see you there.

I don't know how much information you have regarding the little-publicized Alexandria Mayor's Committee, which held its second meeting yesterday. The first was held on May 17, 20 members, 16 white and 4 colored. The mayor himself active. Pat Weiss, manager of Murphy's, quite helpful. Rev. Wm. E. Basom, chairman, James Hayman, vice-chairman, Mrs. Eileen Eddy, (president AHRC) secretary. (There is mixed eating now among tourist parties at the Old Towne Club). They are <u>most anxious to avoid all publicity</u>. I will keep in touch.

I would like to see our Student Protest material go to:

Hon. Leroy Bendheim
Mayor of Alexandria
126 S. Royal Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Hon. Armistead L. Boothe
State Senator
505 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia

I would appreciate it if the first mailing to the above two could go with my compliments.

The following should also be added to the list to receive Student Protest material:

Mrs. George A. Eddy
5151 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia

Rev. W. E. Basom
3423 Old Dominion Blvd.
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. James Hayman
2517 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia

I am enclosing clippings of the Knoxville Journal series on Nashville. I would appreciate it if these might be thermofaxed, at least two copies being sent to me. I have in mind sending a set to a New Orleans school board member and another to the superintendent of Catholic parochial schools in New Orleans -- at least as a friendly service.

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Wasn't Mayor Hartfield wonderful on the Murrow program!

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 3, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just a line by way of a progress report on Brewbaker. I spent three hours with him in Williamsburg yesterday. Today I am working over the awful address.

I believe the incident is under control and there will be no further trouble of this sort.

I will report fully in a few days.

Sincerely,

Ben

Brewbaker is trying to get some head and limbs and start with us before the end of the month, beginning with a visit to you in Atlanta. I would like to see him make a start before I sail for Europe July 22.

June 8, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Many thanks for your memo and enclosures received today. The reactions to Brewbaker's announcement are most encouraging, and I am sending copies of them up to RBF.

I am relieved to learn that you are working things out so well with Brewbaker. Unfortunately, on the strength of your earlier letter, I wrote Brewbaker just yesterday, not mentioning the content of his speech but congratulating him on the Phi Delta Kappa award, looking forward to seeing him, etc. Under the circumstances, I think I had better defer any comments until we get acquainted. I can get my licks in then, and meanwhile it sounds as though you have the situation well under control.

Incidentally, I am agreeable to any arrangements (including Roanoke) in advance of July 1 that you and Brewbaker work out.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

June 16, 1960

Dear Ben,

The enclosed material came to us cold from the National Conference on Citizenship. As I recall, this is the meeting that you and Brewbaker discussed his attending as SRC's representative.

I don't know whether or not that's why we received the form, or whether Brewbaker will handle his own accreditation. However, I have signed the form, and it is only necessary to fill in the representative's name in the two appropriate spaces. Please do so and mail it in, if appropriate.

I am glad you had a chance to improve -- or suggest improvements in -- Brewbaker's manuscript. I feel it best to leave this whole matter in your good hands.

Regards,

Harold

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

June 16,1960

Mr.John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear John:

There is a very promising lunch counter situation in Alexandria, Va.--merchants cooperative and almost persuaded.

I would appreciate your putting on the list to receive Student Protest material the following:

Mr.W.A.Weiss
620 King St.
Alexandria, Va.

Mr.E.D.Gibbs
60 Florida Ave.,N.E.
Washington, D.C.

Mr.Milton Elsberg
1200 South Eads St.
Arlington, Va.

(Weiss is manager of Alexandria Murphy's; Elsberg is head of Drug Fair chain; Gibbs is secretary of Peoples.)

It will be helpful, too, if you will do this with the first mailing: Attach a slip to Margaret Price's report, saying--Compliments of Benjamin Muse. See Page 18--and mark the reference to the statement that no loss of business has been reported in desegregated stores.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

Mailed 6-20-60 and put on cards for Student Protest material.
Price report
Moreland's report
Lexi report
Mail/60 New Sandy

June 27, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I have been on vacation for the last two weeks but my secretary, Miss Cummings, has handled the requests for the lunch counter materials. We have a growing list of persons getting this type of material with seemingly a lot of interest.

We are mailing you, under separate cover, some letterhead. Mrs. Alexander handles the order for this and tells me we are a little low so I am only mailing you a portion of a box. If you need additional, let me know and I will mail it as soon as our new order comes in.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

June 21, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I am particularly interested in the situation in Laurinburg, N. C., for reasons which I shall set forth in a comprehensive report at the earliest opportunity. I don't know the state of our supply of various items of literature, but, if it is not asking too much, I would like for generous quantities of some items to be sent to the chamber of commerce there.

If it is convenient, I would like to have 25 copies of Gov. Collins' "The South and the Nation sent to:

Mr. Glenn F. Webb, Manager
Laurinburg Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 349
Laurinburg, N. C.

Please send also to the above three copies of "Toward a Solution, etc." by Margaret Price, and make a note to send one copy of Patrick's report on Winston-Salem when it is ready. Also please send three more copies of L-6. I may suggest other items later.

Thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

mailed 6/23/60 Patrick Report mailed 8-19-60

Virginian Hotel Lynchburg, Va

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 29, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A long afternoon of indoctrination and planning with Brewbaker Monday, June 27. Brew has moved in a prejudiced milieu, and in his long fight in Norfolk he went along with much of the segregationist language and attitude short of the main issue. Some jarring "blocs" come out in a long conversation. But I take comfort in the fact that Brewbaker publicly favored desegregation as early as 1955 and -- though faced with a hostile mayor and a hostile governor -- he never wavered in his insistence that the law must be obeyed and that the schools must be kept open.

Actually his not so liberal attitude toward the broad question of race -- if we ourselves can tolerate it until more light may shine upon him -- will help him to gain the confidence of most Southern school administrators. Incidentally, he has some warm friends among his colleagues in South Carolina and Alabama. It would at least be interesting to have him tell us what they are thinking.

We plan to call upon you together Monday morning, July 11, unless I should hear from you to the contrary. I think it would be important for Brewbaker while in Atlanta to call upon Dr. Clement, and, with an introduction from him, upon others in the Atlanta school administration. (Brewbaker knows the Atlanta superintendent only slightly). It would seem advisable for him to stay in Atlanta at least through Tuesday.

Brewbaker is doing this by car -- a trip of ten days or more. On the way south he plans to visit superintendents in Newport News, Richmond, Roanoke (and possibly others in Virginia) Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Spartanburg and Greenville. Returning to Norfolk, he is thinking of visits in Columbia, Raleigh, etc.

Near the end of July he plans to attend a meeting of school administrators in New York, with visits to some Northern Virginia superintendents and Dr. Hansen in Washington en route. I have written him a letter (a copy enclosed) with regard to the school administrator's meeting and also with regard to the National Conference on Citizenship.

Sincerely,

Ben

COPY

June 29, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
Superintendent of Schools
School Administration Building
Bank and Charlotte Streets
Norfolk 10, Virginia

Dear Brew:

After reviewing again the matter of participation in the 1960 National Conference on Citizenship, in the light of our recent talks, I have begun to doubt the appropriateness of your attending as the representative of the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to combat race prejudice and race discrimination in all fields. This is, of course, a basic ideal of citizenship, and participation would be entirely appropriate if a representative of our group who is thoroughly conversant with our activities and objectives were available to express our point of view.

However, I feel increasingly that you do not yet know us well enough for that. In the matter of school desegregation you have the practical approach, an appreciation of the difficulties and unique experience -- which eminently fit you for the great work in this field. But on the broad problem of race relations I do not believe you are sufficiently familiar with our activities and aims at this stage to represent us at a gathering like the National Conference on Citizenship. This, of course, does not prevent your going as a free lance. I believe you intended to do this anyway, and I am sure they need you.

The meeting of the Associated Public School Systems, however, seems directly within your field as our public school consultant. I think it will be fine for you to visit that and renew contacts with Southern school administrators there. I was glad to get the list of members which you sent. I noted particularly Floyd Christian from Pinellas County, Florida, with whom I had a pleasant visit last year. I noticed also several North Carolina superintendents who may have problems this year.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

July 1, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Miss Cummings sent twenty-five copies of the Collins' report to Mr. Glenn F. Webb as you requested. She also sent him the other material you mentioned with the exception of the Patrick report. We have a note to mail him that as soon as it is completed.

Looking forward to seeing you July 11.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

June 29, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thanks for your note of the 27th. I hope you had a fine vacation. I gather that the vacationers are beginning to reassemble at 63 Auburn Avenue. I am getting homesick for a visit there, but expect to be with you on July 11.

Your letter didn't mention the miscellaneous items requested to be mailed to Laurinburg, N. C. in my letter of June 21. I would be interested in knowing how many copies of Gov. Collins' address it was possible to mail there.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

via air mail

August 18, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
c/o The Constable's Tower
Dover Castle
Kent, England

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your two recent letters from your impressively ancient and baronial retreat. (I trust you are not inhabiting an ivory tower.)

I am most pleased that you have had a decent contract offer from the Indiana University Press. After reading your first letter, I suspected that they would move promptly once you called their hand. My impression is that publishers nearly always behave this way.

It has been an exceedingly busy summer here. We were drafted by Kabacoff (representing the Sterns) and the save-the-schools people to give virtually full-time service to the New Orleans situation. Paul Rilling is spending three to four days a week there superintending (behind the scenes) the educational efforts being carried on with Stern financing. The Citizens Councils, however, are beginning to charge that insidious outside forces are running the show and we'll be lucky not to suffer public "exposure" -- with the standard smear treatment.

Brewbaker has been very active. Among other things, he visited New Orleans recently, conferred with the school people, and made public appearances there and in Baton

Rouge. He acquitted himself admirably, and the publicity was good. The extremists, of course, have blasted him as our agent, but this doesn't seem to have had any serious effects so far.

Lunch counter desegregation is growing at an impressive rate. We issued a recent release tabulating 28 cities in the South where it has occurred. Rather ambiguously, Attorney General Rogers, speaking for the chain stores with which he has been conferring, has spoken of "69 communities" where dime stores have desegregated their counters. Most of the discrepancy can be explained on technical grounds -- different geographical areas, and so on. But the point is that something of a bandwagon psychology is in effect, except in the Deep South states, of course.

One final piece of shop-talk: SRC is moving on about September 9. We have secured office space in the former Journal building, right across from the present Journal-Constitution quarters. It is all on one floor, centrally air conditioned, and should in all respects be more comfortable and efficient.

I hope you and Mrs. Muse are making the most of your sojourn in those gracious and historic surroundings. We will look forward eagerly to a reunion when you return. Meanwhile, everyone here joins in warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE CONSTABLE'S TOWER,
DOVER CASTLE,
KENT.
TEL. 1087.

August 10, 1960

Dear Harold,

You will be interested in learning that the Indiana University Press replied to my letter with an offer to proceed with a contract for the publication of my book next spring. Somewhat apologetically, they suggest only an additional concluding chapter, which I shall do. "Next spring" was the earliest Chapel Hill could offer.

It is quite thrilling to live in this historic and ghost-infested castle. We do not eat in the great banquet hall, of course, but our dining room is big enough and has suits of armor and other romantic ornaments around.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

HF

Cunard Line
R.M.S. "Mauretania"

July 25, 1960

Dear Harold,

I am still unable to give you a conclusive report on my project of a book on Virginia's "massive resistance," but this is a good time to review the situation.

Chapel Hill's concept of the book was so different from mine that I sent the manuscript, when I got a little farther along, to the Indiana University Press. After about seven weeks of silence in the latter quarter, I sent it to the Yale University Press.

Shortly after this step—which I learned later was an unspeakable crime from the standpoint of publisher etiquette—I received a letter from Indiana, expressing "tremendous" interest.

Some weeks later I learned that both publishers were "distressed" at this "simultaneous submission," and there had been some communication between the two directors, who seem to be good friends. Indiana, which appeared to be the more tenacious, asked me for an "exclusive option." However, as I had reason to believe that Yale was farther along with it, I turned it over to Yale and asked Indiana to send the manuscript back. Instead of doing so, Indiana contacted Yale and got the latter to send its copy to ~~it~~ Indiana Press.

Cunard Line
R.M.S. "Mauretania"

This is not to imply that Yale was broken-hearted or that there was a scramble to get my manuscript. It is merely that all publishers are one-eyed bandits. Neither one appeared to be doing much about the matter, and months were going by.

Delayed by book publisher uncertainty and lunch counter desegregation, I only completed the book to my own satisfaction about the end of June. ~~May~~ I sent the last chapters in final revision to Indiana Press and told Director Perry about my impending trip to Europe.

On Sunday before my Friday sailing I received a jolly letter from Perry wishing me a bon voyage, etc., but asking for a revision in the light of the comments of readers on some chits which he enclosed! The comments ranged from thoughtful, but not too well informed, to silly, and at best a revision and further deliberation at the Indiana U. Press would delay matters several months.

The book could, of course, be improved upon, but I have reason to believe that it is publishable as it is. This, in fact, seemed to be the view of the Indiana Press editorial readers — although they would like more about this or more about that.

For instance:

Cunard Line
R.M.S. "Mauretania"

"This seems to me a significant, though not major, contribution to the history of desegregation, although I should expect no large market. It is written in good journalese and is easy to read, and the tone is fairly objective, although the author's sympathies are manifest."

"... An interesting and significant contribution to the history of race relations. This general subject will be in the public eye for a long time to come; but as Muse's canvas is small I shouldn't predict very large sales. The book should, however, appeal to students of politics as well as to those interested in race relations, and ~~my~~ might well rate a NY Times review..."

"Though I would like to see a concluding chapter as noted above, the Ms. as it stands is publishable and needs little more than routine copy editing."

I am strengthened in my belief that the book is ready to go without further tinkering and delay by the letter of June 27 from the Yale Press to Indiana U. Press (a copy of which was sent to me). This said: "We have no real objection to this work. It strikes me as a good, sound piece of work, a form of higher journalistic reporting that does not indulge in journalese..."

Cunard Line
R.M.S. "Mauretania"

In view of the foregoing, I have written Perry asking him to do me the favor of sending my manuscript to a subsidy publisher, with the request that ~~the~~ latter study it and be prepared to discuss its publication with me on my return. I will underwrite its publication.

I think what the Indiana U. Press readers missed in my book was mainly the discussion of the attitudes of ordinary people, white and colored, the nature of race prejudice, etc. with which most books on the Southern problem are so largely taken up. The considerations which we want to get before Southern leaders, I think, are amply covered. I contemplate a large distribution among Southern editors (for review) at my expense, as a partial offset for the cost to the SRC of my writing time.

I hope the reading of this epistle is easier than the writing of it but the high seas has been. But I have no reason to complain. It is the only thing I have done for three days except eat and sleep and read "Dr. Zhivago."

I would love to have some news of you and the Council and the South while in Europe. My address from August 9 to 31 will be:

Maj. Gen. Paul Gladell, D. S. O., M. C. B.
Constable's Tower
Dover Castle
Dover, Kent
England

Cunard Line
R.M.S. "Mauretania"

The Constable's Tower is not a place of penal confinement, as Paul Rilling might suggest. We shall spend about a week at the castle, and Goodell, my brother-in-law, will ~~be~~ more or less look out for us during the remainder of our stay in England.

Beatrix joins me in warm regards to the group, and especially your ladies.

Sincerely,

Ben

PA ✓ LWD ✓ - PRV - JC - MF

CADOGAN HOTEL
SLOANE STREET
LONDON, S.W.1.

Telephone : SLOane 7141 (6 lines)
Telegrams : "Nagodac Knights," London

August 31, 1960

Dear Harold,

It was definitely exhilarating to get your nice letter of the 18th. I was beginning to get homesick for the SRC, and how much I have missed!

Sailing tomorrow, we are due to arrive in New York on the 6th of September. I shall probably phone you from Macaskin on the 7th. I plan tentatively to see you in Atlanta about the 12th.

Much catching-up and reorganizing to do at home. I plan to make an office out of the bedroom of the daughter whom we left in Vienna!

Glad to hear your comment on Brewbaker's work. I have also preliminary report from him. I am thrilled over the move to new quarters.

See you soon —

Sincerely,

Ben

September 26, 1960

Ben:

The revisions in these pages are all to the good and I think have strengthened the summing up.

HCF

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1960

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1960

September 29, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Brewbaker having given us 50 days (as of Oct 1) during the first three months of his year, I am limiting him definitely to 75 days during the remaining 9 months (approximately 60 more days before May 31, 1961, the end of the SLP fiscal year.)

He has just visited western Virginia. He plans to attend the board meeting in Atlanta Nov. 9 (10) and go on to cities in Tennessee and to Pine Bluff. In December he contemplates a two-week trip to Florida and places along the way. Also attendance at some conventions of school administrators in October, March and May. I am advising him to save plenty of time for next May and June.

Sincerely,

Ben

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

September 29, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In view of my letter to you of February 13, 1960, I would approve this expense account only for $329.55 -- disallowing $2.75 for hotel tips (covering two nights at hotel.)

I explained all this to Brewbaker last February, but, as it was only in oral conversation, he may have forgotten it. I will also write to him.

If you wish to establish this rule, you might write him that hotel tips are not chargeable on the $12-a-day subsistence basis, but that he may choose the alternative of charging for actual expenses.

I do not suggest attempting to recover reimbursements to him for rather liberal tipping thus far.

Of course, the matter of regulations governing travel expense accounting is a matter for the Council to determine. If tips are to be chargeable, they might be limited. (About 50¢ a stop is ~~about~~ my style for baggage to and from hotel room!) Another possibility would be to increase the subsistence allowance to $12.50 per day.

In my own case I would find accounting for actual expenses a serious burden. Twelve dollars is inadequate for most days, but with an occasional airplane meal or stopover with friends, I charge $12 a day from home to home and seem to come out about even on the year. Fifty cents more a day would make it slightly easier to buy meals for my friends, but this is not an important matter as far as I am concerned.

Sincerely,

Alan Muse

October 25, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

My trip to San Francisco and a bout with a cold have put my paper work in sad arrears. Please forgive my delay in acknowledging your most recent letters and reports.

Your visit to New Orleans sounds quite profitable. Passing along Almond's speech to Davis was a good stroke; I suspect he is going to need it soon.

We have commissioned Dan Pollitt, of the UNC law school, to do us a draft memorandum on national executive responsibility in race relations and civil rights. The draft is due on November 27, at which time we will circulate it to a selection of appropriate persons for their comments and criticisms. You will certainly be one of them. We may also bring together a small group to discuss the whole question, using the draft as a springboard. The final result, we hope, will be a document that we can put into the hands of persons who will be influential in shaping the course of the next administration. If we can accomplish this by the turn of the year, or shortly thereafter, we'll be lucky. In any case, we will want the benefit of your thinking at all stages.

Unfortunately, we are estopped by our tax-exempt status from making any recommendations in the field of

legislation. The draft may discuss the legislative background of executive action, but may not advocate any specific new laws.

More of this later. Meanwhile, I'm looking forward to seeing you on November 9 and 10.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1960

October 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I believe you suggested just as I left you in Atlanta that I give some thought to the question of what the next administration should do in the field of civil rights. It is a fascinating question and I have given it some thought. I discussed it with Fred Patterson, and I intend to discuss it with some others as opportunity offers.

There are certain legislative proposals to which I would like to give a great deal more study before reaching a firm opinion on them. Some of these -- such as those of federally-established qualifications for voting and federal aid to education withheld from segregated school districts -- are matters of controversy even within our circle of liberal friends. Changing Senate Rule 22 is vital to the enactment of the best civil rights legislation, but this might be a field in which we should not intrude.

A proposal to give permanency and greater prestige to the Civil Rights Commission is one on which we would probably find most liberals united. I think, at this crucial hour in the world's history and our own, a strong case could be made for making the Civil Rights Commission -- like the Federal Trade Commission, etc., but more powerful than them -- a major full-time agency of the United States Government, charged with stamping out race discrimination in every field.

I could write more freely, and with equal enthusiasm, about the need for executive leadership -- what could be accomplished in addresses to the nation, in proper expression of shock at anti-Negro outrages when they occur, and above all in White House conferences with leaders. I believe that wonders could be done in the field of fair employment practices through the personal influence of the President with corporation executives. The school desegregation problem could also be greatly aided by presidential talks with Southern governors and other Southern leaders.

It would be a joyful work to enlarge upon these ideas, and others, if a paper on the subject is desired. However, I am intrigued to know what you propose to do with the product of our thinking on the subject. Shall we submit formal recommendations to the President-elect?

I am leaving today for New Orleans (Dinkler-St. Charles) and will be back here in one week's time.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

October 7, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1960

Dear Harold:

Dr. Fred Patterson, of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, came here for dinner last night.

He had the impression that I knew Mrs. Agnes Meyer very well and possibly had some connection with the Agnes Meyer Foundation. He wanted to raise some $50,000 for a project which he had in mind.

I told him that I hadn't seen Mrs. Meyer for three years and that I knew no one else connected with the Agnes Meyer Foundation. He did not pursue the matter from that angle, but we discussed the project itself at some length.

His idea was to resume the publication of the Negro Yearbook, which Tuskegee left off publishing about 1950. However, he proposed to combine with it a compendium of information about the new African states.

My reaction was that these were properly two separate projects and that I saw little reason for combining them in one work. The yearbook on the New Africa, I thought would fill an urgent need, would have commercial possibilities and probably would not need to be a philanthropic undertaking. I suggested that, if he had competent research and writing organization and convincing evidence that he was prepared to do a first-class job, some publisher might be willing to finance this.

I am leaving for New Orleans by train tomorrow evening, to be a few days at the Dinkler-St. Charles. I plan to move on to Alabama after our November meeting, and expect to get to Laurinburg, among other places before.

I hope your California trip has been pleasant and fruitful.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

LWD ✓
PR
PA ✓
JC
MF

October 27, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversation: Alfred O. Hero, World Peace Foundation

Mr. Hero came to my house October 26 and we compared notes and talked for two hours. The World Peace Foundation is studying what appears to be a trend toward isolationism in the South. Hero is visiting Southern leaders in pursuit of this inquiry much as I am doing in connection with the race problem. We found our activities -- and, in fact, the two problems -- distinctly correlated.

Mr. Hero began with a brief review of the attitude of Southerners in Congress showing a sharp retreat from a position of leadership in support of the Marshall Plan and other internationalist moves ten or 15 years ago to general hostility to foreign aid and other forms of international cooperation during the last five years.

I noted that the isolationist trend seemed to coincide with the crisis and controversy following the Supreme Court's anti-segregation rulings of 1954-55. We groped for the causative relationship. Hero was familiar with the common practice of white supremacy extremists of denouncing together the "race-mixers and the one-worlders." But how had race prejudice caused formerly internationalist representatives in the Senate and House to veer toward isolationism or to be defeated at the polls by isolationist opponents?

I ventured an explanation about like this: Outspoken segregationists have achieved a certain ascendancy in Southern politics. They are incited and led by extremists -- many of whom were little known before -- with whom isolationism is second only to their segregationist zeal. To many ignorant people racial integration is something vaguely foreign, an invention of a Swedish sociologist or even Communist-inspired. Isolationism has joined racism in permeating a large, active group -- to which Southern politicians feel that they must appeal. By reason of their aggressive tactics these people have effectiveness and power out of proportion to their numerical strength. The silent internationalists, like the silent moderates on the race question, tend to recede from the power structure.

Hero took copious notes on this, but it was admittedly only a partial explanation. There were many isolationists on the business executive level who were not concerned with

votes; on the other hand Hero knew at least one business magnate who was both ardently internationalist and bitterly anti-Negro. We agreed that generally speaking, the extreme segregationist tends to be also anti-foreign aid and anti-labor also, but that these attitudes did not invariably go together. Did I know of anyone who was liberal on the race issue who was isolationist in international affairs? I did not. In answer to a similar question as to attitudes toward labor I suspected that some race issue liberals were probably what might be called "anti-labor," though I had no definite information on the point. One's attitude toward labor is influenced somewhat by the kind of business one is in.

Hero had made a particular canvass of textile company executives in the Carolinas and Alabama and found them fantastically anti-Negro and anti-labor and generally isolationist as well. He mentioned particularly Rufus, of Erwin, and Love, of Burlington. (I called his attention to the very liberal Hanes family, of Winston-Salem, which he did not know about.)

Among business leaders liberal on race, he mentioned Watts Hill, of Durham, and the Worthens of Nashville. His personal friend, Maxie Jorman, of Nashville, had "reactionary friends."

Hero was interested in the current reading matter of Southerners. We were both impressed with the popularity in the South during recent years of the United States News and World Report. He had (but not with him) circulation figures for that magazine for recent years which showed a phenomenal increase in Southern circulation. In Mississippi U. S. News circulation had increased 400 per cent since 1950, while the circulation of Time, for instance, had declined.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Mr. John Constable

Dear John:

Please send 2 copies of the reprint of the Helen Miller article in the Harvard Business Review

to:

Dr. Henry K. Stanford
President
Birmingham Southern College
800 8 Ave. W.
Birmingham, Ala.

Sent MS

Thanks and best regards.

Miss

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1960

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

THE Stafford HOTEL MOTEL

PLAZA 2-8121 • TWX-TUSCA 570

November 16, 1960

Dear Harold,

Just a line to say that I am getting along fine from the standpoint of good contacts and good talk. Dearing and I both enjoyed our four days in Birmingham.

Hero's friend, Jukoski, seems the best hope of redemptive action in the power structure of that city. However, I can't make any very useful observation without a long report, which will be forthcoming at the end of this safari.

I ~~ho~~ am raising the question of what the new administration might do in discussions here and there, and I hope to catch Brooks Hays in Knoxville on the return journey (about November 24).

The news from New Orleans is sickening.

I enjoyed the roundtable on the big problem at our annual meeting.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

MASTER HOSTS

UNDER DIRECTION OF AMERICAN HOTELS CORPORATION

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Night letter
Ben Muse

HOPE People want
Brewbaker to speak
Carrollton Gr. Lions
Club January 12. They
need early answer.
Please advise me
as soon as you can.
Call if we should discuss.
Regards.

HCF

Telephoned in
11/30/60
WF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

December 19,1960

Dear Harold:

I was over optimistic in my note to Les in referring to my cold in the past tense. However, I believe it is safe to say that I will get to Atlanta Tuesday night, December 27, and spend three days there--if this is a good time from your point of view. If I do not hear to the contrary, that will be my schedule.

In addition to any help that I may be able to give on the draft of recommendations for the next Administration, I will be prepared to work with John Constable on the distribution problem. I shall do some work on my own overdue contribution to mailing lists in the meantime.

Regards.

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

December 17

Dear Les:

Snow and a bout with a cold have thrown me somewhat behind here. I have been able to negotiate the driveway in my car (1/4 mile) to the gate for the first time today, although we have had otherwise an arduous contact with the post office and the "outer world".

My getting to Atlanta before Christmas may have been over optimistic. Nevertheless, a phone call would get me there by the earliest plane.

On the other hand, I don't know your own working schedule and what days the BRC will take for for Christmas and New Year. When I come, I should allow several days to do some work on mailing lists. I would like to know what is the best time from your point of view. I can arrange my plans accordingly.

Regards. Ben

December 29, 1960

Mrs. S. Shavin
334 North Crest Road
Chattanooga 11, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Shavin:

Atlanta

Your letter of December 19 was brought to my attention on my arrival here yesterday. I remember most pleasantly my evening with you in Chattanooga and would like to see you again and give you any help that I could in your school situation.

I am flying tomorrow to my home in Manassas, Virginia, where I shall be for three weeks or more. I could visit Chattanooga conveniently some time around February 2, when I have a fixed date to be in Atlanta. Later I have tentative plans for a Deep South tour which will take about one month. I have no schedule beyond that.

Let me say in this connection that I am associated in this work with J. J. Brewbaker, who was until last summer superintendent of schools of Norfolk, Virginia. Mr. Brewbaker is a witness to the mistake of closing public schools as well as to the fact that desegregation can be carried out without convulsion or great difficulty. Mr. Brewbaker met with some business men and addressed several public meetings in New Orleans. He has addressed a number of P-TAs in the Atlanta area. I can easily arrange for Mr. Brewbaker to visit you in Chattanooga at some convenient time.

Of course, there is a question of what would be the most suitable time for these visits from the standpoint of the Chattanooga situation. It would depend somewhat on the date which may be fixed for desegregation to begin.

Please let me hear from you soon. Write me at P. O. Box 312, Manassas, Virginia.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

HF
file - MFV

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

This letter from Mrs. Shawn belongs to SRC files. Enclosed also is copy of my reply.

BM

334 North Crest Road
Chattanooga 11, Tenn.

December 19, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

About a year ago, Mr. Benjamin Muse visited our city. He explained that his position with Southern Regional Council was to contact businessmen with the hope of getting them to understand the problems and reasons for peaceful desegregation.

Today Chattanooga is about to desegregate the public schools. The plan is to be submitted to the courts on Dec. 20th, and Judge Darr will give his ruling on Jan. 19th. It is expected that the school board will try to prepare the community at that time with the aid of other groups. If some of our business people could be persuaded to give vocal expression to compliance, we feel the board will be encouraged and much resistance and possible violence will be avoided. There is an integregated ministerial group who has contact with some of the businessmen as a result of their work this summer on lunch counter desegregation. Many of the members of this group belong to the local human relations organization, Community Relations Conference, of which I am program chairman.

We wonder if Mr. Muse is still engaged in this activity, if he is available to us, and on what terms. Knowing this we can then offer his services and hope it will be used. Could you let us know as soon as possible?

May I take this opportunity to thank you for the reports you send us. They are excellently prepared and extremely useful.

Very truly yours,

S. Shavin

(Mrs. S.) Shavin

Copy made. DM

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT - SRC

REGARDING:

Rockefeller Brothers Fund. A request for a four year program of general support to the Southern Regional Council.

DATE

April 28, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence maybe found in Foundations...."Rockefeller Brothers Fund.....1964.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Like this here

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

Dear John:

Will you kindly send me a few hundred SRC letterheads like this, except for my name, which I will have overprinted? Many thanks.

Ben

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$

S

E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council, Inc.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

HOTEL COLUMBUS
MIAMI, FLORIDA

ATTN: RESERVATIONS CLERK

PLEASE RESERVE SINGLE ROOM WITH BATH FOR MR. BENJAMIN MUSE SUNDAY AND MONDAY NIGHTS, JUNE 10-11. PLEASE WIRE COLLECT CONFIRMATION OF RESERVATION.

LULEEN SANDEFUR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

12/3

Dear Harold:

I talked to Brewbaker in Nashville last night. He can make the Carrollton Lions Club engagement January 12 all right.

Brew will get to Atlanta tomorrow night and will get in touch with both you and HOPE Monday morning.

Regards.

Ben

April 8, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLEMING:

Conversation with Ted Dalton, April 6, 1959

Virginia State Senator, and Republican National Committeeman, Ted Dalton is one of my closest friends. I have known him since, as a young man, he took a little part in my campaign of 1941. In recent years I have given him a great deal of help and support in the Washington Post.

Dalton attracted some national attention by his sensational run for Governor in 1953, when he received 45 per cent of the vote in this traditionally Democratic state.

In his second run (1957) Dalton took a moderate position on the segregation issue and was badly beaten. He advocated local option and a pupil assignment plan, which Almond has now embraced.

Dalton now plans to fight (with little hope of success) for more moderate legislation than that contemplated in Almond's Perrow Commission plan.

Dalton's attitude is far removed from ours. It is like this: "I am personally for segregation, but I know the law of the land when I see it." However, he was with me at the meeting of church leaders in New Orleans last year.

We lunched together Monday at a Richmond restaurant. Unexpectedly, we were joined by State Senator Harry Byrd, Jr.

Almond's present position in the middle of the road was pointed up by the fact that these two, extremist Byrd and Virginia's most conspicuous moderate, found common ground in criticizing the Governor.

The cordial relations between Dalton and Byrd also are an interesting commentary on the tendency of personal friendships to survive political throat-cutting in Virginia. During the luncheon they planned to go to Washington together to attend the opening game of the baseball season.

When he finished eating, Byrd tactfully left us to our private conversation. I told Dalton about the Southern Leadership Project, and we talked about it for an hour or more. (We were almost alone in the restaurant at this time.)

His first reaction was to stress the need for caution. "You'll have to work mighty quietly," he said, "and keep out of sight as much

as possible. Your activity will have to be known to as few people as possible...Better not let people know you're on the Council's payroll if you can help it...Don't let anything happen to your column in the Post. Keep it up even if you haven't time to write anything any good. If you drop out of the Post, they'll start rumors and embarrass you."

After that, however, Dalton expressed growing enthusiasm for the project--so much so that I almost thought he would like to be identified with it.

He promised to send me a copy of a speech of his touching on the effects of school troubles on industry. He told me of a speech on the subject by Stuart Saunders, president of the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Also suggested looking up a speech of _____ Woodward, of Suffolk. He cautioned me against approaching Vernon Kemp, executive secretary of the Virginia Chamber of Commerce--"in the wrong camp."

Dalton asked me to call upon him for any help he could give, said he would really like to "put himself out" to help. I asked if he would be willing to travel if occasion should arise. He said he would be glad to take a trip sometime if there were anything he could do.

Benjamin Muse

April 10, 1959

RESEARCH REPORTS

Southern Leadership Project

Purpose

Reports will be aimed primarily at strengthening the convictions of leaders already leaning toward a moderate approach to the desegregation problem and arming dedicated advocates of obedience to the law of the land with convincing, or otherwise useful, factual material.

For Whom Intended

SLP reports will differ from previous Southern Regional Council reports and publications in that they will be intended for leaders, rather than for the general public. They will be addressed, too, to people who have already given thought and study to the problem, and generally to people who are seeking an orderly, lawful and constructive solution. They will be addressed also to busy people.

Nature and Style

It follows that reports should be concise and factual. They may be statistical when appropriate. "Propaganda" in the usual sense should be avoided. Even appeal to conscience and moral principle is out of place here. The appeal in these reports should be to common sense and self interest.

There will be no direct appeal of any kind. The purpose is rather to present reliable facts which will speak for themselves. Reports should be documentary and free from bias, in keeping with the high reputation which the Southern Regional Council has established for accurate reporting in such fields as that of Negro voting in the South.

Brevity

As a matter of routine, reports should be brief--to be read in a few minutes and used later for reference at a glance. There will be exceptions, however, to this rule. Certain statistical matter should be long enough to be comprehensive; it is not necessary to read through a column of figures to get at a desired item. Also certain speeches and articles need to be quoted at length, and without abridgement, to serve the desired purpose.

Insert under "Brevity" at bottom of first page of RESEARCH REPORTS, April 10:--

It will often be necessary to make a thorough study and write a comprehensive report before distilling the brief report. In such cases the comprehensive report will be retained in the Council files for reference (one copy coming to me). In some cases both the concise report and the comprehensive report will be reproduced as separate L Reports.

When appropriate, each L Report will carry a reference to books or publications or note that further information may be obtained from the Southern Regional Council.

April 14, 1959

POSSIBLE L REPORTS

Southern Leadership Project

1. A brief answer to the question, not infrequently heard: What is the Southern Regional Council? Facts, outlining the history, personnel, purpose, activity and financial support of the Council.

Economic

Legal and financial complications of public school-closing. Deterrent effect of public school uncertainty upon population growth and real estate development and upon industry seeking new locations. A number of separate reports are indicated here, with later reports reflecting continuing study of this situation.

2. Excerpt from speech of Ralph E. Odum, Assistant Attorney General of Florida to Florida Independent Bankers Association, February 23, 1959.

3. Statistics, as available, showing volume of new industry in each Southern State for each of the past five years. Analytical comparisons may be required because of varying methods of reporting industrial development. (In the case of Virginia, the bleak showing with respect to new industry in 1958 is partly offset by figures reflecting a very good year in expansion of existing manufacturing plants.)

4. Any impressive statements from prominent business leaders, available now, or which may later appear, emphasizing the economic dangers of tampering with public schools.

5. Excerpt from speech of John P. Fishwick, vice-president, Norfolk & Western Railway Co., April 6, 1959. Also (in same report) brief excerpt from speech of Stuart T. Saunders, president, Norfolk & Western Railway Co.

6. Mimeograph, or reproduce, in easily readable form best portions of the Jim Montgomery articles in the Atlanta Constitution.

7. Mimeograph similarly articles showing the effects of school-closing upon business in Little Rock.

Benjamin Muse

Form

Reports should be produced uniformly on 8½ x 11-inch sheets, headed simply:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Report No. L1 (L2, L3, etc.)

_____(date)

Reports should be dated. Later revisions should contain a reference to any previous reports on the same subject.

Distribution

Too wide distribution of the reports would cheapen them, and indiscriminate distribution could be harmful in obvious ways.

Individual members of the Council board and staff should find the reports personally useful. I shall make frequent reference to them. I expect to find them especially useful to place in the hands of leaders with whom I talk. Other members of the board and staff will no doubt have similar opportunities for distribution of reports.

Reports will be mailed to leaders who have expressed an interest in the subjects covered. It will be desirable to place some leaders on a mailing list to receive all reports.

I suggest that at least one copy of each report be mailed to each officer and board members of a Council on Human relations. From 5 to 20 copies should be sent to the secretary of each such council to be made available to any members, or others, who request them.

Some reports may also be useful in the Southern Regional Council office in answering inquiries from writers, journalists and other students of the problem.

I would like to receive 5 copies of each report as a matter of routine.

The Southern Regional Council office will be the best judge of the total number of each report to be produced.

Copies, number to be determined, to leaders of committee to preserve public schools.

Benjamin Muse

April 15, 1959

POSSIBLE L REPORTS

The Private School Movement

We are neutral in attitudes toward this movement insofar as it does not involve the abandonment of public schools or a lowering educational standards. We deplore the fact that attachment to the segregation leads to resort to this expedient, but realize that within certain limits it may be a useful cushion to the shock of desegregation at this stage.

At the same time our research should reflect the legal, financial, administrative and other difficulties, the lack of really substantial progress and the practical impossibility of accomodating any large fraction of the school population in private schools in the forseeable future.

In any case we should be able to discuss the problem intelligently and supply comprehensive and accurate information to leaders looking toward a constructive solution of the desegregation problem.

The situation in Arkansas requires study, as also the budding private school iniatives in other states, but by far the most illuminating exhibit now is in Virginia.

I propose engaging a research assistant here to work on the Virginia phase. In the meantime I have voluminous data on the Virginia Phase, still in the form of newspaper clippings.

Committees to Preserve Public Schools

We can render a particular service in this field as a reporting agency and link between the committees in various states, as well as in supplying the committees with material for use in the combating efforts to undermine or abolish public schools.

I have asked William M. Lightsey, Secretary of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, to put the Council on the list to receive all their circulars and releases. I have also asked him to send the Council 50 copies of his comprehensive report, of which he had an over supply. This may be of interest to leaders in public school committees elsewhere.

It might be a good idea for me to ask Lightsey or Mr. J. L. Blair Buck, President of the Virginia committee, to prepare a paper, ORGANIZING A PUBLIC SCHOOL COMMITTEE, noting some of the problems involved and suggesting ways to meet them.

Benjamin Muse

August 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Editors, August 8-24

Charlotte	Tampa	Savannah
St. Petersburg	Orlando	Durham

I am increasingly impressed with the value and convenience of visits to editors and publishers. They are not only molders of opinion but often a part of the power structure and closely related to the business community. I also find them easy to see, even when merely passing through a city.

I like to promote the concept of a confraternity of liberal editors, striving to lift the South out of the morass; to carry news of one editor to another, as well as to bring encouragement and information to further the good cause. I also hope to bring more members into the "club", and I believe something can be accomplished among the segregationist editors.

Charlotte, August 8

C. A. ("Pete") McNight, editor of the Charlotte Observer, regretted the tendency of the Southern objective to freeze into one of merely "getting the courts off our backs," and regretted the failure of North Carolina to move faster under the Pearsall Plan. Disappointed particularly in the refusal of the Charlotte school board to integrate more than one Negro pupil this year. He said people were getting a little tired of talking and writing about segregation. "Even Tom Waring is getting bored with it."

In the larger picture he said leaving enforcement to the courts was a distortion of our constitutional system. He regretted the failure of Congress to act. "Collins plan?" -- "Some plan," he replied. Leaving to catch a plane for Atlanta, he was unable to enlarge on this theme.

St. Petersburg, August 14

Nelson Poynter, Editor and President of the St. Petersburg Times is also publisher of the Congressional Quarterly. We quickly found a mutual friend in Francis Pickens Miller, Virginia liberal and anti-Byrd leader. Mrs. Miller, a writer, is giving half her time to the Congressional Quarterly. Poynter was also interested in hearing of my talk with Hugh Patterson and others.

An enthusiastic liberal, Poynter said the St. Petersburg Times came out against segregation 20 years ago.

Poynter is an important figure in the business community. I am reporting more of his conversation in a separate memorandum on business men.

Tampa, August 15

Saturday afternoon, I saw only Carl Johnson, editorial page editor, Tampa Times (liberal on the race issue). Nothing will happen this September in Tampa. The school board was rather segregationist, and the NAACP lawyers not handling their case very well. Race relations were very good in the city, but Hillsborough differed from Pinellas in that the former contained a strongly prejudiced rural element. On the whole he thought desegregation would be carried out without disorder in Hillsborough when it came.

On the outlook for the 1960 gubernatorial race in Florida, Graves, like others, felt the situation was still too fluid to permit of any firm prediction. He thought Haydon Burns, mayor of Jacksonville, looked strong at present. Burns' position on segregation was uncertain. He thought State Sen. Doyle Carlton, the known moderate, was also strong. Others with whom I spoke put Carlton in front. Graves did not think Carlton or Beasely would actually run.

Orlando, August 19

The Orlando papers were the most strongly segregationist that I visited. Martin Anderson, publisher of the Sentinel, Star and the Florida Magazine, is an extremely influential figure in central Florida. He had been away for several months. The publications were in the hands of William G. Conomos, General Manager.

Conomos outlined the papers' views on segregation, state rights and Supreme Court iniquity with 1 - 2 - 3 precision. The Orlando papers' emphasis is on these things. Only upon my questioning did he concede that they would prefer some desegregation to the closing of schools. "We've said so," he said.

It is a tribute to LeRoy Collins' political agility that Conomos concluded: "You can put us down as supporting Gov. Collins' policy."

For a more extensive discussion Conomos took me to Ormund Power, editorial page editor of the Star. Power was most cordial and I could go far with him. I suspect that he personally would like to take a more constructive stand if free from owner restraint. He did not think desegregation would cause much trouble in Orlando. He found practically no sentiment among responsible people in favor of closing schools to prevent desegregation.

Savannah, August 20

I was extremely fortunate in that our visit to Savannah coincided with a staff dinner to welcome two new city editors to the Savannah papers.

When I telephoned from St. Augustine, Creed C. Black, Vice-President and Executive Editor, invited my wife and me to join the party at his home. Present in addition to the Blacks and ourselves were: Alva H. Chapman, President-Publisher; Lloyd G. Eder, Vice-President and Business Manager; John L. Sutlive, Editor, Evening Press; Burger, City Editor, Morning News; and Steve Hall, City Editor, Evening Press -- each with his wife.

All gave the impression of being liberal on the race issue, except the Sutlives. Sutlive, a pompous, old-fashioned man-about-town is the only holdover on the management level from the old regime. He seemed to disagree with the others on various subjects, and he was sometimes addressed as: "Sir." Apparently this link with the past was found indispensable in the reorganization of the two papers.

The change began two years ago, when the Chapman interests took over and Alva (a man apparently about 40) came from the St. Petersburg Times to be publisher. Reorganization began on the business end. Black has reorganized the editorial end since his arrival two months ago. Now 12 out of 13 department heads are new (the 13th being Sutlive).

Black is a dedicated liberal. Says 90% of the Nashville Tennessean editorials on the school issue were his.

For the present Black said the two editorial columns would stop making the wrong kind of comment; the right kind of comment on this issue would come gradually. They had a more important immediate task in backing Savannah's "fine" new mayor (W. Lee Minglodorff) and fighting the reactionary machine in the county.

Black found more quiet moderates and liberals in Savannah than he expected. City Editor Hall is trying to organize a Savannah branch of HOPE.

I had a chance for some talk with each man and took part in general conversation on the segregation question. Georgia politics and the possibility of pushing Savannah into the 20th century.

Durham, August 24

I visited the greatly enlarged offices of the Morning Herald and Durham Sun for the first time in 40 years. (I had been a teen-age cub on each paper).

I had been an associate of C. C. Council, about 5 years my senior, as an advertising go-getter in 1915-16. Council is now a genial old gentleman and more or less owner of the two papers. He was amused at my visit -- recalled that I did him out of $3.00 43 years ago -- but was hard to interest in the race problem. He remarked, however, that race relations were good in Durham and he didn't expect much trouble when desegregation came.

I was very much impressed with "Stoed" Rollins, executive editor of the two papers. (I had worked for his father.) He was extremely cordial and emphatically liberal. The Herald had reprinted one of my columns a few weeks before. I had also noticed an admirable editorial in the Herald of the day before on violence and the NAACP.

Rollins would like to see more progress in North Carolina and specifically in Durham. He agreed that planned voluntary desegregation would be better than the court-enforced variety. But the school board didn't have the nerve to go ahead. He spoke of Durham's "fine, outstanding Negro leaders," among whom he classed Asa Spaulding as No. 1 and John Wheeling as No. 2. He said there was very little organized segregationist activity in Durham; the DUPEC had petered out. An ardent admirer of Gov. Hodges. As for the present gubernatorial outlook in N.C., there was no candidate yet in sight "whom I would feel like supporting."

A cordial conversation with H. C. Bradshaw, associate editor, threw no new light on the Durham situation, but a little on the situation in Prince Edward County. Bradshaw is a native of this Virginia county and goes back on the average every other week-end to his farm there. He said the "unanimity" of Prince Edward whites in favor of school-closing was vastly exaggerated. The moderates were intimidated. The results of a secret ballot would be doubtful. He also said there was danger of deterioration of the hitherto tolerable race relations in the county when September comes with no schools for Negroes. Negroes were beginning to show resentment.

Bradshaw said the prejudice and hostility in Southside Virginia were far worse than in the neighboring N.C. Black Belt -- due, he believed, largely to the Richmond News Leader. He said the N.C. press was moderate without important exception.

We dined Sunday evening with my nephew, Arthur Bradsher, a surgeon, who took us for a drive through the Negro residential section. We were impressed by the many handsome homes.

Arthur is eager to invite a group of the power structure to dinner whenever I go back. It would be easy to reach people in Durham, but probably not worth while to spend time there in the near future.

Benjamin Muse

August 31, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Business Leaders, August 10 --19

George Goodwin	William Clapp
Morris Abrams	Cody Fowler
Phil Hammer	Ralph White
Nelson Poynter	Charles E. Gottlieb
Flannagan	Linton Allen

Goodwin and Abrams, Atlanta, Aug. 10

Harold Fleming joined in luncheon with these in First National Bank dining room. Goodwin is an official of the bank. Abrams was candidate for Congress.

Abrams made a very interesting proposal. He urged that efforts be made to bring about an investigation by a committee of Congress, preferably of the Senate, of the present situation in the desegregated schools of the District of Columbia. The value of the report on such an investigation, if conducted with reasonable objectivity, would be obvious. It would inevitably reflect vast improvement over conditions described in the earlier Davis Committee report. Even assuming the Davis Committee report to have been accurate, it would be reasonable to ask Congress to take a second look and see if, after three or four years, improvement has been made. However, all agreed that it would be extremely difficult to get such an investigation launched.

Phil Hammer, Atlanta, Aug. 11

Lunch with Harold and Phil Hammer, who is a member of the board of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. We discussed the problem of uniting the chamer, or Atlanta business leaders, in a move of opposition to school-closing and in favor of orderly compliance with court-ordered integration. It was agreed that it would be desirable to have Boyd Ridgeway, executive manger of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce come to Atlanta and confer with groups of Atlanta chamber members. When would be the best time for such a step remained a question.

Nelson Poynter, St. Petersburg, August 14

Nelson Poynter, publisher of the St. Petersburg Times and the Congressional Quarterly, discussed mainly the business and economic aspect. Avidly interested in the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce story. He thought the St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce or the "Committee of 100" should send somebody to Little Rock --"or maybe somebody from the Little Rock chamber would come here." I told him Boyd Ridgeway might. Here again was a question of timing.

(A remark of Poynter's, which I should have included in my memorandum on editors, I have used elsewhere: "Our liberalism hasn't hurt us, because we give 'em a damn good paper!")

Clapp and Flannagan, St. Petersburg, Aug. 14

William Clapp, whom Perry described as man of great influence in the business world, is president of the Florida Power Corporation and chairman of the Florida Development Commission.

When I called for an appointment to discuss the school segregation problem, he was very courteous and said, "We would like to talk to you. I will have Shank and Hines meet with you. They look out for the corporation interests in such matters)." On second thought, he said, "Come to see Flannagan, our vice-president, at two o'clock. I will try to get in there before you go."

Mr. Flannagan proved to be a humanitarian with liberal propensities. He was active in civic work for better race relations, Negro housing, etc. Despised extreme segregationists. Was interested in the Little Rock chamber story. Believed business men in St. Petersburg would be solidly opposed to any school-closing shenanigans.

He took me in to see Mr. Clapp. The latter was guarded in conversation but quite cordial. He seemed to enjoy hearing how the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce beat Orval Faubus.

Then after a pause, Clapp asked: "What are we going to do about a mess like that in the Washington schools?"

I gave him my usual reply to that question, and I mailed him later a copy of our L Report on the Davis Report, etc.

Cody Fowler, Tampa, Aug. 15 and 18

Cody Fowler was described by Perry as "best bet" among Tampa business men. He is head of a law firm, including a long list of lawyers, occupying three floors of the Citizens' Building. Former president of the American Bar Association, member of Florida's Fabishinki Commission.

A big, rough-hewn man, he received me gruffly, but after 10 or 15 minutes was overwhelmingly cordial. In fact, he more or less took me in hand and caused me to spend a good deal of time on a matter which was not my direct concern -- the Negro housing problem.

Fowler was a liberal and more emphatically a humanitarian, a leading exponent of Fabishinski Commission moderation. He deplored the delaying tactics of the Tampa school board. "They're afraid of a little abuse. I get some letters, but all that is insignificant."

I called Saturday morning. He wished he had known I was coming. He would like to have been able to spend the afternoon with me. Had I ever heard of Progress Village?

"Can you come again Monday? We are having a board meeting Monday and I would like for you to come to that."

I told him of my schedule to be in Miami Monday, but agreed to come back Tuesday morning. He said he would ask the Negro members of the Progress Village board to meet with me Tuesday.

Progress Village, a housing project (not "Negro," but intended for Negroes) is Fowler's obsession and his joy. I have copious data on it which has no place in this report, but it is a wonderful thing and I shared some of Fowler's thrill when I got acquainted with it.

Progress Village was born when a new expressway and urban renewal threatened to displace many of Tampa's already crowded Negro residents. $50,000 of non-profit initial capital was raised in 80 small loans from white and colored citizens. Substantial profits are inevitable but they will be put back into landscaping, etc.

13,000 acres, contemplating 4,300 houses (at $8,000 - $9,000 on easy FHA terms) to accomodate 16,000 people. Plans call for 4 lakes, golf courses, playgrounds, shopping center, churches, etc. 300 houses are nearly completed, more under construction.

I talked half an hour with Fowler Tuesday morning until James F. Goodrich, project director, came to take me on a tour of Progress Village. Fowler had arranged for me to meet alone with the Negro board members at 11 a.m., and he asked me to phone him their comments later. Fowler is president of the corporation. I talked with N. H. Martin, Negro vice-president and other Negro board members.

As I phoned Fowler afterward, they were enthusiastic over Progress Village. Of course, they said, all Negroes would prefer seeing race ignored in housing as in everything else, but in existing circumstances they were proud and happy with this project. The NAACP regarded it as apart from, rather than in conflict with ~~their~~ main objectives, since there was no restrictive aspect. These Negroes believed that some day white people would come into Progress Village; one said he knew of two white families who were considering applying for houses now. They said further, in answer to questioning, that they, and nearly all Negroes in Tampa supported the NAACP and favored school desegregation. They said, however, that the white people would be surprised to find how few Negro pupils would actually want to go to white schools.

Martin, who drove me back to my hotel, made the further interesting remark that it had been a fine experience for him to be associated with the other (white) members on the Progress Village board, and that he had learned much, especially from Mr. Fowler.

Ralph White, Tampa, Aug. 15 and 18

Ralph White, a member of Fowler's law firm and attorney for the Hillsborough County school board is a bitter and obnoxious segregationist. He accosted me three or four times to make an unpleasant crack, and at one point Fowler almost found it necessary to separate us.

Charles E. Gottlieb, Miami, Aug. 17

I have an old friendship with this business leader, on whom I reported also in a memorandum of May 18 last. He is head of the Dade County Committee for Better Schools and of Stevens Markets, Inc.

Impulsive and given to "big talk," he seems well acquainted with the power structure and is not an insignificant figure. Three supermarkets in operation, two under construction and two more projected. The Miami News on the day of my visit reported Stevens Market, Inc. "sales of $11,498, 037 for the 24 weeks, etc." An architect went out with his drawing boards when I came into Gottlieb's office.

He is an enthusiastic liberal. He said he had reason to believe that a dozen Negro children would be admitted to white schools in September in addition to the 4 at Orchard Villa.

Fascinated with the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce story. Would like to have Boyd Ridgeway come at once to Miami. I told him we could finance such a visit by Ridgeway in due course.

Linton Allen, Orlando, Aug. 19

Allen, described as "key business man," is president of the First National Bank of Orlando. A gentle, elderly man, warm friend and admirer of Gov. Collins, humane and moderate on the race question. He knew of no one in the Orlando business community who would go along with school-closing.

"We have some fine Negroes and they are making progress. See that colored lady opening an account over there? That happens all the time."

When I mentioned Progress Village, he said, "We've had one of those for years."

Before leaving Orlando, my wife and I drove out to Washington Shores, a Negro housing project of several thousand houses. Several Negroes with whom we spoke seemed very proud of it, but I think it is considerably less attractive than Progress Village will be. I did not look into the financing and other arrangements of Washington Shores.

Benjamin Muse

August 31, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Odds and Ends, Trip August 7 -- 24

Sarah Mitchell, Atlanta, Aug. 9

Talked with Mrs. Sarah Mitchell, president Atlanta League of Women Voters at the Hayes dinner. She was convinced the Atlanta school board chairman was "all right."

Mayor William Hartsfield, Atlanta, Aug. 10

Mayor "Bill" Hartsfield was in a fine, expansive mood when I talked with him. Talked like an allout liberal on the race issue. He "hoped" the school board would be "all right." Apropos of the united action of business men in Little Rock, he said: "We have the making of something like that here."

Little chat with "Skipper" Burns, the mayor's elderly secretary. Most cordial. Observed that his father was buried in Blanford Cemetery, Petersburg, Va. But an old-fashioned segregationist at heart.

Williams, Eisenburg, Miami, Aug. 17.

Due to cancellation of Mrs. Roberts' appointment, I spent the morning with W. K. Williams, ex. dir., Florida CHR, who tried intermittently over the phone to make some appointment for me for the morning or for luncheon. He finally got Ira Eisenburg, from TV Station WTVJ, to join us for lunch. Eisenburg and his stations very liberal, but might have been helped by the conversation.

Little Mention of L Reports

I think Gottlieb was the only contact who mentioned the L Reports spontaneously. Editors, when I asked, replied "I may have seen one or two" -- or "They probably have been coming to us but they have not come to my attention."

Southern Regional Council Prestige

Among the people I visited I found no evidence of anything but respect for the Southern Regional Council. Some did not know about us. Others confused us with the Southern Education Reporting Service. Others said, "They're the people who do the studies on Negro voting" -- or "who got out the report on violence."

Benjamin Muse

November 21, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Atlanta, Tuesday, November 10, 1959: Ralph McGill, Ellis Arnall

An unscheduled visit to Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution Tuesday morning was limited to half an hour of friendly conversation over coffee. McGill was interested in latest developments in Virginia and the Byrds, as well as the situation in New Orleans.

Regarding Atlanta, McGill said that the business men "have no guts" excepting a few like Dick Rich. He had been present at a heated meeting in which it was Dick Rich against the crowd.

which wanted Jews out.

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall really feels there is a possibility that the people will call upon him in 1961 to save the public schools. "If they close public schools, they will elect me Governor." He said, if happily they should not close public schools, he would be remembered as the man who saved the schools, but he thought there was only a remote possibility they would stop short of school-closing.

Talmadge, he said, might know better, but Vandiver is a confirmed bigot. "He believes segregation is in the Bible."

Gov. Arnall is obsessed with idea of a taxpayers' suit to prevent the closing of one public school without closing all in the state. Why hadn't they done that in Virginia? He said there would surely be such a taxpayers' suit when they closed the first school in Georgia -- (I assume he intends to see to it.) Then every public school in Georgia would have to close. That would precipitate an explosion which would be heard all over the South, and would mark the beginning of the end of the resistance to the Supreme Court decision.

He remarked that it was natural for him to be the champion of public schools. He had always fought for them. He wrote the emphasis on public schools into the Georgia Constitution.

He thought that Judge Hooper had wrongly linked his decision on Atlanta public schools with action by the state legislature.

Gov. Arnall indicated that his announcement of his availability for the governorship on a moderate platform had had a more important reaction than I had supposed. He showed me copies of five issues of the Augusta Herald (the last being in October) in which his announcement and platform were given conspicuous play, along with long stories about Arnall's previous career and many pictures.

Benjamin Muse

Todd, Woolworth's district manager, Atlanta, asked for 2 copies special Rep't
President NAACP president: Dr. J. C. Simpkins, Jr.
Most activist ministers: Dr. J. A. Rodgers (1st Presbyterian); Dr. Otis P. Lockett, West Hoke St. Methodist; Dr. C. Lapsley Bowling; Dr. Jas. M. Jackson, Presb. Church of the Covenant; March 8, 1960
Dr. Allen McLean, Fairmont Presbyterian

MEMORANDUM

C. L. Harris
Woolworth rep

Student Protest Against Lunch Counter Segregation
Visit to Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro,
Wednesday thru Friday, March 2-4, 1960

I spent Tuesday night in Durham, visited U. N. C. Press at Chapel Hill Wednesday morning and arrived in Raleigh about noon -- in snow storm, which immobilized me for the afternoon.

Thursday morning I divided my time between the Wachovia Bank and Trust Co. and the News and Observer. In the afternoon to Durham for a talk with City Manager George H. Aull, Jr., thence to Greensboro. In Greensboro Friday I conferred with General J. R. Townsend, city manager, H. W. Kendall, editor, Greensboro Daily News, and Colvin T. Leonard, editor, Greensboro Record.

LeRoy H. Martin, vice president in Wachovia's Raleigh office, is an interesting example of a frankly moderate business leader taking an active part in public affairs. (Wachovia, with $600 million of resources, claims to be the biggest bank between Washington and Dallas.) Martin was described by Trust Officer R. E. Gaddy as the bank's "political man." He is a member of the Raleigh school board.

Bitterly anti-Hodges and anti-Pearsall Plan, Martin said the Governor had embarrassed school boards and prevented earlier, quiet desegregation. The Pearsall campaign agitation had poisoned an initially moderate atmosphere; Hodges' promises that "no Negro would enter a white school," and the threat of school-closing referendums, had made it almost impossible for school boards to act.

Otherwise a few Negroes would have been in predominantly white schools so long ago that people would have forgotten by now that they were there.

As for the suit over the single Negro applicant in Raleigh, Martin said that he was an obstreperous youngster who would have made trouble. The parents never came to confer with the school authorities, and the case was dismissed -- all the way up to the Supreme Court -- for failure to resort to administrative remedies.

Confidentially, the school board planned to assign "three or four" Negro children to a white school next September.

Martin said the whole school desegregation problem had been vastly exaggerated. If all barriers were down, the number of Negroes who would ask for transfer to white schools would be very

limited. In some North Carolina counties, he said, there would be no such applications "in this generation."

He felt that the Negro lunch counter demand would have to be met sooner or later, and better sooner. The greatest difficulty was that of finding a way to "bridge over" the initial break-down of segregation. One suggestion which he mentioned was that of dividing lunch counters at first into three sections: "White," "Colored," and "Integrated."

(A Winston-Salem Baptist Minister is proposing that lunch counters be divided into two sections: "Catering to White" and "Catering to Colored," with liberty for any one who chooses to sit with members of the other group.)

As for gubernatorial candidates, Martin thought Seawell unreliable. ("He would put sit-downs in jail.") Sanford would probably be pretty level-headed.

Robert E. Williams, associate editor Raleigh News and Observer. Williams took me to task immediately when I referred to the "restaurant" sit-downs. In an editorial (written by Daniels) that morning the News and Observer had drawn a sharp line between restaurants and department store lunch counters, taking the position that segregation was justified in the former, but implying that it was not justified in the latter.

Williams remarked that Raleigh ministers had addressed a letter to Woolworth and Kress urging lunch counter desegregation. He said also that the big industrialists in Winston-Salem, and to a less extent in Durham, were bringing some pressure to bear to the same end.

Further talk about this situation and North Carolina and Virginia politics.

Jonathan Daniels came in at 11:30. He doesn't think the student protest will peter out. On the contrary "It is a part of the world revolution." He thinks we may come through it without violence.

Most promising situations are those in this section of North Carolina: Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Winston Salem -- the breakthrough likely to come first in Greensboro.

The good behavior of the Negro students had been tremendously effective. A friend of Daniels, an elderly lady, segregationist of the old school, seeing Negroes turned away from a lunch counter, exclaimed indignantly: "They've no business refusing such nice, polite young people!"

The situation was aggravated by indecision and lack of leadership in department store management. He was sorry for the local managers. They were just merchants. They had no experience in

meeting situations like this. The head offices expected them to be "statesmen."

Incidentally, Daniels would like to see well-to-do Negroes get together and start some big merchandising enterprise.

Lunch counters, however, were not North Carolina's greatest problem at this moment. The greatest problem, and the greatest "calamity" was the entrance of Beverly Lake (the Roy Harris of N.C.) into the race for Governor. (I notice that this feeling is voiced in some degree by almost the entire N.C. press. Governor Hodges had referred to this as an ominous possibility in my talk with him.) Daniels agreed that Seawell is Hodges' man. He also found Seawell unreliable. Daniels is not enthusiastic about Hodges. I gather he leans toward Sanford as a candidate for Governor. He thought Sanford had "strong backing."

George H. Aull, Jr., the new Durham city manager has been in office only about five weeks. He came just in time to face the lunch counter problem, which has been his chief concern. Aull is a South Carolina liberal; his father, a professor at Clemson, is a member of the board of Penn Community Services.

In a general talk about race, he seemed to have entirely our point of view. Apart from other phases, he was anxious to point to some things the Durham city administration was doing to give employment opportunities to Negroes. Of three city sewage disposal plants two are entirely manned -- and administered by Negroes, with a Negro, Robert L. Clemmons as chief operator. One fire station is operated entirely by Negroes.

He was very much in the thick of the lunch counter agitation. Woolworth's was on the phone "constantly," Wanted more protection. ("We pay our taxes, don't we?") Kress was not so excited. He found an appalling lack of leadership. Many people have the right feeling about the matter, but would not speak out.

Had a high opinion of J. S. Stewart, Negro city councilman. Stewart, he said, had written to the head office of Woolworth and Kress.

Not nervous, but gravely concerned over the danger of violence. His description of the trouble-makers: "about 200 young white roughnecks." If one of them should spill hot soup on a Negro girl, it might touch off a riot. His policy was to keep the police alert but inconspicuous. The mere sight of policemen draws a crowd. He puts no uniformed police in the stores, only a few plain clothes men. A score of policemen within the store could do little against a crushing mob, and they would be immobilized when needed for more effective work elsewhere.

Aull asked me to be sure to visit "his best friend," the Greensboro city manager, General Townsend. The General's answer to the merchants, he said, was, "Serve 'em!"

He was giving much thought to the question of how far a city manager should go in the matter beyond law enforcement. He made a very interesting speech on this point. The problem of lunch counter segregation was one of Christian morality; it would never be solved merely by laws or law enforcement. Leadership of another kind was needed. He had made up his mind to give some definite advice the first time a merchant asked for it. It would be this: negotiate with Negro leaders and secure their promise, that, at the beginning of unsegregated lunch counters, only 6 or 8 or a dozen Negroes would apply for service in one day.

Aull asked very earnestly that we give him any information, advice or suggestions that we may have.

General J. R. Townsend, Greensboro city manager, has a laconic, old-soldier approach, but is firmly liberal on the race question. He is a native of Burlington, near Greensboro. Chose to stay in the Army after World War I and retired about 10 years ago as a brigadier general. (He commanded a segregated Negro battalion.) Has been employed by Greensboro since, first as city engineer, then as city manager.

The General reviewed recent Greensboro race relations history, recalling the integration of municipal facilities step by step. Negroes and whites skate together at the municipal skating rink and visit the integrated municipal auditorium-theater ("My Fair Lady" last week) with never any trouble worth mentioning.

Expressed a high opinion of Waldo Faulkener, a Negro councilman, who, he noted, was elected by the city at large -- not merely from a Negro ward, as in the case of the Negro councilman in Durham.

Greensboro could take lunch counter desegregation in its stride, were it not for "200 long-haired white juvenile bums."

The Greensboro police force had not been augmented, but there was a "pretty good police reserve."

Working on the lunch counter problem now was a Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations, appointed February 25. Its nine members were chosen, three from the city council, three from the Chamber of Commerce and three from the Merchants Association. In answer to a question from me, he said there was no uncompromising segregationist among the nine. Councilman Faulkener gave the committee Negro representation.

H. W. Kendall, editor of the Greensboro Daily News, is a devout liberal, who is deeply involved in the present search for a solution to the lunch counter problem. We talked briefly about the race problem in general and came to the Greensboro situation. The mayor's committee is working earnestly with a view to solving the problem by lunch counter desegregation. It is conducting a poll, the results of which, it is hoped, will encourage the stores to take the step. It is giving much attention to the baffling problem of how to bridge it over, how to take the initial step with safety and public calm.

Thinking in terms of quiet, unannounced admission of a limited number of Negroes, by previous arrangement, to lunch counter service.

Concerned about a point of journalistic ethics, Kendall talked at length about his dilemma. He sat in with the mayor's committee. He frequently knew things that would make news but which he did not publish. In this situation, the public welfare came ahead of "the public's right to know."

Kendall urged me to come back to Greensboro (as I intended to do), and talk this thing out with him "along with some bourbon and branch water." My capacity is limited in the latter department, but I will do my best.

Calvin T. Leonard, editor of the Greensboro Record, equalled his morning colleague in the fervor of his liberalism on the race question. He did most of the talking in an hour's conversation. Some of his personal experiences and phases of the race problem not pertinent here.

He gave me sidelights on some Greensboro personalities and the names of some individuals whom I might see. C. L. Harris, the Woolworth manager, might be a little difficult; he refuse to negotiate with the Negroes. He had been heard to remark, however, that he would rathr serve the Negro students than the "white bums" whom they drew to his store.

Leonard offered to help me in any way possible.

The Greensboro Opportunity: Because of a combination of favorable factors, Greensboro appears to be the best Southern city in which to work for a break-through in the lunch counter problem. This objective is worthy of the utmost effort. I believe that I can help in an unobtrusive way.

I propose to return to Greensboro next Monday, March 15, (leaving here Sunday) and settle down at the O. Henry for a week or more. I shall go by Durham and try to get a line on Greensboro Negroes from John Wheeler.

Well-disposed leaders in each of these North Carolina cities are groping for a "bridge," a formula for bridging over the desegregation of lunch counters quietly, with a minimum of disturbance. I will appreciate any information, or SRC thinking on this point.

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Benjamin Muse

May 11, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The Lunch Counter Problem

Winston-Salem, Tallahassee, Charlotte, Raleigh--Atlanta

April 26-May 7, 1960

I particularly value on this trip a number of long talks with good people on the race problem, seeking especially to discern the deeper meaning of the Student Protest movement and the shape of its further unfolding. There was conversation of this kind, lasting sometimes into late evenings with: Bob Campbell and Reed Sarrat, of the Winston-Salem newspapers; Sam Ragan, executive editor of the Raleigh newspapers; Dr. Clarence Patrick, Wake Forest sociologist, in Winston-Salem and again in Raleigh; our SRC and CHR people, Irving Carlyle in Winston-Salem and Harry Jones and Raymond Wheeler in Charlotte; Dr. John Cunningham, chairman of the mayor's committee in Charlotte; Saul Silverman and Bill Rose, staff assistants of Florida Commission on Race Relations in Tallahassee; and, of course, our group in Atlanta.

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I talked more superficially with Mayor John M. Hurfees, of Winston-Salem, by way of expressing appreciation for his support of the effort to secure lunch counter desegregation.

Raleigh

Several general observations should be made. One is that I find much less odium attached to taking the side of the Negroes on this issue than in the matter of school desegregation; moderates are less inhibited. As we have seen Gov. Collins of Florida (and Gov. Edmondson of Oklahoma) and a dozen or more mayors have taken liberal positions. In Florida and North Carolina, large elements of the public are willing to be counted on the side of lunch counter desegregation and many prominent people are willing to work for this change.

I am told, incidentally, that people who are drawn into groups working for lunch counter desegregation tend to move toward a more liberal approach to the whole matter of race relations.

I wish particularly to emphasize the increased demand for information and advice from the Southern Regional Council. We are in a seller's market. Where our literature knocked on many unfriendly doors before, responsible people concerned with the lunch counter problem say: "Please let us have any

information you can get and any idea that you have on this subject." In my personal experience, some of them bring out their problems for my advice in a manner which is almost embarrassing.

For one thing, the lunch counter problem is still new, and nothing like the mass of information, misinformation, opinion and advice which surrounds the school problem has yet accumulated in this field. We are the only source of comprehensive information on this subject.

All of which supports the priority we are giving to helping the many groups which are working on this problem, and the need for broadening our distribution service, which I have discussed in a separate letter.

Our research department is working at capacity now. Just keeping up factually with what is going on all over the South is fundamental and enough to keep us busy. But, if time allows, in due course studies of the various types of biracial committees, their techniques, their policy regarding publicity, etc., would be helpful. A more immediately helpful study would be one of the various procedures employed or suggested for the initiation of lunch counter desegregation. (Incidentally, suggestions have been made in Winston-Salem and Charlotte that desegregation might begin by a few adult Negroes quietly patronizing the lunch counters, accompanied by white members of the mayors' committees, or other well-known white citizens.)

Dr. Cunningham, chairman of the mayor's committee in Charlotte, president of the Presbyterian Foundation and former president of Davidson College, is a man of distinguished presence. He was a little stiff at first, but a cordial conversation developed on the race problem in general and he proved an earnest liberal. In the matter of initial desegregation procedure, Dr. Cunningham said the mayor had outlined to him this plan:

The 9-member committee of which Dr. Cunningham is chairman, consists of six whites and three Negroes. This committee would complete its study and make its recommendation (lunch counter desegregation, when the affected merchants have agreed to it). Then a further "action committee" would undertake to prepare the community for the change. The "action committee" of 21 would consist of three members each of seven civic organizations. The plan contemplated the "action committee" going to work only after the date had been announced for desegregation. I suggested a somewhat different procedure: the 9-member committee should announce first, at the appropriate time, merely that it expected to see agreement reached for the elimination of lunch counter desegregation at an early

date, and the "action committee" should move into action at that point. Then the actual desegregation should take place quietly without previous publicity. Dr. Cunningham took notes with a view to discussing this further with the mayor.

However, there are still obstacles to be overcome in Charlotte before any definitive move is made. Actually the obstacles are Belk and Ivy, the two North Carolina-owned stores. A move is possible there if six leading stores agree. The four others (including Woolworth) have agreed. The committee is approaching these two dissenting stores in several ways. A lady committee member of high social standing is talking with Belk and Ivy managers as old family friends. An effort is also being made to get evangelist Billy Graham to put in a word.

The pattern in Charlotte is strikingly similar to that in Winston-Salem -- one or two local stores holding up the move. When I spent an evening with Dr. Patrick in the latter city, April 26, he was very discouraged. His committee had succeeded in getting all of the 10 necessary stores to agree, except two. They are both owned by one local firm -- Bobbitt's. It seemed that all of his hard work had been in vain and his hopes were dashed. He felt like giving up the whole thing. We talked at some length about the form his announcement would take. I urged that it should not be final in tone -- rather that it should be to the effect that the committee regretted its inability to secure the agreement of all the affected merchants, but that it would continue its efforts.

These "almost" situations are the most likely to disappoint crusaders. With the discouraged and the near-discouraged I emphasize the fact that the lunch counter crisis is still new. Merchants have had only a few weeks or a few months in which to weigh the matter and it takes time to think it through.

I gather that the situation in Raleigh is less promising. I am told that it is made more difficult there by the obsession of the city with politics and by "eastern North Carolina influences." (On the other hand, Editor Regan finds many liberal spots in eastern North Carolina.) The Raleigh mayor's committee is still having trouble getting organized. Dr. Patrick said its leading spirit is Rev. W. W. Finlator, a splendidly liberal Baptist minister, who is working hard.

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Incidentally, Dr. Patrick cited as an example of poor Negro leadership and strategy the fact that an <u>integrated stand-up lunch counter</u> (Kress' in Raleigh) was being picketed with signs to the effect that it is an affront to human dignity to have to stand up to eat.

Great anxiety is felt in North Carolina over the rising support of Beverly Lake, fanatically racist candidate for governor. I enclose a clipping reflecting the worsening tone of Lake's speeches. The remark is often made that the lunch counter agitation "may elect Lake." However, most serious observers think that, while he is doing a great deal of harm, Lake will not actually be elected. Most of the supporters of the other three candidates would combine against him if he got into the run-off.

Dr. Patrick has had considerable contact with chain store management. He finds Green's personnel manager in New York and a Wahlgren vice-president in Chicago especially liberal. He also finds Thompson of Woolworth's Atlanta office, "very reasonable." He conferred with Thompson in Raleigh on the 6th. He said another Woolworth man in Atlanta, Evans, was giving all his time to the lunch counter problem. (Incidentally, a valuable ally and confidant of Dr. Patrick in Winston-Salem is Gordon Hanes, wealthy president of the Hanes Hosiery Co.) 1 son of Jas. H. Hanes

Dr. Patrick has been in touch with Saul Silverman by phone relative to a visit by Dr. Patrick to the Florida Commission on Race Relations -- under our auspices -- probably next Saturday, May 14.

In Tallahassee I talked with Silverman and Rose April 29 through the afternoon and evening, dining at our hotel and moving on to Rose's home for a later session.

These two are eager liberals but only now getting educated on the race problem. They were interested in many phases and in clues for further study. However, of course, we talked mainly about the Florida Commission on Race Relations and the lunch counter problem.

They had run into difficulties and disappointments -- which all of us foresaw. Nevertheless, it is significant that Silverman is grimly confident and Rose also undismayed.

One advisory committee has dissolved. The members of the committee of variety store managers, after one cooperative meeting, said politely that they could not be of further service. They said, if contact is needed, James Gorman, managing director of the Florida Retail Merchants' Association will speak for the group.

A fine committee of representatives of institutions of higher learning was formed, with 35 members. All 4-year institutions in Florida were represented by the president or dean and the president of the student body of each -- except Tampa U. and Florida Christian.

They had not succeeded in forming the two advisory committees which I suggested -- organized labor and power structure. The president of the Florida AFL-CIO had flatly refused to cooperate. (I propose to see discreetly if the civil rights division of AFL-CIO in Washington can help in this.) As we have so often found, Florida corporation executives are reluctant to become involved in the race problem. I suggested that they try the plan of an informal, unpublicized power structure group which might meet from time to time with the Governor.

We discussed at length the commission's proper approach to the advisory committee of information media, which was about to hold its first meeting. I discouraged suggestions that the commission should attempt to lecture to the press and urged the opposite approach -- call on the editors for counsel, and incidentally, for cooperation.

The greatest source of discouragement for the commission was the present situation of intense interracial bitterness, resulting from a combination of bizarre incidents in St. Augustine, which had stymied all efforts to form a bi-racial committee in that city. Rose had spent some time there, trying to restore communication.

My advice was to give a minimum of attention to the difficult situations and concentrate on the propitious ones. It would be most effective from the standpoint of morale and otherwise for the commission to follow a selective pattern and address its efforts toward achieving a break-through in the lunch counter matter in one or two cities as soon as possible. Daytona Beach was suggested as an easy place for lunch counter desegregation; I urged that they try to push it through there.

As of April 29, 12 local bi-racial committees were functioning in cities and counties. Eight of these were previously in existence; four had been set up since the Governor's speech. Sixteen other mayors had advised that they were in process of forming bi-racial committees.

Silverman outlined various kinds of further information which he would like to have. I have discussed this with Leslie Dunbar and will write him further. I am also sending some material from here.

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Benjamin Muse

May 23, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Capital Press Club and National Press Institute

May 21, 1960

I attended this meeting from about 11 A. M. to 10 P. M.

The theme of the day's discussion was "the image of the Negro." I remarked that the lunch counter demonstrations had given the nation a fine image of courageous, intelligent, well-behaved Negro youth. I learned that Rappleye, of Time Magazine, had made the point more emphatically in the 9 A. M. session.

Percy Green, the irrepressible Mississippi editor, was much in evidence all day long, talking endlessly and off the subject. Green, who is widely regarded as a renegade Negro who "sold out" to the White Citizens Council, was all but thrown out of the meeting two years ago, but by dint of good-humored pertinacity he has come to be amicably tolerated.

Green's theme this year was the necessity for economic advancement -- jobs and money. A Green gem: "You can't fight with one hand and beg with the other!" If you make enough money, you are automatically integrated. To be integrated in a corporation, all you have to do is buy stock!

The chief honoree and hero at the evening banquet was Ezell Blair of North Carolina A & T, who started the Student Protest Movement. Ezell remarked to me that some of his group had been arrested. They were demonstrating again and would keep on fighting. He seemed much more bitter than when I saw him last.

His speech was an ambitious performance. His opening remarks were a touching example of the boy's fine natural instincts.

"I wasn't the father of this movement. It was Joe McNeil, my roommate. He's my best friend."

His speech was a labored display of schoolboy eloquence, interspersed with excessive and inapt quotations, but he had a fine voice and may be a budding orator. Very belligerent all the way through. Samples:

"The time has come to do things, not say things."

"The new Negro is ready to stand up and be counted—whatever the reprisals may be."

Benjamin Muse

June 22, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Holly Knoll

June 17, 18, 19, 1960

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president, Phelps-Stokes Fund, remarked that this had been the best of the conferences held at Holly Knoll. About 35-40 widely representative people concerned with the race problem were in attendance. Discussion, formal and informal, was almost continuous for most of two days. Although the "sit-ins" were only 2 of 9 items on the agenda, about 80% of the discussion was on this theme.

All but three of 32 on Dr. Patterson's mimeographed list either attended or sent representatives. They were joined by a few who were not on the original list.

Barrett and Hope, Fisk President Wright and several Fisk students were there from Nashville. From Greensboro, A & T Dean D. H. Gamble substituted for President Gibbs, and David Richmond for Ezell Blair. (Ezell was speaking to a NAACP convention somewhere in the West.) Present also were Dr. Clement, Dr. S. E. Duncan, president of Livingston at Salisbury, and a Smith student from Charlotte.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Florida Commission on Race Relations, the SRC, CORE, the United Negro College Fund, the ESCRV, the SCLC, two national chains -- and Sen. Kennedy -- were all represented, but not officially, the NAACP.

Formal talks were made by John Wheeler, Phil Hammer, Rev. John B. Morris, (ESCRV), Calvin Raullerson (of the college fund), Robert Campbell (editor of the Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel) and Saul Silverman (of the Florida commission), Col. Francis Pickens Miller was an active participant in the discussions Saturday evening and Sunday.

Karl H. Helfrich, Kress vice-president, and W. Wallace Tudor, Sears, Roebuck & Co. vice-president, were congenial and intensely interested members of the group. The background of the question of national chain representation was interesting, as told me by Dr. Patterson and Wilton S. Dillon, Phelps-Stokes executive secretary.

The initial intention was to extend an open invitation to the affected companies through the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Dr. Patterson was referred by the latter to the National Retail Merchants' Association. In a phone conversation the executive vice-president of the merchants' association, J. Gordon Dakin (a Canadian) was unsympathetic. He wanted to know if "the other side" would be represented. He didn't think his organization would like to be involved, but would give a definite answer within a few days. Four days later Dakin replied that his organization would have nothing to do with the conference.

John Hayes, the association's vice-president for government affairs in Washington, first expressed interest and a desire to attend, but later changed his mind, apparently overruled by Dakin.

Woolworth, Grant, etc. were not invited, unless Dakin sounded them out. It was hoped that Dakin would approach these and others.

Dr. Patterson had friends who were friends of the presidents of S. H. Kress & Co. and Sears, Roebuck & Co. That is how the invitation came to be extended to them. These two accepted promptly.

Helfrich, from Kress, and Tudor, from Sears, were among the first to arrive and the last to leave. I fraternized considerably with them.

Tudor, in the round of individual introductions at the first session, said, "I am here from my own choice. When the invitation came to Sears, I insisted at once that we accept it and volunteered to come."

He was a dapper gentleman (he never took his coat off), who had been with Sears for 20 years. He had a twinkle in his eye and followed proceedings intently, often with (not unsympathetic) amusement. Between sessions he liked to engage in long philosophic discussions with Negro students, remote from either merchandizing or the race problem. Negro intellectuals seemed to fascinate him.

Tudor never committed himself or expressed any opinion on the main theme, but in the closing session he made a little speech about the altruism of Sears, Roebuck & Co., quoting Rosenthal: "Management must give an accounting not only on the financial balance sheet, but in its social responsibilities."

Significantly, Tudor said: "The pity is that you are talking to yourselves. Hundreds and thousands of others should hear what has been said at this meeting, and share in this kind of personal exchange... I have gained greater insight...

I have been deeply impressed, both intellectually and emotionally."

Helfrich has been with Kress only two years. I think he has been a part of the Kress reorganization, which, he says, accounts for the "temporarily" unfavorable Kress earnings report. He is a homespun, fatherly type, who appears to be well-informed on the race problem and the Student Protest movement. He entered into informal discussions like one of the group, having suggestions of his own about the formation of bi-racial committees, etc.

In full session Helfrich summarized the Kress position about as follows: "All stores serving both merchandize and food should desegregate together. But this is not an absolute condition with us. This cannot always be achieved in the case of locally owned drug stores. We do not necessarily wait for that... I know we can't wait for customs to change. If the citizens of any community give evidence of their willingness to accept it, we are happy to make the change. We have done so in Dallas, Austin, San Antonio, Galveston, Nashville and Winston-Salem."

Helfrich predicted that desegregation would continue, community by community, in the border states, and come much later to the hard core states. He did not think the stand-up plan was any solution. Kress "continues to give the problem very earnest and sincere thought."

Phil Hammer gave us a magnificent lecture on employment, housing and other economic aspects of the race problem -- the best talk made, in my opinion.

Rev. John Morris was very much interested in our earlier discussed plan of approaching corporation executives in the North. At the closing luncheon (too late for discussion with Phil) he suggested that Phil Hammer and I visit New York under the auspices of his father-in-law, H. Irving Pratt, 45 Wall St. Mr. Pratt would help us to meet the right people.

In very mild criticism of a splendid meeting, I noted that here, as in so many liberal gatherings, nothing was said on the other side. I mean, not the arguments, but the difficulties on the other side. There was only qualified approval of Gov. Collins' sensationally courageous stand on lunch counter desegregation and no mention of the trying spot on which events and circumstances, not ill will or bigotry, had placed the chain stores. The attitude toward Tudor and Helfrich personally was most cordial.

I reflected also, as I have in the past, on how nice it would be if occasion could be found for our own board to meet in long session to discuss, not accounts and business of the SRC, but the broad problem of race relations in the South.

Benjamin Muse

July 18, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Silverman, Florida Commission

July 18, 1960

Saul Silverman, staff assistant, Florida Commission on Race Relations phoned to say that his wife is recovering nicely from the illness which prevented my last visit to him and inviting me to come now -- a trip, however, which will have to be postponed until September.

He gave me off-hand this information on biracial committee structure in Florida: St. Petersburg and Coral Gables each, 5 members, 3 white and 2 colored; Daytona Beach, 20 members, 10 white and 10 colored; Tallahassee, 15 members, 9 white and 6 colored.

Silverman was enthusiastic over the biracial committee set up in difficult Tallahassee. An additional "advisory committee" of 60-70 members had been organized to bring more workers into the movement.

Silverman also had high hopes over the committee being formed in Tampa through the personal efforts of Cody Fowler and Perry Harvey. He said it would be a very influential group.

One Miami committee had apparently dissolved, and another was being formed. There was hope that the city might make this an official agency, with a paid staff. Many things were going on in the race relations field in Miami, with the Negroes planning several kinds of pressure, including (he was vague on this point) a telephone and electric power boycott.

The commission is working to bring about, among other things, uniform IQ tests for white and colored children.

J. Grant Peebles, of the State Beverage Commission, has succeeded Don Channing on the state commission on race relations. He is also an expert on law enforcement.

Benjamin Muse

October 27, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversation: Alfred O. Hero, World Peace Foundation

Mr. Hero came to my house October 26 and we compared notes and talked for two hours. The World Peace Foundation is studying what appears to be a trend toward isolationism in the South. Hero is visiting Southern leaders in pursuit of this inquiry much as I am doing in connection with the race problem. We found our activities -- and, in fact, the two problems -- distinctly correlated.

Mr. Hero began with a brief review of the attitude of Southerners in Congress showing a sharp retreat from a position of leadership in support of the Marshall Plan and other internationalist moves ten or 15 years ago to general hostility to foreign aid and other forms of international cooperation during the last five years.

I noted that the isolationist trend seemed to coincide with the crisis and controversy following the Supreme Court's anti-segregation rulings of 1954-55. We groped for the causative relationship. Hero was familiar with the common practice of white supremacy extremists of denouncing together the "race-mixers and the one-worlders." But how had race prejudice caused formerly internationalist representatives in the Senate and House to veer toward isolationism or to be defeated at the polls by isolationist opponents?

I ventured an explanation about like this: Outspoken segregationists have achieved a certain ascendancy in Southern politics. They are incited and led by extremists -- many of whom were little known before -- with whom isolationism is second only to their segregationist zeal. To many ignorant people racial integration is something vaguely foreign, an invention of a Swedish sociologist or even Communist-inspired. Isolationism has joined racism in permeating a large, active group -- to which Southern politicians feel that they must appeal. By reason of their aggressive tactics these people have effectiveness and power out of proportion to their numerical strength. The silent internationalists, like the silent moderates on the race question, tend to recede from the power structure.

Hero took copious notes on this, but it was admittedly only a partial explanation. There were many isolationists on the business executive level who were not concerned with

votes; on the other hand Hero knew at least one business magnate who was both ardently internationalist and bitterly anti-Negro. We agreed that generally speaking, the extreme segregationist tends to be also anti-foreign aid and anti-labor also, but that these attitudes did not invariably go together. Did I know of anyone who was liberal on the race issue who was isolationist in international affairs? I did not. In answer to a similar question as to attitudes toward labor I suspected that some race issue liberals were probably what might be called "anti-labor," though I had no definite information on the point. One's attitude toward labor is influenced somewhat by the kind of business one is in.

Hero had made a particular canvass of textile company executives in the Carolinas and Alabama and found them fantastically anti-Negro and anti-labor and generally isolationist as well. He mentioned particularly Rufus, of Erwin, and Love, of Burlington. (I called his attention to the very liberal Hanes family, of Winston-Salem, which he did not know about.)

Among business leaders liberal on race, he mentioned Watts Hill, of Durham, and the Worthens of Nashville. His personal friend, Maxie Jorman, of Nashville, had "reactionary friends."

Hero was interested in the current reading matter of Southerners. We were both impressed with the popularity in the South during recent years of the United States News and World Report. He had (but not with him) circulation figures for that magazine for recent years which showed a phenomenal increase in Southern circulation. In Mississippi U. S. News circulation had increased 400 per cent since 1950, while the circulation of Time, for instance, had declined.

Benjamin Muse

November 30, 1960

MEMORANDUM

November, 1960, Tour

Preliminary Report and Comment on What the Next Administration Might do

Traveling by car with my wife November 1 through 25 I made personal contacts in Petersburg, Va., Durham and Laurinburg, N. C., Columbia, S. C., Atlanta, Ga., and Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, Mobile, Tuskegee and Auburn, Ala. There were many interesting discussions which call for comprehensive reporting, but it seems advisable to give priority to delayed correspondence, etc. and translate my notes on the trip into reports when time allows.

I may say, however, that genuine friends met, or made, along the way made the trip a pleasant one for both my wife and me, and helped in many ways. An encouraging conversation with Henry Cauthen, editor of the Columbia Record, suggested that there may be more (partially) open minds in South Carolina than I suspected.

In Alabama, cordial reception by more or less silent liberals whom I found at each stop made us feel agreeably at home in that state. Nevertheless, the oppression of Negroes, the intimidation of moderates and the generally dangerous situation in the Birmingham and Montgomery areas were shockingly evident. At the same time there is a really numerous element in Alabama which is quietly opposed to all this, and something like an under-ground moderate apparatus, of which I shall write more fully.

I raised the question of what the next Administration might do in the civil rights field with a few thoughtful people in Alabama, and their reactions, as far as they go, may be of interest since they come from one of the most difficult states.

All with whom I talked felt that the moral force of positive and often expressed Administration support of the school desegregation rulings and civil rights in general would be immensely helpful.

My Birmingham friends all agreed that a helpful attitude on the part of Roger M. Blough, of New York, board chairman of U. S. Steel, could trickle down through the Birmingham power structure with a wonderfully beneficial effect. It was anticipated that Blough would be found to be stubbornly conservative, but believed that a private heart-to-heart talk with him by the President or someone near to the President would be effective.

A. G. Gaston, of Birmingham, the Negro millionaire, was apprehensive lest Senator Kennedy's obligations to Southern political leaders would tend to tie his hands in the civil rights field. Others felt that the new association of Southern leaders with a liberal President would work the other way. Dr. Donald Strong, professor of political science at the University of Alabama, said that Southern politicians would be eager to win the new President's favor with a view to federal money and federal projects of various kinds. (During my stay in Alabama, Governor Patterson flew to Washington on the off-chance of getting to see Kennedy on the latter's way to Florida -- and missed him!) George W. Dean, a Montgomery attorney close to the Alabama powers that be, said that Patterson was anxious to get "on the inside track" to the new Administration; he added that Patterson was instrumental in raising $50,000 for Kennedy's pre-convention campaign.

The possibility of the President's helping by an informal "word here and a word there" among Southern governors, etc. was discussed at length with "Chuck Morgan," chairman of the Alabama speakers' bureau for the Kennedy campaign, and Hugo Black, Jr. They thought in some cases this would be possible. Dr. Strong and Dr. A. S. Thomas, ULA professor of history, had more confidence in this possibility. All four of these thought the next Vice-President could be particularly helpful in this field -- with Lyndon Johnson's inimitable horse-trading techniques. Morgan thought Johnson could mesmerize even Eastland!

None of the Alabama liberals with whom I talked were much interested in new civil rights legislation, but all favored vigorous and thoroughgoing action under present laws to insure Negro voting rights. They believe that progress could be made on this front with the minimum loss of Southern good will generally. Many Alabamans are ashamed of their state's record in this regard. Also Alabama liberals, who are confident they will someday "rise again," feel that heavier Negro voting would help their cause.

One of those most interested in the problem of what the next administration might do was Neil Davis, courageous and astute editor of the Lee County Bulletin in Auburn, only a

few miles from Macon County and Tuskegee. "Southerners in Congress" Davis said, "are getting steamed up for an ugly civil rights fight. Kennedy should take the wind out of their sails and grab a lot of Southern good will by laying off in the matter of new civil rights legislation now. Then the next President could use moral force, with the backing of the courts and the powers he has, to get a great deal done. Above all, he should go all the way on Negro voting rights."

Benjamin Muse

March 6, 1961

MEMORANDUM

Visits in Virginia, North Carolina,

South Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee

January 24 — February 25, 1961

I called upon one or two key people in the other states mentioned and carried out a more intensive program in Mississippi, where I spent approximately two weeks.

My most important contacts on the trip were:

Attorney General Albertis Harrison, candidate for Governor of Virginia and generally favored to win in the election next November,

Governor Terry Sanford, of North Carolina,

Henry F. Cauthen, editor of the Columbia State and close friend of Governor Hollings, of South Carolina,

J. Oliver Emmerich, a leading business man and editor of the State Times, of Jackson, Mississippi,

Former Governor James P. Coleman, of Mississippi, and

Governor Buford Ellington, of Tennessee.

No one of these men is publicly urging desegregation. They range in attitude from Governor Sanford, who, I believe, is fully liberal at heart, to Henry Cauthen, who thinks integration is only a lesser evil. But all six are convinced of the inevitability of desegregation and anxious to see the adjustment effected in their states within the framework of law and with a minimum of disorder.

My aim was to strengthen them in this attitude, and, in discussing various aspects, to further liberalize their views and arm them with information in support of a moderate, or liberal, course. I may add that my personal relations with each of these gentlemen were most cordial.

Each of these emphasized the danger in "stirring things up," the importance of making "quiet progress," or "unnoticed progress," and keeping the thing out of politics and out of the papers as far as possible. I agree that this is a sound practical approach, but in North Carolina and Tennessee I note that the way is clear now for more actual progress to be made. In South Carolina and Mississippi a small first break-through in the wall of resistance -- with a minimum of disorder -- is the most that can be aimed at now; even the most marginal public approach requires courage, and is, I feel, to be applauded.

I spent several hours with the newspaper confraternity in Raleigh, N. C., seeing: Sam Ragan, executive editor of the two papers; Jonathan Daniels, editor of the News and Observer; Herbert O'Keefe, editor of the Raleigh Times; and others. In Columbia, S. C., I had a long friendly visit with (intransigent segregationist) S. L. Latimer, Jr., who retired January first as editor of The State, is now "Editor and Publisher Emeritus" and is writing a book.

In Mississippi I saw the following in addition to those mentioned above:

Hodding Carter
Greenville PA EB 4-4035

Rev. Murray Cox
(Chairman, Advisory Committee, CRC)
2316 27th. Ave.
Gulfport, Miss.

P. D. East
Editor, Petal Paper
Hattiesburg

Dr. Ralph Nuncaster
Pres., Wm. Carey College
Hattiesburg

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
P. O. Box 1326
Hattiesburg

Bishop Joseph B. Brunini,
123 N. West St.
Jackson

W. L. Higgs
Attorney
707 N. Congress St.
Jackson

Paul Tiblier
Exec. Editor, State Times
Jackson

Miss Eudora Welty (novelist)
Jackson

Alben Fine
Fine Bros.-Matison Co.
301 Central Ave.
Laurel

L. E. Barry
Port Director
Natchez

Easton King
Editor, Chronicle Star
Pascagoula

John Haien
Piney Woods School
Piney Woods

Dr. Ernest Borinski, Dean
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo

Dr. A. D. Beittl, President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo

Hon. Joel Blass
Wiggins

In Mississippi a major problem of moderate leaders is that of finding oblique ways of encouraging constructive thinking. Editor Emmerich, for instance, has urged parents to prepare to teach their children at home -- not because he favors such a course, but because it might draw attention to the dreadful alternative to orderly desegregation. Former Governor Coleman's favorite approach is to urge that Mississippi get back into the Union and join the march of progress. The most effective approach is on the economic angle. Mississippi business men are nervous about news of business troubles in Little Rock and New Orleans -- and the failure of Mississippi to attract industry. Executive Editor Paul Tiblier, of the Jackson State Times said that in spite of the brave advertising campaign, Mississippi did not get a single new industry in 1960.

Most Mississippi moderates hope that somehow a school crisis can be postponed (three years) until the end of Governor Ross Barnett's term of office. They are fearful of what might happen under an extremist and irresponsible governor. They look to former Governor James P. Coleman as Mississippi's best hope and they expect him to be elected again in 1963.

Editor Emmerich thinks the crisis may come much sooner and appears to have a feeling of urgency about getting ready for it. The power structure might force some change in state policy even under Barnett.

The Citizens Councils, which presently form a sort of government within a government, comparable to the Communist Party in Russia, are unpopular with many Mississippians. Bill Higgs' legal attack upon the CC's is one of the indirect approaches. He finds it effective to emphasize the fact that this is a fight for the rights of white people.

Higgs is not suffering any significant ostracism or harassment because of this undertaking. He estimates that at least one third of the people of Jackson are in sympathy with him. The prestige and power of the CC's vary greatly from city to city. They are feeble on the Gulf Coast, all powerful in the Delta. Many citizens enroll in them because they feel that they must.

Much needs to be done, but what can be done in Mississippi? The approach has still to be marginal. Dr. Borinski describes the attitude as one of "positive marginality". But a marginal campaign needs to be pushed vigorously and systematically.

Rev. Murray Cox, of Gulfport, said he kept in touch with half a dozen moderates in that city and would like to form a Council on Human Relations, but he feared the repercussions. Dr. Beittel, at Tougaloo College, the most likely leader of such a movement in Mississippi, if it were possible, definitely ruled it out. He said there should be no formal organization of liberals at this stage. He is, however, actively interested in getting in touch with moderates in

all sections of the state. He thinks the best and safest way to help this movement would be to have some itinerant worker quietly making the rounds, building up a list of moderates and stimulating them.

Dr. Beittel, who came recently to Tougaloo College, was one time president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He wrote Rabbi Mantinband a few days before my arrival requesting a list of names, and the Rabbi sent him a dozen. In his reply on February 6, Dr. Beittel said:

"We are glad to build up a circle of friends in this area who are not at all in sympathy with the Citizens Councils. We attended a meeting in a private home last Thursday evening where a small group of people of this kind were gathered together. Dean Ferguson and his wife were in the group. The propaganda of the Citizens Council throughout our country may convince many people that they represent Mississippi. As you well know, there are many people in the state who hold other views. Some of them speak out, then take their punishment. Others are waiting for a happier day."

A certain frontier concept of "honor" and a propensity to violence are, I think, more marked in Mississippi than in any other state. Novelist Eudora Welty, for instance, almost trembles at the thought of what may yet happen in the Delta region. Many thoughtful Mississippians view the future with deep anxiety.

On the other hand I found many more moderates in Mississippi than I expected. Although my reconnaissances in Alabama and Mississippi were far from conclusive, I found it easier to discuss the subject freely with more people in the latter state.

We can help the Mississippi situation with information. Most Mississippians know little of desegregation progress elsewhere in the South and get little "information" not of a Citizens Council color. Information on the economic effects of school disorder is most in demand. There is also intense interest in the recent Georgia retreat; politicians are still interested in the Virginia story.

I left material which I carried with me and have forwarded more. I am sending selected packages to some with personal letters. I have entered a few names on our regular distribution list and am preparing a longer list of addresses with indication of material to be sent to them.

I did not find the odium which I expected with reference to the Southern Regional Council. Few know anything at all about us. Port Director Barry referred to us as the "Southern National Council" and Governor Coleman called us the "Southern Industrial Council." (Remembering what Shakespeare said about a rose, I did not labor the correction.)

I have already filed a special report on Higgs and his anti-Citizens Council suit, as this matter required early attention. Generally speaking, I am giving priority to correspondence with my contacts and other desk work, but, as time allows, I shall submit fuller reports on some of the more significant conversations which I had on this trip.

Benjamin Muse

Additional leads not followed:

Prof Silver (Tulane) } U of Miss
Dr. Farley

James Lebow, ~~Vicksburg~~ Memorial Camp, Biloxi

Al Brashford (manufacturer), Laurel

Mrs. M. D. Schutt } member advisory com OCR,
Dr. A.B. Britton Sr. } Jackson

— Lowry, Medina, educational consultant.

Mrs. Hazel Brown Smith, Lexington Advertiser

Sam Lumpkin, Tupelo (former Lt. Gov. & Speaker, moderate)

Henry T. Carpenter, Rolling Fork, mb. bd trustees, institution of higher learning - Blue).

Ellis Singer, pres., Millsaps College (spoke out 2 years ago - Muscatine)

Assembly, see Walter Sillers, Speaker - Bass

Jesse Cox, Sherwood Eddy Foundation, now with Nat. Council of Churches, Calhoun Rabbi 2/10.

April 28, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visits to Laurinburg, Columbia,

Tallahassee, and Winston-Salem

April 10-22, 1961

This motor tour developed around visits to Atlanta for several days of consultation relative to the projection and distribution of L-Reports and the reorganization of staff there, and to attend the executive committee meeting. Laurinburg and Columbia were visited on the way to Atlanta, Tallahassee on an intervening week-end and Winston-Salem on my return trip.

Laurinburg: (April 11) I conferred informally with several business men and invited to lunch Glen Webb, chamber of commerce manager, and Rev. Henry Ruark, president of the N. C. Council on Human Relations.

I found the bi-racial Committee on Community Betterment still active and dealing effectively with minor problems, though nothing being done about school and lunch counter desegregation. The chamber of commerce voted last month to admit Negroes to membership and possibly six Negroes are expected to join it. Some pressure is developing for the desegregation of two drug store lunch counters. Webb expressed a wish to have someone who was close to a lunch counter episode in some other North Carolina city come and talk with Laurinburg business men, and I undertook to arrange this.

Members of the C.C.B. were particularly impressed with a speech at its last meeting by John R. Larkin, Negro assistant to the N. C. Director of Public Welfare, on the shocking rate of illegitimate births among Negroes. Larkin explained admirably the relation of Negro illegitimacy to discriminatory attitudes and practices, but he said also that he was waging a vigorous campaign among Negroes to combat this evil. He had recently addressed a gathering of 600 Negroes on the subject.

Columbia: (April 12) I had a long talk with Henry Cauthen, editor of the State, not unlike previous conversations which I have reported with this friendly gentleman.

(He began by reading an editorial which he had just written on the Russian cosmonaut feat -- and I had the pleasure of making a small change in it.)

Cauthen was amused at the desegregation of the Charleston golf course and the reaction of Tom Waring (Charleston News and Courier). He said Tom was weakening. He had said jokingly to Tom over the phone: "Law of the land, you know!". Waring answered glumly: "I suppose so."

Speaking of Leon Dure, Cauthen said: "I suppose you are against his stuff." I said, on the contrary, that I had been in correspondence with Dure and that there were helpful elements in his philosophy. Then Cauthen said that he could tell me "confidentially" that Dure had conferred with the Gressette Committee (the S. C. Special Segregation Committee).

Asked what school plan I would recommend if I should appear before the Gressette Committee, I said briefly that I would recommend first of all, that a policy of local option be firmly established. Then I would encourage a token start of school desegregation, as a voluntary move, in some of the counties of smallest Negro population. I thought such a demonstration of South Carolina's good faith might tend to lessen pressure and allow more time for gradual adjustment in the state as a whole. Cauthen seemed to like the idea.

Cauthen inquired as to the attitude of the courts toward the staircase grade-a-year desegregation plan in Nashville and elsewhere. I am sending him more information on this subject.

During the afternoon I called on Mrs. E. H. Spearman, executive director of the S. C. Council on Human Relations, and discussed the general situation with her, with particular reference to the attitude of various influential individuals.

Tallahassee: (April 15-17) Frank Trippett, head of the Tallahassee bureau of the St. Petersburg Times and the Miami Herald, invited my wife and me to lunch Sunday, and we dined with John Griffin, of our SRC executive committee. Monday morning I called upon Assistant Attorney General Odom. I had tried earlier to get an appointment with Governor Bryant, but had been put off until after the legislature adjourns.

I missed the genial group which surrounded Governor Collins. Odom was the only one of my former contacts still in office. Nevertheless, Trippett said that the new administration showed signs of being more constructive on the race issue than had been widely expected. (I am increasingly impressed with Trippett, a serious, knowledgeable young man with a fine personality -- who would be an asset, by the way, in our organization.)

Trippett recalled that Governor Bryant had not mentioned segregation in his inaugural address and that he had asked the legislature for $17,000 to finance a state commission on race relations. He had offered the chairmanship again to Cody Fowler, but Fowler had declined it. The segregation issue had figured very little in the legislative session thus far.

The Governor's support of the Reedy bill (which Governor Collins vetoed) he regarded as a relatively harmless "sop" to segregationists. To override the veto would require a two thirds majority. Even to pass a new bill to the same effect would be difficult. Should the plan finally be adopted it would probably be a dead letter since it would go into effect only after concurrent action by four more states, with an appropriation of $500,000 by each. The object of the Reedy bill is to set up a multi-state commission to advertise the "Southern point of view" on segregation. The Governor probably felt that if segregationist legislators insisted on sounding off they could do so with least damage on something like the Reedy bill.

Assistant Attorney General Ralph E. Odom has been the state's chief "expert" and most vocal spokesman on school desegregation since he argued before the Supreme Court in the litigation leading to the Brown decisions. He studies the problem constantly and confers with officials in other Southern states.

Odom was definitely eager to talk about the situation in various states. He had attended one of the recent "crazy" sessions of the Louisiana legislature, when they were passing laws as fast as they could "scratch them off on a piece of paper." He has paid several visits to Va. Attorney General Harrison. He was pleased when I gave him a copy of my book. He gave me a copy of Vol. 33, No. 1 of "The Supreme Court" (H. W. Wilson Co.), containing a speech of his printed earlier in the U.S. News and World Report, entitled, "What the South Must Do."

Although continuously concerned with litigation to delay school integration in Florida, Odom is a moderate influence in the present climate of opinion. He favors state tuition grants, pupil placement legislation and separation of the sexes and has said that "as far as can now be ascertained, an overwhelming majority of the white people of Florida will not send their children to an integrated school." At the same time he preaches respect for law and the inevitability of ultimate compliance and points eloquently to the folly of attempting to substitute private for public schools. With reference to pending litigation, he said publicly in March: "The federal courts are going to compel Escambia, Hillsborough, Volusia, Duval and any other counties where such suits are pending to have some integration."

I find that he is coming increasingly to recognize the feasibility of school integration. He expressed concern over the attitude of local authorities in Pensacola, where the attitude is still one of blind resistance and where no preparation is being made.

Incidentally, he could not understand why the NAACP would press cases in Pensacola and Jacksonville when a number of school districts in southern Florida would move "promptly and without trouble" on an order from a federal court.

Greensboro: (April 20) I called briefly at the office of the Greensboro Record for a run-down on the situation there. There had been a short-lived flurry of agitation for theater desegregation following a showing of "Porgy and Bess." This picture was shown at the Cinema Theater, which has no accommodations for Negroes, and Negroes were entirely excluded!

Winston-Salem: (April 21) Here I was entirely in the hands of Dr. Clarence Patrick, of Wake Forest College. We conferred in the morning, he arranged a luncheon in the college dining room to which Irving Carlyle (Wachovia counsel and a member of our board) and our three ladies were invited. Later I spoke to Patrick's class in Race and Culture.

The most urgent concern of Patrick and Carlyle was the prospect that the board of trustees meeting the following Friday would reject the application of Edward Reynolds, a Ghana boy, for admission to Wake Forest. There have been active movements among both faculty and student body for Wake Forest desegregation. This boy's application was the result of the efforts of a group of students made through a Baptist missionary in Ghana. There were indications, however, that the segregationist trustees were still adamant.

(The following Monday, April 24, I discussed this situation with Assistant Secretary of State Brooks Hays in Washington and he promised to "get to work right away.")

After my talk to the sociology class, I was accosted by a student, Jimmie B. Young (Box 6056, Reynolds Station, Winston-Salem, N.C.), who expressed an interest in following a career in the race relations field. I am sending him some literature about the Southern Regional Council. Patrick said he would look into Young's record and write me further about him.

Dr. Patrick also agreed to visit Laurinburg some time in late June to discuss lunch counter desegregation there.

He said that he was still receiving requests constantly for copies of his brochure on lunch counter desegregation in Winston-Salem. Several hundred had been sent out in recent months. Less than 100 remained; a new printing might be necessary.

Benjamin Muse

May 18, 1961

MEMORANDUM

Our Role in Equalization of Employment Opportunity

Conversation with Dr. Fred Holly, Etc.

I was asked to explore the possibilities of giving stimulation and help in the elimination of race discrimination in industrial employment in view of the new urgency of the problem for government contractors, and to look for a competent expert who might serve as part-time consultant in this field under Southern Regional Council auspices.

It was recognized that both management and labor are vitally concerned, and the possibility was considered of engaging both a management consultant and a labor consultant.

I discussed this first with Paul R. Christopher, AFL-CIO regional director and a member of our board, in Knoxville, Tuesday, March 9. Paul reminded me that the AFL-CIO is still looking for a man to try to liberalize Southern unions in the matter of race. President Meany is deeply concerned, and impatient, about this. The former salary figure of $9,000 had been supplanted by an "almost no limit" order; he was willing to put $25,000 into this. The AFL-CIO would like our help in finding a man who could do an effective job.

This has a bearing on our problem, though not precisely what we have in mind. In helping particular industries to equalize employment opportunities Paul thought that one consultant could deal with both management and labor, and he knew of an ideal possibility -- Dr. Fred Holly, head of the economics department of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

Dr. Holly, a man of about 45, is very active as a consultant and more particularly as an arbitrator, in labor-management disputes. Paul guessed that Dr. Holly received about $12,000 per annum from the state of Tennessee, and an equal amount in fees from industry. (His fee for arbitration: $100 per day.) He has many contacts among corporation executives, with whom he is much in demand. He is equally

popular among labor leaders. Dr. Holly holds an annual work-shop, or Conference on Current Trends in Collective Bargaining, which is attended by about 500 representatives of management and labor. Paul spoke enthusiastically of Dr. Holly, with whom he is on terms of warm personal friendship.

After consultation with Atlanta by phone from Nashville, I asked Paul Christopher to try to get me an early appointment with Dr. Holly. The latter was away from Knoxville, expected back Sunday night. I drove back to Knoxville Sunday, and conferred with Dr. Holly Monday morning at eleven.

Dr. Holly was interested, although he said the idea was new to him as a personal concern. He had not given it much thought until Paul Christopher called him two hours earlier. He became intensely interested as our conversation developed.

He began by saying that he would not be able to serve in any capacity personally, but could recommend others. He mentioned first John Hope. I said that Hope was already associated with us and would probably find a place in the equal employment opportunity picture. We were particularly interested in enlisting the cooperation of someone of prestige comparable to his own and with wide acquaintanceship among corporation executives. He spent some time in thinking of possibly suitable individuals and going over their qualifications. (A list of his suggested names is appended hereto.)

Later, when I came back to the possibility of his serving, Dr. Holly did not close the door. I said that if a situation should present itself in which both he and the SRC felt that he could help, compensation would be at a rate comparable to his fee for arbitration. More interested at this stage, Dr. Holly said that money would not be his concern but that he would like to help if he could in a job that needed to be done.

In talking for another hour, we each became increasingly conscious of the magnitude, complexity and urgency of the problem which now confronts a large segment of American industry. There would be a need for many specialists, or consultants, and teams of specialists. And for most this is a new study and a new science. Specialists will have to be developed.

Some corporations would doubtless pay for their own consultants. I ventured the thought that we might see a consultation service in this field developing on a commercial basis. Dr. Holly said that was quite possible. He wondered nobody had thought of it. "It's all too new, I suppose."

He said he would like to do some more thinking about the matter and would write me within a few days.

Returning the same afternoon I stopped at Newport, Tenn., to discuss the matter with the Stokelys (writing team of James Stokely and Wilma Dykeman). Here we pictured hopefully a sort of a groundswell of integration of the Negro in American industry which we might help in some measure to bring about. Mrs. Stokely thought of the possibility of a magazine article on the subject -- this important new concern of American industry and of ecomomists and personnel specialists. One might suggest that some university establish a year's course in equalization of employment opportunity.

This thought occurred to me later. We might, in cooperation with Dr. Holly, promote a conference, or a workshop, on equalization of employment opportunity to which representatives of both labor and management would be invited.

Benjamin Muse

Names Suggested by Dr. Holly

John Hope.

William Wesson, Department of Labor Economics, Univ. of South Carolina. (Formerly at University of Chattanooga and L. S. U.)

Langston Holly, Univ. of Alabama. Not as deep as Wesson or Hope, but gets along well with businessmen. Does some arbitration.

Howard W. Wissner, Tulane. Good man.

As members of a team, or assistants, Dr. Holly suggested two younger men (in their thirties) at U.T.:

B. Douglas Stone, Jr., department of Industrial Management, a specialist in personnel and industrial psychology, and --

Dr. J. Earl Williams, Dept. of Economics.

In general Dr. Holly said that good talent might be found among retired commissioners of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and suggested talking to Col. George Strong, FMCS counsel.

June 12, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Cooperation with USIA

Visits June 5 and 8, 1960

I called on William C. Gausmann, Labor and Minorities Advisor, United States Information Service, Monday morning, June 5.

I suggested that a brochure reflecting foreign opinion on race discrimination in the United States would help to bring home to segregationist leaders and others the vital importance of this problem from the standpoint of our world position.

Gausmann thought this was a fine idea, but said the USIA could not touch it. "Our business is to speak to the outside world, not to Americans." Besides there was the matter of representatives in Congress from "a certain section," whose support is badly needed by the USIA.

However, if we should undertake to get out a brochure, he would cooperate. He would give us a pile of their surveys of foreign opinion. He showed me some of these. His communications were usually "restricted," but, he said there was little reason for classification. Nevertheless, it might be necessary to paraphrase or declassify some before releasing them to us.

Gausmann was quite eager to hear about the race relations picture in the South. New at his job (three weeks), after about 14 years overseas in the Foreign Service, he had only a very general knowledge of the race problem and he was anxious to learn more. He considered the "Minorities" end of his job much more important than the "Labor" end. He knew little about the SRC, beyond the fact that he received New South and had seen recent reference to us in the N. Y. Times. He would like to keep an SRC file and receive everything that we put out. He wants me to come back every time I'm in Washington -- will "shoot me, if I don't."

I called again Thursday afternoon, June 8, in answer to a phone call from him, to collect material on foreign opinion and to leave with him a collection of Special Reports, L-Reports and pamphlets issued by the SRC.

From an hour and a half of conversation this time it was evident (1) that USIA plans to give much more attention to the race problem than it has in the past and (2) that it wants to cooperate very closely with us.

Gausmann said he wanted a great deal of help from us and he hoped there would be ways in which the USIA could be helpful to us in return. In this connection he suggested that he might call on some of our officers or board members for overseas broadcasts. He suggested that that might have prestige value for us. I said I believed some of our leaders would be glad to do that as a service to USIA. He was particularly interested in John Wheeler and Dr. Albert Dent in this connection.

He said that USIA had long considered producing a film depicting the progress of the American Negro from emancipation up to today. He was pushing this, but there was some opposition, or hesitancy, about it.

Very much interested in a CORE meeting for Sunday night, June 11. He was promoting the idea of having a message sent to CORE from the White House -- did some phoning about it during my visit. He planned to attend the CORE meeting.

Gausmann said he will definitely fly to Atlanta at an early date to visit our office, very anxious to meet Dr. Dunbar.

He gave me a 15-page survey of "Worldwide Reaction to Racial Incidents in Alabama" and copies of half a dozen communications from overseas. It is impressive stuff and should be effective wherever patriotism outweighs race prejudice.

Benjamin Muse

Memo of Jan. 11, 1962
Birmingham

A PLEA FOR COURAGE AND COMMON SENSE

We are deeply disturbed over the way decisions are being taken concerning our public recreational facilities. We are gravely concerned at the spirit of antagonism now present in our community. No solution to the problems we face can be found in abuse, threats, charges and counter-charges. Satisfactory solutions can be found only in dedicated and thoughtful consideration by all who want the future of Birmingham to be bright.

We believe the following facts deserve that dedicated and thoughtful consideration:

There is no question but that public recreational facilities are essential to every modern city. They are essential to the health and emotional well-being of large numbers of our adult citizens. They are essential to the sound and happy development of our youth. They are essential to the economic vigor and continuing growth of our city. A city without public recreational facilities would risk economic decline and increased juvenile delinquency.

Our public officials know these facts. Indeed they have promised our people to improve and expand our recreational facilities. In 1960 our City Commission led the people of Birmingham to approve a bond issue to provide millions of dollars for public improvements. In a pamphlet supporting that bond issue, Commissioners Connor, Wagner and Morgan said:

"We of your City Commission are the first to agree that Birmingham is far behind...in municipal improvements.

* * *

"No city can justly claim to be a healthy city unless it provides reasonable recreational facilities for its youth and adults...Birmingham needs additional parks...."

In his campaign pamphlet of last Spring, Mayor Hanes pledged:

"The office of Mayor is a position of trust and great responsibility. No candidate for this high office should pledge more than he can do. No holder of this office should do less than he has pledged.

"Guided by these convictions, Art Hanes will:

* * *

"ENCOURAGE THE LOCATION OF NEW ENTERPRISES.

"This can be done best by maintaining... recreational advantages and wholesome conditions that make ours the finest city in the Nationa in which to live....

"CONTINUE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR PARKS AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS OF OUR INCOME.

"These are vital to our modern mode of living. Providing a home for our Little Leagues, Pony League and other outdoor sports organizations, our parks and playgrounds help keep our youth busy and happy and help develop our civic leaders of tomorrow."

An advertisement printed in Hanes' behalf on May 28, 1961 proclaimed:

"As leader in many youth activities -- our Softball Association, Boy Scout Council, Little Leagues -- Art Hanes knows the need and value of healthful outdoor sports facilities for our boys and girls, and their value in attracting new enterprises to Birmingham."

We are confident that the District Court will stay the order for sixty days during which time the parks can be kept open and segregated. We urge:

1. That the 60-day stay be secured.

2. That the authorities constitute a committee to assist in solving our awesome problems.

3. That our people have faith and courage that together we can handle our problems at least as well as they are being handled in other major Southern Cities.

Some of us live within the Birmingham City limits. Some of us live in adjacent municipalities but within metropolitan Birmingham. All of us use Birmingham's public recreational facilities, and we help pay for them. All of us depend for our livelihood and happiness upon the well-being of Birmingham. All of us are devoted to the City and to its future. We believe this devotion requires us to speak, and we ~~humbly~~ believe it entitles us to be heard.

All of us have in the past given of our time, our energy, and our financial resources to the betterment of Birmingham. Each of us here offers his services to the City Commission in any capacity in which they may be effectively used in order to reach a satisfactory solution to the problem that confronts us.

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

March 2, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

The 1961 Desegregation Initiative of the Catholic Bishops of Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta

On the first Sunday of Lent, February 19, 1961, the Catholic Bishops of Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta issued identically a somewhat sensational pastoral letter. The three and a half-page document contained a fine statement of Christian principles and the attitude of the Church in the matter of racial justice. The press fastened mainly upon the following two announcements:

> (1) Catholic pupils, regardless of color, will be admitted to Catholic schools as soon as this can be done with safety to the children and the schools. Certainly this will be done no later than the public schools are opened to all pupils.
>
> and --
>
> (3) During 1961 this diocese will undertake a program of preparation for its people. Pastoral letters, sermons, study clubs and school instructions will explain the full Catholic teaching on racial justice.

I visited the three dioceses in February to see what progress had been made in the implementation of this pastoral letter. I found that an admirable program of preparation was being carried out in the Charleston diocese, but that little or no progress had been made in the dioceses of Savannah and Atlanta.

Charleston

I was greatly impressed in my interview on February 8 with Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan, Bishop of Charleston (110 Broad St). He appeared to feel very strongly, and to have something like enthusiasm, about the campaign for racial justice.

Bishop Hallinan said there had never been any segregation of worship in the Charleston diocese. All Catholic churches were attended at times by Negroes, and some had a substantial number of Negro parishioners, although several

churches were attended almost exclusively by Negroes, except in that some whites in the neighborhood used the confessional for convenience.

He said that, although only two of the five Catholic hospitals had been open to Negroes in the past, all five would be open to Negroes by the end of 1962.

He recalled that one diocesan school had been integrated since 1954; a school at Rock Hill, S. C. included a dozen Negroes among its approximately 100 pupils. (There had been minor unpublicized integration in a parochial school in Greenville; a primarily Negro school there enrolled three white pupils, 1959-1960, and two, 1960-1961, but has no white pupils now, the family having moved away.)

Bishop Hallinan remarked with some pride that he had arranged with the Francis Marion Hotel to provide accommodations in the future (short of sleeping, but including eating) to Negroes attending integrated diocesan conventions of various kinds. The diocesan branch of the National Council of Catholic Women meets there March 3. It had been necessary in the past to hold such meetings in Catholic schools.

He said the pastoral letter of February, 1961, had "naturally" aroused some protest. About $35,000 of subscriptions to a $300,000 hospital fund had been canceled. There was an undercurrent of disapproval of his desegregation move, but little outspoken criticism. He knew of no segregationist "wild men" in the diocese. The majority were accepting his program loyally and he was pleased with the way in which the diocese had taken it. Letters received were about evenly divided between the approving and the disapproving.

There was very little abuse from the general public, only a few "desultory" editorials in the News and Courier.

The most disturbed people, the bishop said, were the pupils of the Charleston Negro high school, who were contented there and were apprehensive at the thought of transfer!

The promise to "undertake a program of preparation" has been carried out in the Charleston diocese. Schools are required to give "the full Catholic teaching on racial justice," in accordance with a syllabus, of which the bishop gave me a summary. A copy of this syllabus summary is enclosed with this report. Considered as a course of instruction in a Deep South state, this is a remarkable document, as will be seen from some sentences extracted and quoted below.

"Race prejudice cannot withstand the advance of Christ's truth."

"Every man has a right to equality before the law, before his fellow man, and before his employer."

"Racial segregation is unjust and immoral wherever it is found, North or South."

"Whatever we do to a fellow man in the injustice of racial segregation, we are doing to Christ Himself."

"The deep longing and need of the Negro people for recognition of their rights can be understood only by the constant exercise of Christian charity."

The current parochial school enrollment of the Charleston diocese is 9,387; about 2,000 of these are colored and less than half of the latter are Catholics. Desegregation, the bishop said would involve at the beginning only from 30 to 40 Negro pupils. This will come "perhaps next fall, perhaps later -- whenever it is safe."

"We are exerting constant pressure," Bishop Hallinan said, "and making steady progress."

It is significant, and a good augury for Catholic desegregation in the southeastern region, that Bishop Hallinan has since been named Archbishop of Atlanta, a newly established archdiocese, embracing the two Carolinas, Georgia and Florida.

Savannah

I was received cordially by others in the offices of the Charleston diocese, who appeared to share the bishop's concern for racial justice. My experience in Savannah (February 12) was a contrast in this respect. The chancellor, Monsignor McDonald showed no desire to talk with me and did not encourage me to see the bishop or anyone else. I drove about ten miles, however, to the St. John Vianney School to call on Father Cuddy, the diocesan superintendent of schools. Father Cuddy was cordial, but he talked very much like a restrained Southern segregationist and only grudgingly conceded that segregation was wrong and should be ended.

In the afternoon I called again at the chancery (325 Abercorn St.) and was received at once by the Most Reverend Thomas J. McDonough, Bishop of Savannah. Bishop McDonough was most cordial and apologized for not having seen me earlier, owing to a heavy morning schedule.

I found Bishop McDonough deeply conscious of the wrongness of race discrimination and segregation, which we discussed from various angles. He was troubled over his inability to move forward. He had held three clerical conferences in which he had stated the Christian position on racial justice and the unalterable intention of the Church to end segregation. He was also obsessed with the difficulties and "danger" in this field. A Catholic church had been stoned because white witnesses attended an otherwise Negro wedding ceremony.

There are approximately 1500 Negroes (predominantly non-Catholic) among the 9500 pupils in the schools of the diocese. A Catholic hospital at Augusta and another at Columbus accept Negro patients; the Catholic hospital at Savannah does not, although an out-patient clinic is provided for them. The diocesan youth organization is racially integrated. He said that four Negroes had applied for admission to white schools in Savannah and one in Albany. (Father Cuddy had said: "No Negroes have applied!")

Bishop McDonough referred to the illness of Bishop Hyland, which apparently had been related to the failure to desegregate Atlanta parochial schools last fall. He suggested that when a new bishop should be appointed at Atlanta "we three (Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta) should get together and see where we are in this matter."

Atlanta

In Atlanta I did not see Monsignor Joseph T. Cassidy, who occupies the bishop's office; he was away when I called February 19. In the chancery (2699 Peachtree Rd.) I found an unwillingness to talk except "personally" and on a "Don't-quote-me" basis. The policy in the matter of school desegregation would depend entirely upon the new bishop, whenever he should be appointed. (There was much speculation in this regard -- "He might be any one of half a dozen.") Nevertheless, it was regarded as probable that desegregation would take place next fall.

Abusive letters had been received following the pastoral letter of last February, some of the worst coming from New Orleans. In the event of desegregation in Atlanta, St. Joseph's High School in the "fringe" area would be particularly affected, as well as the new Drexel High School under construction for Negroes. St. Joseph's Infirmary does not admit Negroes, although a "Negro" clinic is provided. St. Mary's Hospital in Athens admits Negroes, as does a cancer hospital. A new hospital is projected in Atlanta for Negroes.

Bishop Francis E. Hyland took ill and retired completely last October. I understand that he had liberal views on race relations, and that he suffered a nervous breakdown, in which the failure of Catholic schools to desegregate along with publi schools was to some extent both cause and effect.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

May 2, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Additional Notes, April Travels, 1962

Returning from Mississippi through Northern Alabama, we found ourselves accidentally at the same motel April 11 with the Folsom party; I attended one of the day's seven rallies and talked briefly with Big Jim. The results of the first primary save me now from a prognostication, which would have been wide of the mark, as I consulted Folsom enthusiasts.

I found Louis A. Eckl, editor of the Florence Times passionately pro-Folsom. He recalled that I had had a part in his decision. When I visited him last summer I told him of my advice to Folsom to preach law and order. Eckl, undecided then, said in effect that if Big Jim preached law and order, he would support him -- which I later conveyed to Folsom. Folsom said his piece for segregation, though less emphatically than others, but a part of his regular repertoire was: "We gotta have law and order in this state."

Another healthy note of Folsom's was:

"I tell you, folks, the Civil War is over. We gotta join together."

I may add that my liberal friends -- outside of Folsom's entourage -- spoke highly also of de Graffenreid. He was described by some as a better man who couldn't make it.

Louis Eckl and son, Chris, who is now on the staff of the Times, were overflowing with cordiality and liberal zeal. They gave me a collection of clips of gently liberal editorials. The paper was doing fine in spite of them. Chris Eckl is president of the local Council on Human Relations.

Louis Eckl said that Alabama Chief Justice J. E. Levingston had offered a job to his other son, William Wray, who is about to graduate from law school -- which was interesting in view of the family's well known liberal tendency.

Kenneth B. Piper, Chattanooga, April 13:

On the day I left Atlanta three weeks earlier a letter arrived expressing extraordinary interest in the SRC from Kenneth B. Piper, of the Provident Insurance Co., of Chattanooga. I recalled having visited Mr. Piper two years earlier and decided to include another visit to him on this trip.

Mr. Piper is executive vice-president of Provident, whose splendid new building is one of the "sights" of Chattanooga. (It houses the home office staff of 800). He is deeply religious (a Presbyterian) and abhors race discrimination on moral and religious grounds. He is greatly enjoying the experience of cultivating some Negro friendships. We discussed the race problem, with only incidental reference to the Chattanooga situation, for one and a half hours.

He evidently would like to do more in this field, and to become better acquainted with us. He is handicapped at present, not only by the demands of his job upon his time, but by the fact that the president of his company is an intransigeant segregationist. However, Piper will be 63 in July and will retire in two more years. Then he expects to be more active in some of the causes in which he believes. He is active in the American Association for the United Nations and the NCCJ, but I believe he feels most strongly about the evil of race discrimination.

He finds one fault with the SRC: he thinks we are encouraging too much "federal government action." I did not argue this point at length with him; it did not seem to be an overriding consideration.

He wished to "keep in touch," and I promised to send him some material in which he expressed a particular interest.

Mayor Hartsfield, April 17:

I visited former Mayor William Hartsfield of Atlanta in his tiny Grant Building office. I think Hartsfield misses the excitement of running the city, but he complained of being overworked. (He declined a speaking engagement while I was there.)

He had talked and written to me about his address to the annual meeting of the Young Business Men's Club of Birmingham March 23, and had sent me some letters of appreciation, which I returned to him. The writers expressed the wish that Birmingham could have a mayor like him. Mayor Hartsfield said the meeting had been picketed by a handful of Ku Kluxers, but there was no disorder. He gave them some "straight talk." Some were cold, but most applauded.

He was unable to accept the part-time arrangement agreed upon tentatively earlier with us because of the demands of his two-year Ford Foundation contract, his Fair duties, etc. However, he would continue to put in a blow for the good cause whenever opportunity offered. There were opportunities. The Mayor of Pensacola had recently sought his advice. At a meeting in Pittsburgh under his Ford Foundation assignment he had talked to U. S. Steel people about the dangerous situation in Birmingham.

He wished to keep in touch with us.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

July 16, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Committee on Equality of Opportunity in the Armed Forces

I was appointed a member of this committee by a letter from the President, dated June 22. The letter gave the committee "for inclusion in its consideration of the general problem" these two questions:

1. What measures should be taken to improve the effectiveness of current policies and procedures in the Armed Forces with regard to equality of treatment and opportunity for persons in the Armed Forces?

2. What measures should be employed to improve equality of opportunity for members of the Armed Forces and their dependents in the civilian community, particularly with respect to housing, education, transportation, recreational facilities, community events, programs and activities?

The press announcement June 24 named Gerhard A. Gesell, of Washington, as chairman and listed the following additional members of the committee: Dean Joseph O'Meara, of the Notre Dame Law School; Nathaniel Colley, a Sacramento, Calif., attorney; Abe Fortas, a Washington, D.C. attorney; John Sengstacke, editor-publisher, Chicago Defender, and Whitney Young, New York executive secretary, National Urban League.

I am still without much definite information, but from visits to Gesell and the Commission on Civil Rights and from a communication from the American Veterans Committee I gather that three initiatives more or less converged.

The CCR had undertaken an investigation some months ago along the lines of question 2 above. Chairman Hannah had written Secretary McNamara and received an assurance of the Defense Department's cooperation. Several officers were designated as contact men for the CCR investigators. An investigating team of two CCR men recently returned from a two months tour of Air Force bases.

In the meantime the American Veterans Committee has been aggressively urging desegregation of the National Guard. A committee of the AVC called upon the President June 21 and was asked by the President to prepare "an outline of specific methods." I had been asked to serve on the President's Committee in a telephone call from Yarmolinsky nearly three weeks earlier, but had received no further communication. The White House letters may have been held up pending this visit from the AVC; they were sent out the following day.

Under date of July 13, I received a copy of the excell 56-page document which the AVC prepared for President Kennedy, with a letter urging in effect that our committee inc in its report a recommendation for desegregation of the Nat Guard.

When I talked with Gesell on July 3 I found him also s what in the dark as to the shape of our undertaking. Incidentally there had been a change, announced that day, in the Assistant Secretaries of the Defense for manpower, whose office was directly involved in the President's Committee's formation. It appeared to both Gesell and me that coordination of the Committee's and CCR's activity might be the first business. Gesell suggested tentatively that he would ask for an office for the Committee in the Pentagon, manned by "some Defense Department lawyer and a secretary." Considerable mail for the Committee was already accumulating. He estimated roughly that our job would take about a year. He contemplated calling the first meeting of the Committee in September, although he would like to confer with me and Fortas (the other Washington member) in the meantime.

Benjamin Muse

November 19, 1963

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visit to NCCIJ and ESCRV Conventions

November 15-16

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice held its annual meeting at the International Inn in Washington November 14-17, and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity met concurrently at the same place. Several joint sessions and receptions were held.

The theme of the former was "Poverty, Race and Religion;" of the latter, "The Church and the Revolution of 1963."

Many good speeches were heard. Eli Ginzberg, Fred Routh, and Phil Rilling (in "workshop") were among the speakers to the Catholics; Louis Lomax and Burke Marshall were among those speaking to the Episcopalians. Wyatt Walker addressed a joint session, and made an excellent speech. Copies of most speeches will be available in due course.

I served as "resource man" in a NCCIJ "clinic" on "Mediation." The chairman, Msgr. Andrew J. McDonald, chancellor, Diocese of Savannah (225 Abercorn St.) reviewed at some length developments in Savannah -- in which he and Bishop McDonough appear to have taken a prominent part. He described, in addition to the integration of parochial schools, the desegregation of libraries, movies, hotels and motels. I obtained from Father McDonald the paper on which he based his remarks, which (in Pages 3-7) may contain some information useful to SRC. It is enclosed herewith. I would appreciate it if this paper could be thermofaxed, a copy being sent to me and another to Mr. Henry Cabirac, Director, NCCIJ Southern Field Service, 1046 Baronne St., New Orleans, La. (Cabirac requested a copy.)

The ecumenical spirit was pervasive and good-natured. When the NCCIJ moved into a hall for a joint session, where ESCRV had already gathered, the incorrigible John Morris got a laugh by expressing gratification at the sight of "so many Roman Catholics returning to the Church of England!"

I was impressed with the enthusiastic militancy of both groups all along the civil rights line. In both, however, there was a recognition of the vast job ahead of arousing the masses of communicants. There was a great deal of informal talk in the NCCIJ

of the need for "lighting a fire under the bishops." On the other hand some reported situations where the bishop was away out in front and the rest of the diocese needed to catch up with him. No bishop attended the convention, due to the absence of many bishops attending the ecumenical conference in Rome.

I prodded Cabirac for a progress report on the desegregation of Catholic institutions in the South. He said he is collecting information and will have a report shortly. When this is at hand, together with the text of addresses and reports to the Washington meeting, I will be glad to abstract a report for SRC on the progress of Catholic desegregation and Catholic participation in the civil rights movement in the South.

Benjamin Muse

THIS WE BELIEVE

The whole history of mankind boldly and brilliantly declares that customs are not permanent, that life is change, and that the pursuit of happiness is the most dynamic and most inspiring adventure that has even challenged mankind.

We the students of Miles College have joined our hearts and minds for the cause of gaining those rights which are inherently ours as members of the human race and as citizens of the United States of America and of Birmingham, Alabama.

We pledge our unqualified agreement with those students in the nation who have recently been engaged in the significant movement to secure certain long-awaited rights and privileges. We are dissatisfied, not only with the existing conditions but with the slow pace at which these conditions are being eradicated. Every normal human being wants to walk the earth with dignity and abhors any and all suppressing situations placed upon him because of race or color.

We do not intend to wait complacently for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time. Today's youth will not sit by submissively while being denied all of the rights, privileges and joys of life. We want to state clearly and unequivocally that we cannot tolerate in a nation professing democracy and among people professing Christianity the discriminatory conditions under which the Negro is living today in Birmingham, Alabama-----supposedly one of the most progressive cities in the South.

We believe that the following inequalities are undemocratic and unchristian:

1. EDUCATION:

In the public school systems, facilities for Negroes and whites are separate and unequal. Many Negro children travel great distances, passing by white schools, in order to reach a school that will accept them for admittance. Neither of the state-supported institutions of higher learning for Negroes is accredited by the Regional Accrediting Agency. On the university level, the state will pay a Negro to attend a school out of the state rather than admit him to the University of Alabama, Auburn University and other tax-supported public institutions.

2. JOBS:

Negroes are denied employment in the majority of city, state and federal governmental jobs in Birmingham except in the most menial capacities. Recent statistics show that 90% of the Negro's income is spent for consumer goods in Birmingham yet they are denied jobs in all of the downtown department stores except in subservient roles.

3. HOUSING:

According to the 1960 census, Negroes constitute 34.5% of the population of Birmingham. They are forced to live within a small percentage of the area of the city. Casual observations show that the bulk of the Negro population is still:

A. Locked into the more undersirable and over-crowded areas of the city

B. Paying a proportionally higher percentage of income for rental and purchase of generally lower quality property

C. Blocked by political and direct or indirect racial restrictions in its efforts to secure better housing

4. VOTING:

Negroes are still unable to register to vote with the same amount of dignity and ease which is apparently afforded whites. Of the 136,014 Negroes living in Birmingham proper, less than 11,000 are registered voters. New applicants are harassed and intimidated by long superfluous interviews which serve to further discourage other potential voters.

5. HOSPITALS:

Compared with facilities for other people in Birmingham and Alabama, those for Negroes are unequal and totally inadequate. In a number of hospitals within the city, Negro patients are placed in the basements. Hygienic conditions are not conducive to the well-being of the patients. Negro physicians are allowed to practice in only one hospital in the city.

6. MOVIES AND RESTAURANTS:

Negroes are barred from most downtown movies and segregated in others. Negroes' hunger and thirst must go unrequited until they reach the sign "Colored"....(e.g., restaurants, water fountains, etc.)

7. LAW ENFORCEMENTS:

There are grave inequalities in the area of law enforcement. Too often, Negroes are intimidated, insulted, brutally manhandled and denied due process of the law by the law-enforcement officers and elected officials. With a Negro population of more than 200,000, there are no Negro policement in Birmingham.

We have briefly mentioned only a few situations in which we meet discrimination. These social evils that plague Birmingham, the South, the nation and the world have been boldly and greatly understated. We believe that:

1. The practice of racial segregation is not in keeping with the ideals of democracy and Christianity.
2. Racial segregation is robbing not only the segregated but the segregator of his human dignity. Furthermore, the continuation of racial prejudice is unfair to the generations yet unborn.
3. In times of war, the Negro has fought and died for his country, yet he still has not been accorded first-class citizenship.
4. In spite of the fact that the Negro pays his share of taxes, he does not enjoy participation in city, county and state government at the level at which laws are enacted.
5. The social, economic and political progress of Alabama is retarded by segregation and prejudices.
6. America is fast losing the respect of other nations by the poor example which she sets in the area of race relations.

We, therefore, call upon the elected officials of the city, county and state, all leaders in civic life, ministers, teachers, businessmen, labor leaders, fraternity leaders, political leaders and all people of good-will to stand up and be counted in an all-out effort to abolish these glaring practices of discrimination and injustice heaped upon a people because of accident of birth. We intend to use every legal and non-violent mean at our disposal to secure for ourselves and our unborn children these God-given rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Frank Dukes

Frank Dukes, President
Student Government

Nathaniel Studdard

Nathaniel Studdard
Dean of Pledgees,
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity

Wrother L Meredith

Wrother L. Meredith, President
Science Club; Vice Bas.,
Eta Epsilon Chapter Omega Psi Phi Fraternity

Willie Clyde Jones

Willie Clyde Jones
Dean of Pledgees, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity

Doris Mae Marshall

Doris Mae Marshall
Business Manager, Club Harmonia

Gladys J. McGee

Gladys J. McGee, President
Club Rho Nu

Ozzie E. Gadie

Ozzie E. Gadie, President
Senior Class

Marvin B. Smitte

Marvin Smith, President
Junior Class

(David Vann)

OUTLINE OF POSSIBLE
SUGGESTION FOR PARK
DESEGREGATION PLAN

1. All parks and recreational facilities shall be opened as of March 1, 1962.

2. All parks now reserved for white and all parks now reserved for colored shall retain such status until March 15, 1972, except as herein provided for.

3. Parks having no recreational facilities:

   a. The following shall become unrestricted as of March 15, 1963.

      (Name two new white -- two colored, plus all now substantially desegregated.)

   b. The following shall become unrestricted as of March 15, 1963.

      (Name three white, three colored.)

   c. The following shall become unrestricted as of March 15, 1964.

      (Name 4 white, 4 colored.)

   d. The remainder shall become unrestricted as of March 15, 1965.

4. Parks used for school playgrounds:

   The use of these shall be restricted to use by students enrolled in the schools.

5. Golf courses.

   a. Authorize Park Board to establish rules respecting the making of reservations.

   b. Remove restrictions on said numbered dates on March 15, 1962 at Highlands and Cooper Green and

at one additional golf course each six months thereafter

c. Remove all restrictions at Highland and Cooper Green on March 15, 1964, and on one additional course each six months thereafter.

6. Playing fields for football and baseball.

a. Authorize Park Board to restrict any such field to organized teams on a reservation basis.

b. Remove racial restrictions on said numbered dates beginning March 15, 1963, at two parks each year, including one now reserved for colored and one now reserved for white.

c. Remove all racial restrictions beginning March 15, 1965, at two parks each year.

7. Tennis Courts.

a. Authorize Park Board to establish rules respecting the making of reservations.

b. Remove racial restrictions on said numbered days beginning March 1, 1963, at two parks each year, including one formerly reserved for white and one now reserved for colored.

c. Remove all racial restrictions at two parks each year, including one formerly reserved for white and one now reserved for colored.

8. Swimming pools.

a. Retain all present restrictions on race until March 15, 1966, at which time a plan for the gradual elimination of restrictions must be submitted or all must be opened desegregated or all must be closed.

9. Neighborhood playgrounds.

a. Board authorized to establish neighborhood park districts and to establish rules restricting use to residents of district and their accompanied guests.

10. Park Kindergartens.

a. Placed under provisions of placement law with Park Board substituted for School Board.

11. Community Centers.

a. Retain all present racial restrictions until March 15, 1963.

b. Authorize Board to establish rules and regulations respecting times for use on reservation basis only.

c. Beginning March 15, 1963, remove restrictions on the community center each year for years on said numbered days alternating between a center formerly restricted to all white and one restricted to all colored.

d. Beginning March 15, 1964, remove all racial restrictions on one center each year alternating between a center formerly restricted to all white and one now restricted to all colored.

12. With respect to any facility scheduled for the removal of racial restrictions, the selection of the facility to become unrestricted shall be filed in the court six months prior to the effective date of such removal of restrictions.

13. Advisory Board.

Six months prior to removal of the restrictions on any facilities Park Board shall upon request of any person using such facilities appoint an advisory board of persons living in the immediate area served by the facilities and of persons making regular use of the facilities if the Board determines that use is not confined to persons in the immediate vicinity. The Park Board or its representative shall be required to meet with and advise with such advisory committee in the formulation of rules and regulations. Any citizen who maintains a rule or regulation adopted by the Park Board respecting any facility is discriminatory or unfair shall have the right within nine days after the publication of such rule or regulations, upon 30 days notice to the court and to the Park Board have the right to file a petition in the court and secure a review by the court of such rule or regulation.

September 30, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Birmingham -- September 22-24

And Alabama Plans

Birmingham, Alabama, is of all major Southern cities probably the most hostile to desegregation, the most repressive of free discussion of the subject and the most isolated from outside information and opinion. (National TV programs touching on the subject -- Ed Murrow's, Huntley-Brinkley's, "Face the Nation," etc. are not given by local stations.) It is also the big city most lacking in communication between its white and Negro citizens. One Birmingham lady, when it was suggested that it would be well to find out at least what the Negroes are thinking about was said to have replied,"Do you think these niggers can really think?" For a white man to argue for Negro rights is considered vicious or criminal.

Yet Birmingham is also the Southern city where Negroes have the highest per capita income. Those Negroes who cheerfully accept the servant-master relationship get along relatively well materially. Some are wealthy. White businessmen more or less surreptitiously seek the favor of A. G. Gaston, a Negro financial magnate.

Tension and fear are not evident to the casual visitor. For those who conform naturally, there is no hardship, and a majority of the white people apparently like it that way. Only the dissenters appear to suffer.

I am planning to spend several weeks in Alabama (probably in November) and have been collecting a list of names of individuals in various sections who would likely be hospitable to a liberal-minded visitor from the outside world.

My visit to Birmingham was in the nature of a reconnaissance. I was particularly anxious to make at least one real friend who would help and advise me in my larger undertaking. I seemed to do this in the person of Charles ("Chuck") Morgan. I spent several hours with him in the morning and he took me to his home later for drinks and dinner.

Morgan is a young lawyer, of the firm of Morgan and Shores, which successfully defended Rev. Robert Hughes. "Bob" Hughes

was jailed for his refusal to furnish information as to Council on Human Relations members, etc. in Salisbury case hearings. Morgan is also chairman of the legislative committees of the Alabama Mental Health Association and chairman of the speakers bureau for the Kennedy-Johnson campaign in Alabama. He is identified with many other civic activities, is well acquainted around the state and is preeminently a man-about-town in Birmingham -- all of which is amazing in view of the completely liberal views on the race question which he expressed to me.

I was asked by Rev. John Morris, of ESCRV especially to see two Episcopal ministers in the Birmingham area: the Rt. Rev. George Mosley Murray, bishop coadjutor; and the Rev. Robert L. Man, a Bessemer clergyman, in charge of Christian Social Relations. Dr. Murray is a cultivated and attractive gentleman, who I believe is entirely sincere in trying to combat race prejudice. He was somewhat critical, however, of John Morris and others who "want to go too fast." He said the church had to work cautiously in Alabama to prevent an aggressive counter-movement on the part of segregationist Episcopal laymen.

The bishop, Rt. Rev. C. C. J. Carpenter, was described to me as entirely uncooperative in human relations efforts. Dr. Murray is to become bishop in nine years, then serve for 20 years -- a period which he apparently thinks may be required to achieve the salvation of Alabama Episcopalians on the race issue.

In contrast to the bishop coadjutor, Mr. Man is a rough-hewn and passionate crusader who goes all the way. A veteran of many human relations battles, he resigned as president of the Bessemer ministerial association and stalked out of a meeting when it refused to condemn Ku Klux Klan activities. He spoke bitterly of a segregationist Methodist minister, Sansbury. He told lurid and incredible stories of Klan activity and Klan immunity from police action. Mr. Man said there was little that he could document, but he believed the stories were substantially true. (He had raised, by the way, $200 for the Bob Hughes legal defense fund.)

Jacob Wagnon came in for an hour's visit after dinner at Morgan's. Wagnon is a liberal, in Morgan's confidence, though the race issue is apparently only a matter of incidental concern to him. He is a professional public opinion analyst, now conducting a public opinion survey in Alabama. It is desired to keep the matter of his poll secret for the present and few people know about it. He seems to be engaged both by the Kennedy-Johnson campaign committee and separately by former Gov. James E. Folsom.

Wagnon's returns on the presidential preferences were still pretty inconclusive, but comment on Folsom was revealing. It appears thus far that, if Folsom should run again in 1962, more would vote for him than before. Surprisingly, Folsom's more-moderate-than-Patterson record was almost never mentioned by people questioned. The question of segregation itself was never mentioned.

It was the opinion of several with whom I spoke that Folsom would be relatively moderate in the segregation situation if he were returned to the governorship. His heavy drinking, however, would be a source of uncertainty and danger. His action in a school crisis might depend on "whom he is drinking with at the time."

The power structure in Birmingham is largely dominated by the Tennessee Coal and Iron Division of U. S. Steel. A change in attitude on the part of TCI would affect press, TV, politics and all down the line. (A daughter of Roger Blough, U.S. Steel Board chairman, married William French, of Birmingham. The president of the TCI is Arthur V. Wiebel.

(Mr. Man mentioned two friends in the larger business world who are interested in race relations and send him small contributions from time to time: Charles French, president Great Lakes Division, St. Regis Paper Co., Cleveland, Ohio; and Miss Mary Johnston, (described as principal owner) of Proctor and Gamble.)

I had a long talk with Jim Clayton, of the Washington Post, who is making an intensive study of the Birmingham situation and whose findings will shortly appear. Appropriately the Post chose for the job its legal expert. He is well versed in libel law!

Trial of the suits against the N. Y. Times in the state court at Montgomery (on the page ad) is set for October 31; the suit in federal court in Birmingham on the Salisbury articles is expected to be argued next February. Jim Clayton thinks that Salisbury will go to Birmingham for the latter hearing and submit to arrest.

I had a cordial telephone conversation with John Temple Graves. After referring to several friends whom we have in common, I said that I regarded him as one of the most eminent and able exponents of a point of view on the segregation question which I did not share. I said I would like to sit down with him and talk it over. He said he liked the idea; was sure we would find points of agreement. He was catching a plane this afternoon for Chicago. Would I be in town next Tuesday? I could not be in town Tuesday, but I look forward to following through on this at some later date.

o Benjamin Muse

MEMORANDUM

December 14, 1960

Birmingham, Ala., November 8-12, 1960

I have reported separately on my talks on this visit to Birmingham with Charles Zukoski, executive vice-president of the First National Bank, and the Negro millionaire, A. G. Gaston. I also spent a morning (Saturday) with Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College, and my wife and I entertained Mr. and Mrs. Charles ("Chuck") Morgan and Hugo Black, Jr. at dinner. (Mrs. Black is still crippled from an accident a few months ago.)

Dr. Stanford has an interesting philosophical approach. He calls himself a conservative. He is against big government, centralization, etc., believes in emphasizing the smaller unit right on down to the individual. That leads him, he says, to respect the dignity and integrity of each human being.

Dr. Stanford has been more exposed than Zukoski in connection with his college, and has had "run-ins" with city authorities, as well as college trustees. One of his students, Tommy Rives, was arrested for befriending protesting Negro students. Dr. Stanford stood up for Rives then and again when his expulsion was demanded. He told his trustees they would have to expel Stanford first.

Last month Dr. Stanford got a B'nai B'rith award. The press accounts were favorable, and both "Bull" Connor and the detective who arrested Rives were present at the award ceremony!

Dr. Stanford has plenty of courage, but realizes that he can do little in Birmingham now -- except work for restoration of communication between the races. He felt strongly about the apathy of Birmingham business executives. Was very anxious to see Helen Miller's article in the Harvard Business Review, which I asked John Constable to send him. I also gave him a copy of our L-20.

We had a long evening's bullfest with the Morgans and Hugo Black, who are very close friends. The two lawyers are of an age when cynicism seems a wonderful thing. They knew "Advise and Consent" almost by heart and spent some time arguing over identifications of some of the characters. But Morgan got a lot of fun out of his cynicism, and is a naive optimist underneath. Black is bitter almost to the point of neurosis.

Black's case is, in fact, pathetic. I learned from various quarters that he has been generally ostracized in Alabama. Adding to the odium which attaches to the Black name over the race issue, young Hugo is an attorney for the AFL-CIO.

(His aunt, Mrs. Durr, whom I saw in Montgomery, talked about this. She also said that her brother-in-law, the Associate Justice, suffered poignantly over the alienation of so many old friends in Alabama. On the other hand, Neil Davis, a brave liberal editor whom I met in Auburn, took pains to show me in the place of honor on the wall of his office a portrait of Justice Hugo Black.)

Black hated LeRoy Hodges, from some of his experiences in defending Henderson labor union leaders. He was sure "Goldberg won't stand for Hodges' appointment as Secretary of Commerce." Black also had no love for NAACP lawyers, never could get along with them. "They never appreciate anything you do for them."

They both felt that public school desegregation in the South would have to wait on court rulings, then the best to be hoped for was to keep schools open. Something could be done by the next President and Vice-President by approaching Southern leaders with only limited objectives. No Southern leader would openly urge compliance with the Supreme Court decision. No Southern Senator, except Gore and Kefauver would say it is the law of the land. But some Southern governors might be induced -- best by Lyndon Johnson -- to "pipe down" and lay off the issue. Governor Patterson was almost "frantic" to get "in" with Kennedy; he wanted a lot of favors.

They thought U. S. Steel and also the Southern Co., controlling power companies in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and North Florida, could do much to improve the situation if they wanted to.

They both thought there was a substantial submerged liberal element in Alabama; the race issue was keeping the reactionaries on top. Morgan, who is very much a politician, was apparently keeping a certain liberal organization intact.

Benjamin Muse

December 15, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Montgomery, Ala., November 17, 1960

Birmingham is big enough to encompass a great deal of anti-Negro villany, of which a considerable element of the white population is little aware, but repression and tension permeate the whole atmosphere of Montgomery.

I called on Rev. Don Marietta, Jr., canon at St. John's Episcopal Church and chairman of a diocesan committee on race relations, (a cautious liberal). Then I spent several hours with Mr. and Mrs. Clifford J. Durr, with whom my wife and I lunched.

Mrs. Durr accompanies Durr, who seems in feeble health, at his law office. They struck me as two unhappy, frustrated people -- somewhat isolated in Montgomery -- who witness boldly for inter-racial justice under all circumstances.

We talked about embarrassments in connection with the adjoining Maxwell Air Force Base. White and Negro personnel who fraternized on the base have to pretend they do not know one another when they come into Montgomery. Colored Air Force personnel, including foreign officers, are completely barred from "white" restaurants, etc. in Montgomery -- until recently. An explosion resulting from insulting treatment of an Ethiopian led to the adoption of a system of identification cards. Each foreign officer is now provided with a "Welcome" card from the Montgomery chamber of commerce, which admits him to all public accommodations. A school attended predominantly by the children of white Air Force personnel is operated on a tract within the base area which has been leased to the city in order that segregation may be maintained there.

Montgomery Negroes were dismayed over the cancellation of the Thanksgiving Day parade, which for many years has been a big Negro event. A movement was also under way to bar them from Crampton Bowl for the Tuskegee-Alabama State football game, but as we read later, this did not succeed.

o

A semi-official bi-racial committee, with very limited functions, recently has been set up in Montgomery. It is scorned by the more aggressive Negroes. In fact, it adds one more to the list of inharmonious bodies dealing with the race problem in that city. They range from the Montgomery Improvement Association to a strictly Uncle Tom organization. One of them is the Montgomery Council on Human Relations, which is predominantly Negro.

We joined Mrs. Durr in attending a meeting of the MCHR. There were eleven others present, including a couple and one other from the Air Force base, who were white. Mrs. Durr said that, in addition to herself, only one other Montgomery white has attended recent meetings. The seven Negroes were largely clergymen.

The entire meeting was devoted to discussion of the new bi-racial committee, mainly by Dr. Crockett, Alabama State dean and a committee member. Dr. Crockett's chief concern was to point out that the bi-racial committee was worth while as far as it went and that its Negro members were not collaborationists. There were three Negro members, and a larger and varying number of white members.

Carl Bear, chamber of commerce president, was a prime mover in the bi-racial committee, along with the president of the YMCA. Its governmental connection was furnished by a representative of the county revenue department and attorneys for the city and the police department. The committee was forbidden to discuss either school integration or Montgomery parks.

It does deal, however, with police and housing problems. Dr. Crockett said that complaints of rough handling of Negroes by the police had resulted in a study being made by the police department of relations with the minority race. It had helped to ease housing loans for Negroes, and had worked on the problem of land. But it was less successful in the latter activity. One property owner who had offered sites for Negro homes was besieged with insulting telephone calls and harassed until he withdrew the offer.

"Chuck" Morgan in Birmingham had given me a list of half a dozen names of his political friends, mostly ex-officeholders, scattered about the state. I was to mention him in calling upon any of them, but I should assure them that Morgan is "not talking out loud about the race issue." One of these political friends was George W. Dean, of the law firm of Dean and Kaufman, Montgomery.

Dean carefully closed the door before he began to talk. He remarked, incidentally: "There was a fellow here just before you came in, talking about Chuck's political future."

Dean, with whom I was much impressed, gave me in clear, precise language his views on the race problem -- entirely liberal -- and on what could, and could not, be done in Alabama. He shared Morgan's view that there is a substantial liberal element in the state. "There are many liberals in disguise like me."

He said Governor Patterson had hopes of many favors from the Kennedy Administration. He stated as a fact that Patterson had raised $50,000 for Kennedy's pre-convention campaign -- largely by telephone calls.

Dean appeared to have much business with state officials, especially in the revenue department and knew many of them from Patterson down.

"Everybody knows desegregation is coming," he said -- "and they can't keep on with this mess forever."

Dean made one interesting confession: he made it a rule to call Negroes "niggers." It pained him, and he prayed for the time when it would not be necessary. But for the present it was a wonderful password in segregationist circles. It removed any suspicion of liberalism on his part. The one-eyed bandits of bigotry took him as one of the boys.

Indicative of the under-ground nature of Alabama liberalism, Dean suddenly changed the subject when I took my leave. As we walked from his office through the ante-room, he was talking about the gold reserve!

Benjamin Muse

December 16, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Tuscaloosa and Auburn (Neil Davis), November, 1960

Conversations with a few other people on this visit to Alabama are reported only briefly, to avoid redundancy.

In Tuscaloosa, which I visited after Birmingham, Pulitzer Prize publisher Buford Boone was out-of-town. I saw editor Norman Bassett, of the Tuscaloosa News. He is quietly liberal, but I believe Boone shapes the paper's policy.

I called on two liberal professors at the University of Alabama, Dr. A. B. Thomas (history) and Dr. Donald Strong (political science).

"Chuck" Morgan had studied under Thomas and he spoke of him with great admiration. Thomas said the Autherine Lucy excitement was greatly exaggerated. He sat "right in this office" all the afternoon and didn't know about the riot until he started home in the evening.

Thomas saw no urgency about public school desegregation. "It'll take a long time, maybe 25 years." Pupil integration would usher in the more formidable problem of teacher integration. In the meantime the Negroes had better schools than the whites in Tuscaloosa.

He felt more strongly about Negro voting and hoped the Kennedy administration would move vigorously in this area. Property-owners in the Alabama Black Belt were afraid release of the Negro vote would enable liberals to revise the tax structure and make them pay reasonable taxes!

Thomas agreed with Morgan that Alabama is essentially a liberal state (many have-nots). Hill and Sparkman are liberal, and they have no trouble getting re-elected. His nearest approach to enthusiasm was over an editorial in the latest issue of the magazine of the Alabama teachers' association: it advocated federal aid to education!

Of the race problem as a whole, Thomas said: "I view it all as a historian."

Strong felt much more intensely about the whole matter. He thought the Salisbury articles did not exaggerate conditions in Birmingham. He gave first priority to stern federal action in the field of Negro voting rights. This would not alienate the South, because the South's case was indefensible. He thought Southern support in Kennedy's election would enhance his opportunity, rather than handicap him, in the civil rights field. Southern politicians would be around Kennedy for all kinds of favors.

Driving back from Mobile, I called briefly on Dean Gomilion at Tuskegee (President Foster was away) and drove on to see Neil Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin at Auburn. Mrs. Davis is associate editor. My wife and I invited both to lunch.

Davis is another one of those magnificent fellows who restore one's faith in the South. His paper carried a courageous editorial on school desegregation on the day of our arrival. In the heart of Alabama, he fights bigotry all the time -- and he doesn't seem to suffer. He says the intimidation of moderates is mostly imaginary. They could speak out far more boldly without any harm coming to them. He favored strong action from the Kennedy Administration on Negro voting rights, and "moral force" in pushing school desegregation.

Davis said a number of the smaller papers in Alabama are liberal on the race issue, among which he named the following: Florence Times, Huntsville Times, Baldwin Times (Bay Minette), Decatur Daily and Monroe Journal (Monroeville). The Anniston Star had race prejudice, but was otherwise liberal and favored integration rather than school-closing.

In concluding this series of reports on my November tour, I should note that, while I have given little of my own part in conversations, as my arguments and views would be familiar to the SRC, I did as much talking as listening.

Benjamin Muse

December 16, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Mobile, Ala., November 18-21, 1960

Our visit to Mobile was made particularly happy by the kindness of Dr. C. H. Crowley, a chiropodist and a modest, sensitive man, whom I met a month earlier on a train journey, he to Mobile, I to New Orleans. Fellow-feeling about the race problem sealed a friendship between us, though I doubt if this retiring gentleman would put himself out for any public cause. My wife and I tend to remember Mobile in the glow of Dr. Crowley's hospitality and a memorable Sunday spent in sightseeing, strolling through Bellingrath Gardens, etc. with him.

Dr. Crowley also drove us through the Negro residential district, a small and shrinking area of pitiful shacks, and a growing expanse of comfortable modern houses. He took us to a little known suburban neighborhood of Negro elite, about 25 homes in the $30,000-to-$50,000 brackets. Here we called on a Negro friend of his, S. D. Bishop, dean of the Mobile branch of Alabama State. Bishop said: "Race relations in Mobile are basically the best in the South." Communication was free and complete; Negro leaders and city authorities conferred constantly. The city had "done a marvellous job of slum clearance," and whites and Negroes were neighbors in some of the new houses.

The other side of the Mobile picture had been brought home to me in several earlier interviews. The two newspapers, for instance, are a very bad influence. Father Albert S. Foley is professor of sociology at integrated Spring Hill College and president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He complained of the widespread race prejudice and the intimidation of moderates, and the lack of courage on the part of the latter. Some known moderates refused to be identified with the CHR for fear of harassment. He said: "History will record that the lethargy and cowardice of moderates is the cause of this distress."

But all this seemed mild to me compared to what goes on in other places. The Mobile CHR has an attendance of about 50. Integration at Spring Hill is getting along fine -- 30-to-40 Negro students among 1,400 whites. Mobile buses had been desegregated de facto, without any trouble. Two men near the top of the power structure -- Alfred Delchamps, head of a grocery chain and president of the chamber of commerce, and Glenn Brock, president of the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railway Co. -- were contributors to the Alabama CHR.

Father Foley was pessimistic about prospects under the Kennedy Administration, and, in fact, pessimistic generally. "If he enables Negro voters to dominate the Black Belt counties," he said, "he will have the odium of Reconstruction visited upon him."

Incidentally, Father Foley has made a special study of social change. His paper on the desegregation of the Washington, D.C. parochial schools was requested by the Supreme Court in its deliberations leading to the decision of 1954. He was horrified over developments in New Orleans. It could have been done so easily there with a little planning for social change!

D. A. Toenes, the young Director of Civic Development at the Mobile chamber of commerce, is a graduate of Spring Hill. He taught in Mobile public schools until a few years ago. Toenes gave a shocking picture of prejudice among some Mobile high school students. Some had sympathized with the Poplarville lynchers. He told me of his problem of reprimanding a white boy who broke a bottle over a Negro's head, and seemed proud of the deed.

Toenes, however, was a grudging kind of liberal, who found things "just as bad in the North," and thought the Negro ought to "earn" his rights.

These latter views seemed to be shared by A. A. Weiskopft, general manager of the chamber of commerce, to whom Toenes took me when Weiskopft came in. Both these gentlemen were most courteous and cooperative in conversation, however, and in the present state of things in the South their approach to the race problem would have to be considered on the whole constructive.

Weiskopft's chief concerns seemed to be stability and order and, of course, more business for Mobile. The chamber of commerce was much concerned with race relations, which so far, were fine in Mobile. Communication? There was plenty of inter-racial communication both at the chamber and at City Hall. The chamber was studying ways to increase Negro employment and Negro promotions. They hadn't felt the need of a bi-racial committee, but he was interested in the idea and asked about bi-racial committees elsewhere. Public school integration? "We are studying that and have some plan -- when it has to be."

I rate Mobile City Commissioner Joseph M. Langan very high among Southern leaders whom I have met. I had heard about him earlier as Mobile's "liberal mayor," but three commissioners serve as mayors in rotation and this is not Langan's turn. However, as commissioner he seems to be the dominant influence in the city administration. Dr. Crowley arranged an appointment with him for me Monday morning.

Langan laid down the four priorities in raising the Negro to status of complete equality in a democratic society, as he conceived them, in this order: 1) religious rights, 2) political rights, 3) economic rights, and 4) human dignity. He (and apparently Mobile) moved in accordance with this schedule. There was some over-lapping, and all of the first three contributed to 4).

In the matter of religion there was no problem. Negroes had ample churches of their own. The Catholic churches were substantially integrated, and Negroes occasionally attended white Protestant churches. He did not sense any feeling about this. There were no signs of any "kneel-in" movement.

Negroes were completely free to register and vote; over 10,000 of them did. Six Negroes were members of the city Democratic executive committee.

Economically, the city was moving steadily forward with job opportunities for Negroes. The city government itself was employing more and more Negroes. One fire station was officered and manned by Negroes, and two more Negro fire stations were contemplated. (These, in addition to an ancient "creole" fire company, the racial composition of which was a subject of controversy!) There were 24 Negro policemen. He showed me a group picture of them, hanging on his wall. There were two Negro bus drivers; all buses were integrated. Three new Negro parks had been completed this year, and he showed me a picture of a handsome new Negro recreation center. A 3,500-unit housing project was under way.

The achievement of full human dignity involved complete desegregation, and the difficult matter of public schools. That would take more time. They had plans for public school desegregation when the time should come. It might not be difficult -- Spring Hill was integrated. Of course, he did not favor school-closing under any circumstance.

As for communication, he said: "Some of My Negro friends are coming in this afternoon. They come in every day."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

Please return to me when read by 10/15/61

July 13, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visit to North Alabama, Birmingham and Tuscaloosa

June 18-28, 1961

The purpose of this trip was, in conversation with a few knowledgeable and influential people, to hear views, to preach law enforcement and the inevitability of desegregation and to wrestle generally with the Alabama problem.

I talked with the following:

Dr. Duncan Hunter, Methodist district superintendent and member of SCC executive committee -- Huntsville, June 18.

Senator John J. Sparkman--Huntsville, June 19.

Rev. A. J. Hunker, Jr., pastor, Central Presbyterian Church, and Human Relations Council leader -- 526 Lanier Rd., S. W., Huntsville, (Phone: 536-3333), June 19.

Milton Cummings, president, Brown Engineering Co., 1100 Meridian N. Huntsville, (phone: 536-5536), June 19.

James E. Folsom, former Governor -- Cullman, June 20.

Louis A. Dell, executive editor, Florence Times and Sheffield Tri-Cities Daily -- Florence, June 21.

E. F. Martin, mayor of Florence, June 21.

Howell T. Heflin, chairman, local board of education and president, Alabama Committee for Better Schools -- 100½ W. 6 St., Tuscumbia, June 21.

Charles Morgan, Jr., atty., chairman, speakers bureau, Democratic State Committee -- Morgan and Thores, Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, (phone: FA 2-2642), June 22 and 23.

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, Negro secretary of the Birmingham CHR, June 22.

Charles Nice, Jr., atty., former state representative -- 210 Frank Nelson Bldg., 205 N. 20th. St., Birmingham, (Phone: FA 3-8371), June 23 and 26.

Rev. John Rutland, pastor, Woodlawn Methodist Church, (Study)--113 N. 55 St., Birmingham, (Res. Phone: 595-5212), June 24.

Douglas Arant, atty., White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, -- Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, (phone: FA 3-1551), June 24.

David Vann, atty., formerly in Justice Black's office, chairman Jefferson County Democratic Campaign Committee -- White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, June 24 and 25.

Norman C. Jimerson, executive director, Alabama CHR -- 1224 Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, June 24 and 25.

Buford Boone, publisher Tuscaloosa News, Pulitzer Prizewinner -- Tuscaloosa, June 26.

State Senator Ryan de Graffenreid. -- Tuscaloosa (briefly) June 26.

J. Thomas King, unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Birmingham -- Morgan and Shores, Comer Bldg., Birmingham, June 27.

Art Hanes, mayor-elect of Birmingham (briefly, exchanging pleasantries), June 27.

George C. Hawkins, former state representative and former candidate for governor -- 930 Forrest Ave., Gadsden, June 28.

Human Relations Workers

On the evening of my arrival in Alabama (Huntsville), I had dinner and a long, immensely helpful talk with Dr. Duncan Hunter, of our executive committee, which is not being reported, except as some of his observations may be reflected in my further report.

My visit with Rev. A. J. Yunker, whom Dr. Hunter urged me to see, is interesting mainly as a human interest story and as one more case of a hard-pressed Southern clergyman who may lose his pastorate because of his zeal for racial justice. Hungry for sympathy and encouragement, he invited my wife and me to lunch at his home. The family was struggling to build up a human relations council in Huntsville. (Current attendance was about 20, with 60 on the mailing list; half a dozen more whites had joined since the May riots.)

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, the Birmingham CHR secretary and a Negro, told me stories of brutality to Negroes like many we have heard before. He, like Mr. Yunker, had noted somewhat increased interest by whites in CHR activity since

the May riots. His last meeting drew 45 members, compared to the average of about 30. I asked him about the relations of A. G. Gaston, the Negro millionaire, with the Negro community. He indicated that Gaston is careful not to offend the white power structure, and is not popular among the militant Negroes.

Rev. John Rutland was described to me by Dr. Hunter and others, as the most effective crusader among the Birmingham clergy. Mr. Rutland was the most optimistic of all the people with whom I talked. Not in the nine years of his ministry in Birmingham had he sensed such a widespread desire as now to "do something" about interracial relations. Some were interested in joining the Council on Human Relations. Many others had suddenly found that public order was more important than segregation. Business men were concerned at last. There was increased interest in collaboration between the white and colored ministerial groups. He almost felt like thanking God for the Freedom Rider riots!

I talked a great deal with Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, newly appointed executive director of the Alabama CHR, who was present with me at a luncheon and a dinner. He impressed me as an earnest, dedicated man, anxious to learn more about the race problem, and eager for information and suggestions.

Moderate Sentiment in Alabama

In attempting to appraise the amount of liberal or moderate sentiment on the race question in Alabama one is handicapped by an almost universal care on the part of white liberals to conceal their liberalism. The instinct for survival has led to the development of almost incredible skill and ingenuity in this.

Two young politicians of whom I saw a great deal, Morgan and Vann, are about as liberal as Roy Wilkins. Yet one of them holds on as chairman of the speakers bureau of the State Democratic Committee and the other, as chairman of the Jefferson County Democratic Campaign Committee.

In a number of instances I talked to a political or business leader, described to me only as cautiously moderate, and before the conversation was over he revealed himself an all-out liberal on race. They would let this be known to few of their associates and least of all to known liberal crusaders in the community, who might embarrass them. Superficially it would appear that there is almost no leader who is not an uncompromising segregationist, but close observers can go over a list one by one and name a substantial number who are gravely concerned over the present situation and are prepared to accept desegregation.

"Niggering" is a common expression and a handy one in Deep South politics. It is said that elections in Alabama are simply contests to see which candidate can "out-nigger" the other. This is not strictly accurate, because more character and less "niggering" often wins. Occasionally a very liberal candidate whose true sentiments are buried sufficiently deep inside and has no "nigger-loving" items on his record wins election. But in a hotly contested electoral campaign the faintest public deviation from the segregationist line is seized upon by a "niggering" opponent with generally disastrous results.

The recent contest for mayor of Birmingham was significant in this connection; the results, in all the circumstances, indicated a substantial moderate element in that city. J. Thomas King, of the law firm of Morgan and Shores, campaigned as a "progressive." There was notably little reference to race in the first primary (May 2) campaign. King led in a field of seven.

However, Art Hanes, runner-up and the favorite of "Bull" Connor, the Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, quickly brought out a tabulation by precincts which showed that King had received the bulk of the Negro vote. To this it was added the fact that King had lived for some years in Washington, D.C., "cesspool of integration," and that his law partner (Morgan) had defended the director of the "notorious" Council on Human Relations. I have a collection of the handbills and newspaper ads playing this tune. Some of them were sponsored by a co-called "Committee to Keep Birmingham White." The campaign for the run-off (May 30) was dominated by the race question. Nevertheless, King lost by less than 4,000 votes. The vote was 21,133 to 17,395.

It may be of extra significance that King was supported by the Birmingham News and had the apparent support also of the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co.

(The riots occurred in the midst of this campaign, and the connivance of "Bull" Connor is believed by some King supporters to have been calculated to stimulate racist support of Hanes.)

The attitude of the noisier, and the dominant element, reflected in the press and in public statement, is one of defiant racism -- and one of hostility toward the federal government. One gets the disquieting feeling that the Government of the United States is regarded as the enemy!

Is sentiment any better since the May riots? The Ku Klux Klan and the political extremists are still

uninhibited. Patterson and Connor are actually trying to make capital out of their shameful performance. The segregationist press is aiding them in trying to ridicule Attorney General Kennedy. On June 26, Connor delivered an address to a state convention of law enforcement officers, which was not conducive to law enforcement. He referred to "white women of immature age traveling around....with a bunch of Negro men....expenses paid by the NAACP, CORE, Communists and other people who have never been in the South." Etc. Etc. If the President sends marshals to Birmingham, he said, "I am informing him and them now that they are going to have to stay behind the police and police dogs..."

The danger of violence remains. Some mentioned Tuscaloosa as the likely next scene of disorder -- in view of the possibility of application by a Negro to attend the University of Alabama and the unrestrained activity of the Ku Klux Klan among the student body and the populace of that city.

On the other hand, moderates are asserting themselves in Alabama as never before. My Birmingham friends reported a great number of young business men protesting the older leadership on this question. Some of them declare that, if the men under 40 could get control, the city would accept orderly desegregation. The chamber of commerce is talking about setting up a bi-racial committee.

Whether the faint moderate upsurge in Alabama will continue or peter out depends on many factors, including the tone and outcome of an incipient gubernatorial campaign.

Miscellaneous Contacts

My most frequent companions in Birmingham were three young liberal politicians, who were eagerly available for help of any kind. They were Charles "Chuck" Morgan, Charlie Mice and Dave Vann, attorneys in different law firms.

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I spent most time with Morgan, my friend of two earlier visits. In addition to his strictly political activities, Morgan is president of the Alabama Heart Fund and chairman of the legislative committee of the Alabama Association for Mental Health. Having taken a dynamic part in the recent mayoralty contest, I heard a great deal about that from him.

One much-discussed incident of the campaign: King paid a courtesy visit, by appointment, to "Bull" Connor. Shortly after he emerged, he was accosted by a strange Negro man. The latter extended his hand and King shook it. A camera flashed. King men were ingeniously successful in obtaining the negative first and reproduced it in a page ad the next day, exposing the Connor trick. (Many believed, nevertheless, that this handling of the incident had damaged King.)

Morgan, and others, mentioned the following names of persons particularly influential in the Birmingham power structure: Cooper Green, former mayor, Alabama Power Co. (moderate leaning); James Simpson, Exchange Security Bank (Connor spokesman, ran against Lister Hill for Senate); W. H. Parker, executive director, Alabama Mining Institute; Frank Dickson, Alabama Associated Industries (former governor); Roper Dial, manager, Sears; and Thomas W. Martin, board chairman, Alabama Power Co. William P. Engel, of Engel Realty Co. (1921 1st. Ave. N.), former chamber of commerce president, was indicated as a moderate whom I should see; I was unable to make connection with him.

Incidentally, my liberal friends spoke favorably of Macon Weaver, recently nominated United States attorney.

(Recalling the desire of the AFL-CIO to find a capable man to try to liberalize Southern locals, reiterated to me by Christopher, I broached this matter with "Chuck" Morgan, and phoned, recommending him.)

I had a long talk also with Tom King, Morgan's law partner and the defeated candidate for mayor. King called himself a segregationist, but added that he realized the necessity for adjustment to the law of the land and he realized also the gravity of the Alabama situation from the standpoint both of the state's economy and of America's world position. He had campaigned above all as a "progressive", which many (correctly) took to include a desire to see the desegregation hurdle cleared.

(I met Art Hanes, the winning candidate at The Club and we talked only briefly, and affably, about the attractions of Birmingham and of Virginia.)

I traced Charlie Nice from a letter in my file in which he requested permission to reprint a column of mine in the Washington Post in 1957. Nice was then in the state legislature. But now, he is planning to run again next year for one of Jefferson County's seven seats. I was very much attracted to this quiet, conscientious and courageous young man. We talked a great deal about the race problem and plans for his coming campaign; he was very anxious to have practical advice. In a countywide election of seven representatives, Nice would seem to have a chance.

I met Senator Sparkman accidentally in a Huntsville restaurant on a Sunday evening and made an appointment with him for Monday morning. My conversation with the Senator was not very satisfactory, but the incident was fortunate in one respect. Milton Cummings (a backer of Senator Sparkman) was with him when I arrived, and an introduction by the Senator was helpful in my later meeting with this industrialist.

Senator Sparkman gave the appearance of being sympathetic and anxious to help, but revealed no deep convictions on the race issue and no feeling of outrage over the May riots. He remarked that "social change can't be forced." I suspected that he is similarly congenial with his segregationist supporters. The Senator doubted there would be another breakdown of law enforcement.

Mayor E. F. Martin, of Florence, has no office in the fine City Hall but deals with municipal affairs in his shabby office as Southern Railway ticket agent. Apparently a shrewd politician, and no liberal, he views the race problem primarily as a matter of keeping the Negroes quiet. Florence Negroes, he said, were happy with their excellent schools and he knew of no "agitators" among them -- unless possibly, one ex-Army sergeant. However, he seemed to agree that public order should be preserved in all circumstances.

Howell T. Heflin, president of the Alabama Committee for Better Schools and board of education chairman at Tuscumbia, was mentioned by three or four others as a wholesome influence.

Hardly a liberal on the race question, Heflin had a curious theory about school desegregation. It was in part, no doubt, a gimmick to make the idea more acceptable to others. He said: "Integration won't last. The Negroes will want to return to their own schools after the novelty has worn off!" Of course, I challenged this, but pointed out that we would not see the rush of Negro children to white schools which many fear. We seemed nearer to agreement on this point when I left.

In other respects, Heflin, a big, lumbering man, seemed properly concerned over the situation in Alabama, disgusted with Patterson, Connor et al., and alarmed over the breakdown in law enforcement.

Of former Governor Folsom he said: "It may be better to be drunk on bourbon than drunk on defiance."

He showed me two letters from former presidents of the Alabama Committee for Better Schools, urging that the Committee formulate plans for a campaign against school-closing to escape integration should such action be more imminently threatened. The writers (who seemed more liberal than Heflin) were: John W. McConnell, Jr., atty., Mobile, and C. H. Gilmore, atty., Grove Hill.

Editors and the Press

A major impediment in Alabama is the press, which exercises on the whole a more harmful influence, perhaps,

than the press of any other Southern state. This is particularly true of the two papers in Birmingham. After a golden hour of editorial responsibility following the riots, these two papers dropped back into their old attitude of encouragement to racism and defiance.

The forthright endorsement by the News of the moderate candidate for mayor (without reference to the race issue) was a faintly encouraging sign. I am told that this editorial adventure was decided upon by a 3-to-2 vote of its editorial board.

The three consistently moderate voices in the Alabama press appear to be Neil Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin at Auburn; Louis Kohl, executive editor of the Florence Times and Sheffield Tri-Cities Daily; and Buford Boone, now publisher of the Tuscaloosa News. (I heard favorable reports also of the Selma Journal.*) Boone was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for his editorials during the Authering Lucy crisis. If the editorials of these three are merely "moderate," the men themselves are actually liberals on the race issue. The Lee County Bulletin is a weekly, but Davis is an able writer and a man of outstanding courage. I visited him last November. On this trip I talked with Kohl and Boone, who edit daily papers of substantial circulation.

Louis Kohl, after a few brief exchanges, became avidly interested and wished me to give him as much time as possible. We talked in his office and then lunched together. He wanted information about Virginia, Georgia and elsewhere and was much interested in the matter of foreign comment on the Alabama riots. He talked about many of his experiences and discussed at length the problem of a safe and effective editorial approach to the race issue.

A Presbyterian convention was in progress in Florence at the time. Presbyterian leaders had inquired as to the advisability of holding integrated meetings -- as had leaders of an earlier Episcopal convention. In both cases Kohl replied: "By all means!" and promised the cooperation of his newspapers. A handful of Negro ministers attended each convention and there was no trouble.

I gathered that the atmosphere in Florence is excellent compared with most of Alabama. The city library is integrated -- and also the buses, although Negroes rarely mingle with whites on them. Kohl mentioned a number of moderate and concerned individuals among community leaders. He said that more Negroes vote in Lauderdale County than whites in proportion to the population.

Discussing the gubernatorial outlook, Kohl said he had never supported Folsom because of "Big Jim's" personal behavior and the smell of corruption about him. The gang

* Also the Baldwin Times, Decatur Daily and Monroe Journal.

around Folsom seemed to be "taking whatever they wanted." Nevertheless, Folsom might be the best man on race who could get elected. Much interested in Folsom's statement to me that he would campaign for law and order.

The question of Folsom remained on Eckl's mind. When we said "Goodbye" in the afternoon, he turned back to say: "If Folsom talks about law and order he may get some surprising support."

Buford Boone was analytical, well-informed and depressingly pessimistic.

Among the gubernatorial possibilities, he thought Gallion and Engelhardt the most dangerous, with Wallace and Boutwell only a little better. It would be wonderful if de Graffenreid (his Tuscaloosa fellow-townsman) could be elected, but he doubted if the latter would run. Boone was "afraid" it might be Folsom. He described Folsom as a big man who loves everybody and has a sort of animal attraction. Folsom might be the best prospect if he had the right people around him.

As for Patterson's future, Boone said the Governor had bought a fine house in Montgomery and he imagined he planned to run for governor again four years hence.

Boone did not think it would do much good to approach the financial leaders in Birmingham. They couldn't help much if they wanted to. The political demagogues were not that subservient to the financial hierarchy, and they had found "too good a thing" in stirring up race prejudice.

He agreed with others that Tuscaloosa was simmering for another explosion when the next Negro should try to enter the University of Alabama.

He knew that they were having some trouble getting and holding faculty members at the University -- not only because of school and community uncertainty, but because of the stifling intellectual atmosphere.

Did Boone see any hope for the Alabama problem? Not for a long time to come. For his own part, he would just keep running his newspaper and "trying to do the right thing day by day."

Economic Power Structure

I talked with two individuals of prestige in business and financial circles: Milton Cummings, president of the Brown Engineering Co., of Huntsville, and Douglas Arant, corporation lawyer, in Birmingham.

Cummings, who seemed anxious to express his views, spoke slowly in carefully measured sentences. Some of his terse remarks are given substantially below:

Anyone who discusses the problem is a nigger-lover. That's the crux of the problem.

Preachers talk about gambling, temperance and juvenile delinquency and Sabbath observance -- and by-pass our greatest problem. He had a friend in Birmingham who left his church because his pastor preached segregation and labeled social change sinful! (I have a copy of a sermon by another Birmingham clergyman on this theme, entitled, "Do Not Force the Hand of God.")

You read about Patterson and Barnett reviewing a division of the National Guard the other day -- flags, etc. -- "patriots." Few people are doing more than those two to jeopardize the security of the United States. (He was interested in foreign comment on the Alabama riots.)

The greatest trouble in Birmingham now is in the economic power structure. Some of the "corporation boys" like race tension. It helps them fight the unions: anti-integration employees are likely to be anti-Reuther and anti-AFL-CIO.

The sub-conscious fear of Negro competition has old roots in Alabama. The first large influx of Negroes into Birmingham came during the labor shortage of World War I.

Did not think the violence "lesson had been learned" in Alabama. The danger was still there. He foresaw trouble in Tuscaloosa.

Patterson is a pathological case. He saw no hope of Patterson's changing.

Wholesale school integration is not necessary -- probably never will be. A handful of Negro children admitted to white schools next year and gradual desegregation over a period of ten years. -- It wouldn't be a very difficult matter, with real law enforcement.

Vigorous law enforcement -- with stiff penalties for violators -- is the thing most urgently needed. The authorities are too often allied with the Ku Klux Klan and other law-breakers.

The riots last month did more damage to Alabama's economy than many realize. They had affected his personnel recruitment. Some top level specialists engaged by his company to report June 1 had decided since the riots that they could not come to Alabama. I asked if there were a substantial number of these. He said, "six."

Douglas Arant, of the important law firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, is a former president of the Alabama Bar Association and is prominent in the American Bar Association. He is well acquainted with the financial leaders in Birmingham and acquainted also with some of their New York associates. An alumnus of the University of Virginia, we had a number of friends in common. He revealed himself more and more a liberal as we talked.

I asked what he saw ahead for Alabama. Was there any possibility of any change in the attitude of Gov. Patterson?

He had given much thought to that. There was a faint chance that Patterson might try to accommodate in the hope of getting a job in the Kennedy Administration. The only basis for this was the lack of political future for him in Alabama. Under Alabama law Patterson could not run for reelection as Governor and he could not run (within a year) for the Senate. The only political chance he saw for Patterson lay in the possibility of a failure of the present efforts for Congressional redistricting. If it should become necessary to elect eight Congressmen at large, Patterson would have a good chance to win a seat in Congress.

It was likely that Alabama would have to wait (1½ years) for a change of administration before a more constructive policy could be expected. What were the chances of electing a moderate governor?

The situation now was very fluid. Arant mentioned favorably Ryan de Graffenreid (Tuscaloosa, State Senator) but the latter was in doubt about running. State Senator Bert Halton, of Florence was a good man; he understood Halton was going to run for lieutenant-governor.

The central figure in the gubernatorial picture was Jim Folsom -- a man of little moral or physical stamina, smelling of corruption and alcohol, and yet a good man on the race issue. There were disturbing stories about Folsom's health and how long he might live. Yet the next governor might well be Folsom.

I found no one more earnestly concerned than Arant, and none more anxious than he that something should be done to arouse the Birmingham economic power structure. He thought the big industrialists and financiers could change the situation if they would, but they were inclined to ignore or evade the issue.

If the national Administration wanted to help, it could talk to half a dozen people outside of Alabama with possibly far-reaching results. I told him that I had had thoughts along the same line, and asked him to give me a few names -- beside Roger Blough (president of U. S. Steel).

Well," he said, "there is, of course, Roger Blough. Other is Newhouse, in Newark, N.J." (S. I. Newhouse is owner of the Birmingham News and local Television Channel 13. He emphasized the damage being done by the two Birmingham newspapers. "Somebody ought to get at Scripps-Howard too (Birmingham Post-Herald). They used to be crusaders!"

Then he said New York bankers had a great deal of influence with Birmingham bankers and industrialists, and they might be the hardest to approach. He named three (whom he appeared to know personally):

Harold Helm, Chemical National New York Trust

George Champion, Chase Manhattan

Henry C. Alexander, Morgan Guaranty Trust

I saw Arant Saturday morning. He called me that evening at 9:30 p.m. to ask when I would be back in Birmingham and to press further the suggestion that the Administration should contact Blough, etc. and the New York bankers. If the bankers would point out emphatically to their Birmingham associates "that the anti-Negro business is threatening the economic stability and progress of Alabama, things would change." They might do this as a patriotic service.

(It occurred to me later that Secretary of the Treasury Dillon might have a convenient opportunity to talk to New York financiers about the gravity of the Deep South situation from a national and an international point of view.)

Candidates for Governor

The possible candidates for Governor to succeed Patterson in January, 1964, (subject to the Democratic primary next May), are discussed below with particular reference to their attitudes toward the race problem.

Attorney General MacDonald Gallion, definitely in the race, is considered the most reckless extremist on the list. Cultivating the support of the Citizens Council and probably of the Ku Klux Klan. At outs now with Governor Patterson.

Sam Englehardt, state highway commissioner and author of the bill to gerrymander Macon County, apparently seeking similar support, is considered almost as dangerous. Englehardt maintains a pose of not being a candidate, but is expected to run, nevertheless, probably with Patterson's support.

Judge George Wallace, a former circuit court judge, Patterson's opponent in the 1958 run-off, (the vote: Patterson, 196,859; Wallace, 162,435). Wallace once threatened

to jail FBI or Civil Rights Commission investigators who might inquire into voting or the jury system in his judicial circuit, but he later yielded on this point.

Lt. Gov. Albert Rautucci, generally considered a candidate, close to the three above-mentioned in his attitude toward the race problem, is, nevertheless, a soft-spoken, even-tempered man.

The above four appear to be the major candidates among the extremist group. Another, Gen. Walter J. Hamm, commanding the 31st. National Guard division, is conspicuously letting it be known that he is available, but his chances are considered slight. Birmingham's police commissioner, "Bull" Connor, is occasionally mentioned in this connection, but he has little statewide following and is not considered likely to sacrifice his job in Birmingham for this uncertainty.

There are also three possible candidates believed to have moderate, or even liberal, leanings on the race question. They are State Senator Hugh de Graffenreid, former Rep. George Huddleston and former Gov. [illegible]. I visited these and shall discuss them more fully.

I talked with de Graffenreid only a few minutes. A conference which we had planned for the afternoon was prevented by the prolongation of a case which he was arguing in court and we talked for only a few minutes in the courthouse corridor. A handsome, attractive, very serious gentleman, he was cordial and apologetic for the mishap. His brief comment was to the effect that Alabama might have to learn the hard way.

De Graffenreid is of a distinguished family, and his personal integrity and high-minded attitude generally give more comfort to liberals than anything he has actually said on the subject of race. Moderate elements in Birmingham express a high opinion of him. Buford Boone, the liberal editor of the Tuscaloosa News, is an enthusiastic admirer. De Graffenreid has had considerable publicity recently as a leader in the fight for legislative reapportionment.

He encourages talk about his running for Governor, but some of his friends insist that he is planning only to run four years hence.

George Huntley was Folsom's floor leader in the House of Representatives who ran a pathetic race for governor in

1958. The most liberal of the major contenders (although calling himself a segregationist), he ran sixth among 44 candidates in the first primary, with some 25,000 votes. Hawkins was active in efforts to restore sanity in Tuscaloosa at the time of the Autherine Lucy riots. I found him rarely mentioned among gubernatorial possibilities this time, but I learned in conversation with him that he is very definitely planning to run.

My good friend, "Chuck" Morgan, was Hawkin's campaign manager. Morgan having prepared him for my visit, he was quite eager, when I called at his office in Gadsden, to discuss his plans and seek information and advice.

Though for various reasons, many people doubt that former Gov. Folsom can be elected again, "Big Jim" appears to be the central figure in most gubernatorial speculation. Hawkins seemed more confident than any with whom I talked that Folsom could not possibly be elected again. He had lost his magic. Hawkins had felt out sentiment in several former Folsom strongholds and was convinced they would not go for him again. In one county where Folsom formerly got about 80 percent of the vote, he said, Folsom would not get more than one third of the vote today.

Hawkins was deeply concerned with the Alabama problem, not only from a local, but from a national and an international point of view. I talked about the reaction to the Alabama riots abroad and the collection of transcripts of foreign comment that I had got from the USIA. Whether or not he could use it in his public campaign, he wanted me to send him the fullest information on this subject. He was interested in the Virginia story and seemed particularly glad to get a copy of my book, which I gave him.

We talked at length about the problem of how the race problem could be handled in his campaign. I made my usual suggestion: law and order, and the inevitability of desegregation. He felt that he would have to steer clear of the latter, but he could fight for law and order, and he intended to do so. He agreed with me that a platform of law and order should be as unassailable as Southern womanhood; that a bold campaign for this, even if he should lose, (which will probably be the case) would be a service to Alabama and a record which he could always look back upon with pride.

Should he fight the Ku Klux Klan? It had always been against him anyway. It was weak in Gadsden, but strong in neighboring Anniston.

I thought he should fight the Klan openly, with all his might and with no holds barred.

The stories about "Big Jim" Folsom are numerous and colorful. By all accounts he is the candidate most likely to divert attention from the question of race -- which is

surely what the doctor would order for Alabama. He is an example, rare in the Deep South now, of a politician who can hold the support of masses of ignorant whites without appealing to race prejudice.

But he has other characteristics which fill even liberal Alabamans with anxiety or disgust. He is believed by many to be corrupt, though he is not wealthy and some say rather that he is more careless and inept than others in financial matters. His addiction to alcohol is considered a more serious matter. During his second term, the question, "How drunk is the Governor today?" was acutely related to the public welfare. He is said to have deteriorated since.

Many are disturbed over the caliber of Folsom's "drinking pals" and others who are likely to surround him. The fifteen apparently small-bore politicians whom I saw in his anteroom at Dallman were not inspiring to look upon. (Morgan mentioned among Folsom cronies Louis Freeman, Frank Long and Joe Booth). Buford Boone, for one, suggested that it would be a public service for some more respectable politicians to attach themselves to Folsom and raise the level of his entourage.

No one with whom I talked is happy at the prospect, but most thought Folsom might win, and also that he is the "least bad" candidate who could.

Stories of Folsom's alcoholism are clearly stimulated now by supporters of other candidates for governor, and they are, of course, exaggerated. A mayor, supporting Wallace, said Folsom might not live through the campaign, that he would "pass out" during rallies and have to be taken home. Some say that Folsom rises and begins to drink at 5 a.m. However, when I visited him from noon until 1 p.m. I found him entirely lucid, with no smell of alcohol, and he was punctilious enough to write me a letter a few days later, expressing appreciation for my visit.

My conversation with Folsom was interrupted by several telephone calls. One caller evidently asked: "How are you?" The reply was:

"Well, I've got cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis and pneumonia and I'm expecting to burst out day after tomorrow with syphilis!"

Governor Folsom knew our organization. He asked about George Mitchell (a former executive director, with whom he had apparently had some contact while governor.)

On the inevitability of desegregation, Folsom said: "Of course, it's inevitable. We can't beat the federal government. Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson couldn't."

On the recent riots: "I would have avoided all this. I had a plan to solve the bus problem which would have prevented the boycott and all the rest. I proposed that white

be seated from the front and colored from the back, with the line drawn according to the load. The Negroes agreed to it, but I couldn't sell it to the Montgomery crowd. That would have settled the whole thing -- and Martin Luther King never would have gotten famous!"

Folsom is conscious of the bearing of race discrimination on our world position, though it is not a major concern with him. I said, "The Alabama problem is a national problem." He added " -- and an international problem." He seemed interested in foreign comment on the Alabama riots, and I left him with excerpts from transcripts which I had got from the USIA.

Folsom said, without suggestion from me, that he will appoint a bi-racial committee on race relations "when" he gets in.

He said he would campaign for law and order and added: "The property-owners will like that."

Would he fight the Ku Klux Klan?

"Sure I'll fight the Kluckers. They've never voted for me. I unmasked those s.o.b.'s. Six states copied our law."

Folsom said he would put in a lick for law and order when he spoke at a Masonic celebration at Florala the following Saturday.

(Florala is way down on the Florida border. Birmingham papers Sunday in their brief account of Folsom's speech, quoted him as saying: "I stand for law and order.")

Benjamin Muse

Copies: Marshall & Wofford - to Fleming for
1
return

October 18, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Alabama

September 15-17 and October 2-5

I visited Gadsden and Cullman, Alabama, en route to Mississippi and Selma, Montgomery, Tuskegee and Auburn, Alabama, on my return.

George Hawkins, Gadsden, though unannounced, is now among the recognized candidates for governor and is the most consistently and respectably liberal one of them. A former Folsom lieutenant, he is now a critic of Big Jim. He received me very cordially.

Hawkins is considering giving up the governor race for two reasons (1) he is discouraged at the possibility of anybody winning without adopting a fiercely anti-integration line and (2) his fellow-townsman, James Allen, is thinking of running for lieutenant-governor. If Hawkins does not run for governor, he will run for the state senate. He will announce his decision by November 1.

He still doubted Folsom would win, thought Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwell was now the front runner. He said that, though Folsom had been talking like a segregationist, he would still get the Negro vote. He said Boutwell, though a strong segregationist, is a generally sincere, able fellow--with a strong organization. There was some fear that Wallace men at the showdown would go over to Folsom.

Howell Talley and the Gadsden Times won some acclaim and a Freedom Award for his editorials on the Anniston-Birmingham riots. Talley, though "associate editor," writes all of that paper's editorials. He had been voted by the local chamber of commerce "Gadsden's Most Outstanding Man." Talley disapproved of the Supreme Court decision and resented the Freedom Riders, but was otherwise liberal on the race question and glad to talk about the problem in Alabama and the South from a frankly liberal point of view. He is realistic, however, in his editorial approach and in his political calculations.

In the gubernatorial race, surprisingly, Talley was a Gallion man. (Attorney General MacDonald Gallion is considered by many liberals to be the most dangerous of the major candidates.)

Boutwell, he said, is like Hawkins and de Graffenreid: "They're too good to win." Talley wanted my impressions of Folsom, wanted me to phone him if I should see Folsom in Cullman. (Folsom was out of town when I visited Cullman.)

D. H. Finney, Cullman: (Tuesday, September 19) Finney was administrative assistant to Folsom while governor and is now running the office while Big Jim campaigns. (He said "the Governor is generally on hand on Mondays.")

Finney, more serious and respectable than most Folsom hangers-on, volunteered the remark: "I'm liberal on the race question, but I can't say so. You know how it is." He agreed that integration of schools, etc., would probably come during the term of the next governor.

He reported a "wonderful" response by letter, phone call, etc. to Folsom's candidate-like activities. Could Folsom get the labor vote? He wasn't sure--"Labor is so infiltrated by the Ku Klux Klan."

On a reference to Hawkins, Finney said that George was once one of the governor's best friends, but that he had parted with Folsom when the latter failed to support his candidacy for Speaker of the House.

Finney said he had word of a "Stop-Folsom" movement among supporters of Boutwell, Gallion, Wallace and Hawkins. The plan was to induce Ryan de Graffenreid to run and unite behind him. (I heard from others that Englehardt is being considered for the "Stop-Folsom" candidate. The former is a moderate, the latter an extreme segregationist.)

(Further notes on these gubernatorial possibilities are contained in my memorandum of July 13 last.)

Selma, Stronghold of Prejudice: Many regard Selma, the Black Belt metropolis, as the most prejudiced city in Alabama. I happened to have heard its Mayor Hines declare on the TV Citizens Council hour the previous Sunday: "There'll never be any integration in Selma." Lewis said there was no liberal voicewhatever in Selma; a few Negroes were "suspected" of belonging to the NAACP. He said that while Klan membership in Selma itself was under par, the Klan was strong in neighboring localities, particularly Tuscaloosa, Clanton, Pratville and Wilumka. Art Lewis, very much a man-about-town, is secretly liberal. The walls of Art Lewis' Buick are plastered with historical pictures and documents, many related to the Civil War. For the benefit of bystanders he made it appear that I was mainly interested in his "museum"; in the privacy of his office we talked frankly.

Edward S. Feild, editor of the Selma Times-Journal, is a real museum piece. I had heard a favorable mention of him, because of a strong editorial denouncing the Montgomery riots. I had misinterpreted his position. "It was just the wrong way to go about it," he said, "I wouldn't mind killing half a dozen niggers if it would do any good." A feud between Feild and the Ku Klux Klan also appeared to have had something to do with it. He had quarreled with the Klan "scum"----obviously not over any kindly feeling toward Negroes on his part. The Klan had threatened to bomb his home. He said Klan membership in Selma, formerly over 80, had recently fallen to 65, then risen to 70 again. He said the police "gave the Klan 15 minutes in Montgomery."

Speaking apparently without emotion, Feild said that white children in Selma were never going to go to school with "baboons." Employment? White people in Selma hired Negroes whenever they could, but they always lost money. The Negroes were "good for nothing" and not worth the money they paid them. Negro progress in the United States? "Those smart Negroes they're giving jobs to are just like the niggers in Selma; Scratch 'em, and you'll find they're all savages underneath." What did the future hold? "There'll be a bloody race war in the North. Then the Northerners will see that the South was right. The Supreme Court and Congress will reverse all this stuff."

Jewish Leaders in Alabama: Following a lead from Rabbi Nantinband, I talked with two men who illustrated the dilemma of the Jewish community leader, of liberal convictions, in the Deep South. One was Art Lewis, above-mentioned, and the other was Eugene Heilpern of Montgomery.

They were similar in many respects--handsome, gregarious, sophisticated, more or less wealthy and closely identified with the power structure. Heilpern had "some thought of running for Mayor." He is a second cousin of Mayor Loeb, of Memphis. Lewis is more of a scholar.

Both men are acutely conscious of anti-semitism and what they feel is a necessity of appearing to go along with segregationist elements. Lewis is a member of the Citizens Council, which, he points out, is much more respectable than the White Citizens Council. Each showed me an identic leaflet, issued by the White Citizens Council, which combined rank anti-semitism with its anti-Negro message. Both men are in controversy with National Jewish groups and feel that the ADL in particular is jeopardizing their position in Alabama. Lewis is one of a group now urging a meeting of the Alabama B'nai B'rith to consider withdrawal from the national organization.

Of the gubernatorial outlook, Heilpern said, "Nine out of ten people I speak to say it will be Folsom."

Grover C. Hall, Jr.: In visiting some sixty newspaper editors across the South the first thing in the nature of a rebuff that I have received came from Grover Hall, somewhat famous editor of the Montgomery Advertiser.

"I have a stack of work on my desk and other people to see--- and I don't like the organization you represent. If you come back this afternoon you can see some of the staff."

A deeper, excessively clever sort of prima donna, he was jovial, nevertheless. I said I would like to have the views of Grover Hall---he gave me a nutshell version:

"We're going to have to take a dozen pickaninnies into our schools, and it won't hurt our little white angels a bit. I know that. But mass integration won't come in our lifetime."

"Are you going to keep public order?"

"Yes, I'm for that." He added some derogatory remarks about Governor Patterson and others.

I took time to present him with a copy of my book, adding that reviewers on both sides--even Jack Kilpatrick--had called it "accurate."

"Then it's OK by the high priest," he said facetiously. We exchanged wishes of "Good Luck."

(We dined with the Clifford Durrs in Montgomery and had a pleasant visit with Dr. Luther Foster at Tuskegee. Learned that Aubrey Williams is critically ill with cancer, he was too ill to receive visitors.)

Neil Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin, is probably the most outspoken liberal editor and one of the best informed observers in Alabama. The Bulletin won the award of the Alabama Press Association this year for best editorials. To insure objectivity, the Association went out of the state for a judge, and who was the judge? None other than my friend, Oliver Emmerick of the Jackson (Miss.) State Times. The citation read: ". . . for courageous and cogent editorials on a controversial subject, etc."

Davis like many other moderates, was discouraged by a Labor Day speech of Folsom, in which Folsom seemed to go over to the segregationist side. He thought the prospects for university integration were better in Mississippi than in Alabama, but believed those for public school integration were probably somewhat better in Alabama. (Ralph Draughan, president of Auburn University, belonged to the fierce resistance group.) He believed four northern Alabama cities to be more or less prepared to accept school integration: Huntsville, Decatur, Florence, and Sheffield.

Benjamin Muse

Copies: Fleming, Marshall, Wofford

January 11, 1963

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM-- Dangerous Situation in Birmingham

General Observations

Closing the city parks, playgrounds, golf courses, etc., January 1, following a federal court order for the desegregation of these facilities, January 10, brought the integration struggle in Birmingham close to a dangerous collision.

The grave tendency of the problem has produced certain encouraging developments. The economic power structure and, in fact, the business community as a whole, represented by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Board, and supported by both daily newspapers, has become extraordinarily concerned and is exerting increasing pressure upon the city commission. In overwhelming majority of the most prominent citizens have identified themselves with the movement by public statements or positions. Some fourteen civic organizations, ranging from Chambers of Commerce to the Ministerial Association, have gone on record in favor of open parks.

Community leaders, meeting frequently under the auspices of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, drew up a petition last week, urging a reopening of the parks under a preferential day-by-day study of the desegregation order and the appointment of a committee to study "our answers problems." Twelve hundred citizens signed the petition before it was presented to the city commission Tuesday morning, January 8. It was warmly received. The document with the 1200 names was published afterward as a page ad in each of the daily newspapers.

The few community leaders who had long urged a constructive approach to the race problem, like Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College, and who had been blamed by many on this account, are suddenly finding themselves in convivial company. Dr. Stanford is now looked to for advice and leadership.

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The weakness of the present moderate upsurge lies in the fact that most of its leaders live outside of the Birmingham city limits. When a delegation visits the city commission, Mayor Hanes or Bull Connor likes to ask: "How many of you live in Birmingham?" The impressive army of present "moderates" represents, nevertheless, formidable economic power.

The city commission, deriving its political strength from the Connor machine, the Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan and the Birmingham electorate (60 per cent of which now would probably support closed parks), has thus far shown not the slightest sign of relenting in its adamant stand. It is widely believed that Bull Connor would welcome a spectacular interracial outbreak to further his gubernatorial ambitions. The city commission's recalcitrance was carried to a gratuitous extreme in its refusal to reopen the parks during a 60-day stay of execution of the desegregation order, which was offered by the federal district judge on that condition.

The danger to public order lies in this intransigence on the part of the city commission in the face of a rising impatience on the part of the Negro community, which it may be impossible to keep within non-violent bounds. Most of the white community leaders aroused though they now are, still fail to grasp the full gravity of the situation. They are alarmed over the threatened business set-back and the hardship to citizens involved in the closing of parks and other facilities; but few of them speak of the crisis in terms of bloodshed.

Negro leaders and whites in touch with the Negro community do talk about a possible "blood bath."

Negroes are meeting daily in small huddles and frequently in larger meetings. They are said to be "more united than ever before," but there is an undercurrent of dissent from moderate policies. Some oppose any kind of negotiation now with the white community and look upon those who confer with whites with suspicion.

Negro leaders still preach non-violence, but they report privately that some of the young men, especially some of the Negro veterans, are saying that they "will not be pushed around any more." If police should start any of their habitual brutality with some of these, the consequences might be frightening to contemplate. There are rumors that "the Negroes are arming." I found no confirmation of any abnormal arming, but the knives which many Negroes usually carry, and a gun here and there, would be more than enough to start a conflagration.

The most coherent Negro group is the students of Miles College. They are also in close touch with other Negro elements. Miles College students (with some adult help) have drafted a statement of Negro desiderata on a broad civil rights front. The statement is written with dignity and restraint, but declares, nevertheless: "We do not intend to wait complacently for those

rights --" and "we cannot tolerate--". The statement was adopted unanimously in a meeting December 29, attended by about 700 of the college's 800 students. This was published in large part, but inconspicuously, in the Birmingham News of January 3.

Some kind of boycott move is being discussed among Negro leaders. More definitely, a spectacular Negro demonstration is being planned for the near future, possibly before the end of January.

The Moderate Upsurge

Were it not for the extraordinary political situation and the personality dominating the city commission, the sudden awakening of moderate civic leadership in Birmingham would augur well for a surmounting of the present crisis and the beginning of a new era in race relations in that city. In no Southern city have we seen such a general mobilization of community leadership on the moderate side of a segregation issue as has occurred during the past two months in Birmingham.

The few formerly lonely people who were stigmatized as liberals before say "We can move freely now." They find themselves suddenly on the side with the majority of prominent people. Even the Human Relations Council executive director, Norman Jimerson, has found such business leaders as Sterne, Monaghan, Head and Bryan glad to talk with him -- each for an hour or two. (Art Wiebel had indicated a willingness to see him, although he had not yet fixed an appointment.)

The following groups have taken an unequivocal stand against park-closing: Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, Committee of 100, Young Men's Business Club, Birmingham Downtown Improvement Association, Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce, North Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce, East Lake Chamber of Commerce, Birmingham Ministerial Association, Birmingham District Methodist Ministerial Association, League of Women Voters, Birmingham Section of National Council of Jewish Women, Catholic Men's Club, the Jefferson County Mental Health Association and the Peoples Park Committee.

There is almost no articulate dissent among the above organizations. The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce has become a center of operations in the open-park movement; its officers are in the forefront and its premises are used for meetings.

The Birmingham Bar Association failed by three votes to identify itself with the movement, but many of those who voted No were already committed in other organizations. The argument was that the issue was not a suitable one for a bar association pronouncement.

The two daily newspapers appear to be executing a painful charge, after seven years of inflammatory racism and defiance, to a constructive approach in the present crisis and by implication to the broader civil rights problem. Their editors and reporters are cooperating loyally with the leaders of the open-parks movement.

At the December meeting of the bi-racial Council on Human Relations a reporter and a camera man from the Birmingham News appeared. The latter was stopped when about to take a picture, and the two were persuaded to step outside. Attorney Charles Morgan was called and he phoned Managing Editor John W. Bloomer who reprimanded his two men and ordered them away from the meeting. When Jimerson called upon Bloomer the next morning, the latter said: "We don't want to embarass you. You may have a helpful role to play in this thing."

Business leaders expressed themselves earlier in a statement by the Committee of 100 and a newspaper advertisement, published September 12, and signed by 189 leading citizens, calling for "some hard thinking now on just how we can meet the necessities of court decisions and agency orders within the framework of law observance." Key individuals are discussed later in this report, but it may be noted here that the list of 189 included Catholic Archbishop T. J. Toolen, Episcopal Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter and Arthur V. Weibel, president of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co.

Several meetings have been held during the past ten days, promoted among others, by the same group of Monaghan, Sterne, Head, Stanford, etc., with the Chamber of commerce's President Sayer and General Manager Bryan taking an increasingly active part. One meeting was attended by 23 Negro leaders.

It was decided to draw up a statement or petition, for presentation to the city commission and for publication as a page ad in each daily newspaper -- after securing 1,000 signatures. The statement was drafted by Sterne, Monaghan and Dr. Ed Kimbrough, a Methodist minister, president-elect of the Birmingham Ministerial Association. It was approved at a meeting of 37 leaders held Wednesday afternoon, January 3. Dr. Bryan, the chamber of commerce manager, described the meeting to me the next morning. He was impressed by the vigorous talks made at the meeting, among others by Catholic Bishop Durick, who had issued a pastoral letter urging Catholics to press for open parks, and by Rev. Lamar Jackson, a prominent Baptist minister. The statement, he noted, had been drafted by a Catholic, a Protestant and a Jew. Elected as "temporary chairman" of the group was Rev. David Wright, rector of St. Mary in the Highlands Episcopal Church.

The petition, a copy of which is enclosed, was entitled, "A Plea for Courage and Common Sense." It urged the city commission to reopen the parks temporarily under an informally

proferred 60-day stay of the desegregation order and to set up a committee "to assist in solving our awesome problems." Though not so stated, it was hopefully contemplated that the committee would be bi-racial in composition.

Twelve hundred signatures to the petition were obtained. (A special effort was made among persons residing within the city limits and these made up more than half of the 1200.) The document was presented to the city commission Tuesday morning, January 9, by Messrs. Monaghan and Head, Dr. Stanford, and Rev. David C. Wright. It was vehomently rejected and a disagreeable and fruitless conversation took place for about one hour. Connor and Hanes were "bombastic and abusive," Dr. Stanford said. "I never had such an experience in my life."

The statement was published as a page ad in each of the papers Wednesday.

The City Commission

The city commission remains almost incredibly intransigent, denouncing those who object to the park-closing as "integrationists" and indulging in frequent comment tending to inflame extreme segregationists and exacerbate the Negro tension.

Golf course holes were filled and parks, playgrounds, etc. were closed and posted over the New Year week-end. In consultations, in which Dr. Henry King Stanford was the chief intermediary, Federal District Judge H. H. Grooms offered a 60-day stay of the park desegregation order (effective January 15) provided the parks would be kept opened. This was refused. (Hanes temporized but Connor was adamant.) They remarked that park employees have already been dismissed.

Members of the commission are: Mayor Art Hanes (newly elected), Eugene ("Bull") Connor and J. T. Waggoner. Waggoner, who was elected by a close vote, goes along silently and is believed to be slightly more moderate than the other two.

In talks with people who know the commissioners and visit them from time to time I got some sidelights on the internal and external politics involved in their attitudes. By all accounts Art Hanes, the new mayor, is proving a very weak individual and he appears to have allied himself abjectly with Bull Connor. Both Connor and Waggoner are "running over" Hanes, who has lost an important part of his domain; parks are under Hanes' jurisdiction as a commission member and he had pointed with pride to Birmingham's parks during his campaign. Now the other two commissioners have grabbed park funds (about $800,000 net) for their own projects and have plans for using the money. This consideration, together with the fact that all but 48 of the 300 park employees have been dismissed, is a factor in the reluctance of the commision to desist from the rash course upon which it has embarked.

The commission is supported by a strong Citizens Council and by the Ku Klux Klan. Notorious Klansmen are frequently seen at the commission offices.

"Bull" Connor, who dominates the commission (and is Democratic national committeeman from Alabama) is a candidate for governor, and has been making speeches about once a week in the Black Belt. He still is not regarded as a front runner from a statewide point of view, but some spectacular performance in an interracial crisis might change this picture. At least Connor is believed to feel this, and it is said by many that he actually hopes to see sensational interracial turmoil develop. On the other hand, any form of orderly desegregation in Birmingham before the June primary would kill Connor's gubernatorial hopes.

Immediately after the conference with the petition delegation Tuesday, Mayor Hanes spoke to the Kiwanis Club. With waggishly malicious intent the program committee, without consulting the mayor had announced his subject as "Statesmanship or Political Expediency." Hanes made a routinely harmless talk, but concluded with fantastic references to "Washington interference in our daily lives," predicting that the nation would soon be divided into ten districts under Washington-appointed autocrats.

Hanes has broken with his predecessor as mayor, James Morgan, who helped in his election, on the park issue. Morgan, now a member of the park commission, is urging reopening.

Connor and Hanes are showing increasing hostility toward the pro-open parks community leaders, who get an angry and insulting reception on their visits to them.

The Negro Community

Individual Negro leaders outstanding in the present crisis are: A. G. Gaston on the extreme conservative right; Dr. Lucious H. Pitts in the deeply concerned middle; and three representing the more militant wing, Rev. Fred. L. Shuttlesworth, Rev. J. L. Ware and Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World.

Additionally, the students of Miles College, counseled by Dr. Pitts and others, are an extremely potent factor. A copy of their manifesto, mentioned above, and entitled, "This we believe," is enclosed herewith. The names of eight individual student leaders appear as signatories of this document, together with the student organizations which they represent.

Gaston is the Negro millionaire ("several times over") who is, perhaps, closer to the white power structure than to ~~other~~ Negro leadership. In the present crisis he has concerned himself actively with the Negro movement, attending Negro meetings and conferring frequently with white leaders. A considerable element of the Negro community has forgiven him his former aloofness, but many others still look upon him with resentment and suspicion. Gaston's close ties with whites arouse constant fears that he is "selling his people out."

Dr. Pitts, who came to Birmingham last June to head Miles College is a very wise, able and tactful gentleman -- an opinion which Dr. Stanford, Dr. Bryan and many other white friends share. He was formerly vice-president of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. He is also highly respected by the Negro community as a whole. He urges calm and avoidance of violence, but earnestly and skillfully supports the Negro aims.

Shuttlesworth is well known. He is slightly less rampant in the present situation than might have been feared, is said to have been agreeable earlier to a postponement of desegregation for 60 days if parks had remained open. His position, like that of other Negroes has hardened since. Shuttlesworth is still president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and spends much time in Birmingham in spite of his transfer to Ohio. (The original understanding was that he would spend several days of each week in Birmingham, but his supporters are unable to finance this commuting on a permanent basis.)

Rev. J. L. Ware is militant, though less spectacular than Shuttlesworth. He is president of the Inter Citizens Committee, which issued a statement at the same time approving the court's park desegregation ruling and congratulating Shuttlesworth and his organization "for the courageous fight they have been waging against the evils of segregation."

Shuttlesworth and Ware are the heroes of the Birmingham World and Gaston is referred to sneeringly in that paper. Its editor, Emory O. Jackson appears to have doubts about Pitts. Jimerson in a conversation with Jackson last week found him disagreeable and suspicious of any form of negotiation with white leaders.

CORE now has an Alabama worker, aa 20-year-old student, Henry Thomas, with headquarters in Birmingham. Thomas is somewhat on the margin of the Negro movement, whose leaders are anxious to avoid the appearance of being "agitated by outsiders." He has been invited to none of the meetings at Miles College, but he has visited among students on the campus.

The attitude of the Negroes is steadily hardening. They become less amenable to compromise, or even negotiation, every day. The park episode is only one of many grievances which they are now airing. The outrages of the May riots are not mentioned publicly but are probably uppermost in their hearts.

Negro feeling may have to find an outlet in action in some form. Dr. Pitts believes that a large scale Negro demonstration is in prospect, probably before the end of January. A march to City Hall would inevitably involve clashes with Klan and police. Another demarche, which he believes less dangerous, would be some form of boycott. Half a dozen Negro preachers might be arrested for preaching "selective buying," bringing the crisis to an effective climax, with excitement, but probably less danger of uncontrollable disorder.

Miscellaneous Notes

Groping Toward a Solution

There is some thinking in terms of concrete plans for surmounting the present crisis, though most leaders feel that it is idle to go far with specific plans until there is some sign of cooperation at City Hall. At the Chamber of Commerce I was told: "Oh yes, we've studied the Dallas plan and the Memphis plan and the Atlanta plan, but there's no use doing anything until we get a break-through in the city commission and the 60-day 'cooling-off period.'"

(The Birmingham News is running a helpful series of articles on the experiences of other cities.)

David Vann, a young attorney in the firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, handed me a copy of his proposed plan for gradual park desegregation, which is enclosed herewith. The federal district court approved a gradual plan for Memphis last summer in I. A. Watson, Jr. vs. City of Memphis. It is believed that Judge Groomes would approve such a plan for Birmingham. Dr. Stanford says that Judge Groomes is anxious to help in any way possible.

It is unlikely, however, that the adoption of any gradual plan for park desegregation now would materially allay Negro militancy on the broad civil rights front.

The city commission has toyed with the idea of selling the park properties. Connor and Hanes have asked several business leaders: "Why don't you buy the parks?" Attorney Charles Morgan suggests court action to prevent such a move, but most business leaders see little immediate danger on this score.

Some white liberals have suggested that Negroes begin a test of segregation at the city library, having some Negro lawyer quietly apply there for some federal publication.

Bus Terminal Restaurant Desegregation

Overshadowed by the larger controversy are the litigation, arrests etc. in the matter of bus terminal restaurant desegregation. Some Negroes have been served along with whites. Federal District Judge Seybourn H. Lynn on December 28 gave the city commission 10 days in which to repeal its segregation ordinance rather than have him invalidate it.

Ku Klux Klan

It is said that the Klan has no Birmingham klavern. Klansmen are very active in the city, nevertheless, and have well-known klaverns in the suburbs of Tarrant City, Lipscomb and Gardendale.

McGill to Speak

Liberal columnist Ralph McGill is scheduled to speak at the annual man-of-the-year of the Young Business Men's Club in February.

Attitude of Labor

The rank and file of organized labor seems to support the segregationist attitude of the city commission but the unions have taken no formal stand, with the exception of a resolutions committee of the carpenter's union supporting the city commission. Labor leaders Mitch and Bruce Thrasher are associated with business leaders in the open-parks movement.

Gubernatorial Race

Returns from a poll conducted by the conservative and segregationist magazine South, out January 8, showed former Governor James E. Folsom in a handsome lead in the gubernatorial race subject to the June Democratic primary. Folsom received 2,653 straw votes or 34 per cent of the total in a numerous field. The runner-up was George C. Wallace with 1,267, followed by Albert Boutwell with 1,164. Connor received 204. It was significant that Folsom also was named by many as second-choice.

It appears that Folsom can be beaten only by making the contest exclusively a test of extremism on the segregation issue, which his foes would like to do. I met Wallace in the Tutwiler Hotel lobby and spent a few minutes in a group surrounding him. Th candidate knew nothing about me. He was saying, apparently with reference to park-closing: "We have to make sacrifices and do without things if we want to stand up for what we believe in." Then he launched upon a dissertation on the mistake of "appeasing niggers" -- both at home and abroad. Asked for his opinion of "Bobby Kennedy," his reply was too revoltingly obscene to be repeated.

Some Moderate White Leaders

Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College, long known as a liberal on the race question, is a tireless leader in the moderate movement and a key man in the present situation. Probably the most knowledgeable individual with respect to both white and Negro activities. An excellent contact, who would be glad to cooperate with the Department of Justice and the SRC. Phone: office, AL 1-8294; residence, AL 2-0094.

Dr. John E. Bryan, the retiring general manager (age 66) of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and a former superintendent of Birmingham schools, is a liberal in a broad sense, who is making the present moderate movement his principle business. He will remain as a "consultant" to the chamber. Accommodating and cooperative and glad to have some use for his increasing spare time. One of the best sources of information on the business community.

Barney A. Monaghan, president, Vulcan Materials Co. (a "360 million corporation"), a Rhodes scholar and a tactful liberal, was the leader in securing the 189 signatures to "Some Facts to Face" and has been conspicuous in all the activities of community leaders since. Although a Catholic, he was recently appointed to the board of trustees of the (Methodist) Birmingham Southern College (to Dr. Stanford's delight).

Mervyn Sterne, wealthy and respected investment banker is an outstanding leader of the moderate movement.

James A. Head, of James A. Head & Co. (stationers), chairman of the Committee of 100, is in the forefront of the moderate movement.

Sidney W. Smyer, president, Birmingham Realty Co., and president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, a segregationist who recognizes the inevitable, is working ardently for the moderate movement.

Charles ("Chuck") Morgan, lawyer and politician, "protector" of liberals and Negroes, is an irrepressible mixer in all circles, who in spite of his "radicalism" is on jovially conversational terms with Hanes, Connor, Wallace and most other politicians. Well-informed; few rumors escape him. Eagerly cooperative, he is a warm personal friend of the writer.

J. Thomas King, formerly a law partner of "Chuck" Morgan, was Hanes' moderate opponent in the race for mayor last year, leading in the first primary. King has remained aloof from the present controversy.

Douglas Arant, of the firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, is a distinguished liberal lawyer, deeply concerned, and helpful behind the scenes.

Charles F. Zukoski, executive vice-president of the First National Bank, a long-time liberal, formerly associated with Dr. Stanford in efforts to establish interracial communication, is not aggressive in the present situation.

The elderly Catholic and Episcopal prelates, Archbishop Toolen and Bishop Carpenter respectively, who signed the "189" statement, have been unwilling otherwise to come to grips with the race problem. The second in command of each hierarchy, Catholic Bishop Joseph A. Durick and Episcopal coadjutor Bishop George M. Murray, have been aggressively liberal.

Rev. John Rutland, pastor, Woodlawn Methodist Church, long one of the most outspoken members of the clergy, issued an appeal in his church bulletin for "brotherhood" in connection with the present controversy, which was reported in the press.

Arthur V. Weibel, president of the TCI, and Thomas W. Martin, president of the Alabama Power Co., signed the "189" statement and are counted on the side of the angels, but not in the front line. Weibel says: "I can't afford to get tangled up with the city commission."

Lewis L. Jeffries, silent in the present situation, is president of the Hays Aircraft Co., formerly employed Art Hanes and backed him strongly in his campaign for mayor. The company's contractual relations with the Defense Department suggest a possible channel of communication with Mayor Hanes.

Norman C. Jimerson is the dedicated executive director of Alabama Council on Human Relations, with office in Birmingham. (Telephone AL 2-2722)

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I visited Birmingham January 1-4 and brought my information up to date inaphone conversation January 10. I had visited Birmingham several times before. On this trip I conferred mainly with Sanford, Pitts, Bryan, Morgan, Vann and Jimerson, all mentioned above.

Benjamin Muse

Enclosures:

1. "A Plea for Courage and Common Sense"
2. "This We Believe"
3. David Vann proposal

(No. 1 is not enclosed with all copies.)

Benjamin Muse, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Box 312, Manassas, Va.

February 6, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Louis A. Eckl

Editor, Florence Times, Florence, Ala.

Louis Eckl is a tireless crusader for the good cause, and is largely responsible for the relatively moderate atmosphere prevailing in his corner of Alabama.

He came to dine with us January 2 and spent several hours afterward in our room -- eager to talk: "I talk about this stuff all the time, generally I'm just working around the edges of the subject. It's only when you come around that I can really open up."

Eckl is carried as a director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, but says he doesn't "have time" to attend meetings. He is a member of the Alabama CCR advisory committee. His son Christopher, who is city editor of the Times, served last year as president of the Muscles Shoals CHR. Early in December Louis received a surprise phone call from Drew Pearson, who said he had been told that Eckl was "a man in Alabama he could talk to." Pearson said he had $5,000 of "conscience money" that he would like to place in Alabama. Eckl recommended the ACHR and gave him Jimmerson's address.

Eckl makes speeches to civic groups from time to time. He said during the past year he has been able to speak with increasing frankness. In a recent speech to the Florence Rotary Club he defended the action of the Supreme Court and the federal government in the civil rights field and caused no disturbance, received some applause.

Last June the Florence Times was sold to a Goldwater Republican group, World Enterprises, of Bristol, Va. Alarmed, Eckl held out successfully for freedom to continue to express his own views on the race problem.

Eckl said the new local superintendent of schools, Rufus G. Hebbett, is more liberal than his predecessor. "The schools in Florence, Sheffield and Tuscumbia," he said, "can be integrated peacefully whenever it is ordered by the courts." (The three cities form one school district.)

Eckl is frequently called upon by TVA authorities to help entertain colored foreign visitors. He is in close touch with FBI agents, who discuss Alabama problems with him. He was very active in the successful integration of Florence State College last September, advising with Negro student Wendell

Wilkie Gunn, college and police authorities. Instrumental in keeping publicity to a minimum. He was very proud of the operation -- entirely peaceful, no federal marshals, only one policeman a block away.

The mayor and city council of Florence are now forming a biracial committee.

A Folsom supporter in the 1962 campaign for governor, he retailed some of the stories of foul play alleged to be behind Big Jim's "drunken" TV appearance, which some said, lost him the election. Eckl assumed no responsibility for their accuracy, but they were interesting as examples of things that are readily suspected -- and can in fact happen -- in Alabama politics.

Folsom has been little heard from lately. However, he spoke out in opposition to constitutional amendment No. 3 -- restricting voting -- which was roundly rejected in the November election.

Eckl had also been an old personal friend of George Wallace. Early in the campaign he asked Wallace to stay away from the Florence area. "We've had good race relations up here," he said, and you do nothing but stir up trouble. Why can't you talk about something else?"

Wallace's reply, according to Eckl: "I started off talking about schools and highways and prisons and taxes -- and I couldn't make them listen. Then I began talking about niggers -- they stomped the floor!"

Due allowance will no doubt be made for some exaggeration in this unbosoming by a fervent liberal and an admirable guy.

Benjamin Muse

July 3, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Governor Orval Faubus, June 29, 1959

An entire morning (June 29) was devoted to seeing Governor Faubus (10 minutes) and his administrative assistant (30 minutes), but several hours' observation of the conversation and the goings and comings in the Governor's offices was not without interest.

Other administrative aides and Mr. Matthews (Colonel) Dan Stephens

Rolla Fitch, the chief administrative assistant, seemed slightly more reasonable than the Governor. He agreed that the importance of limited integration in Little Rock high schools had been vastly exaggerated. He thought it would be better to go ahead and have token integration. "But I'm just a routine administrative man. I don't have anything to do with these questions."

In further conversation he echoed much Faubus talk. The trouble with token integration, he said, was that it would soon become mass integration. Then there would be "white and colored falling in love. Look what's happening in Washington!"

I told him there had been only one case of interracial marriage among over 100,000 pupils in four years of integration in Washington.

He said he would like to see the whole matter settled "for the sake of the Governor's health." He said the "strain" was telling on the Governor. "His hand shakes like that."

I talked to him briefly about Almond's performance--which was the one thought I hoped to get over in some degree to the Governor.

Faubus arrived late and was running half an hour behind his appointment schedule. Although this would be the only opportunity to see him, there were others still waiting ahead of me and at about 12:15 I decided to give up.

I carried copies of two of Almond's key speeches (January 28 to the General Assembly and June 9 to the Warren County private school patrons). I went in with these again to see Fitch.

I told Fitch that Virginia exhausted the possibilities of legal resistance last January; a similar situation had now been reached in Arkansas. These speeches, I said, would show how Almond met his crisis and might contain some thought which would be helpful to Governor Faubus.

Fitch said: "The Governor ought to have them. You ought to hand them to him." Then he more or less pushed me into the Governor's office, announcing: "This is Mr. Muse from Virginia."

Faubus was in a conference with an earlier caller when he rather rudely neglected as he turned to me. He shook my hand and asked: "How are you getting along in Virginia?" There followed about ten minutes of eager conversation on both sides.

Some of it was approximately as follows:

Me: "There's been a change of policy in Virginia."

Faubus: "I know. I didn't like it. I had admired Almond before."

Me: "Nobody fought integration harder than Governor Almond, but he came to the point where there was nothing else he could do. He was just up against Federal power, and he couldn't do any more. That was last January. The same thing has happened to Arkansas now. Arkansas has come to the same point."

Faubus: "We haven't come to any such point. We can keep on fighting. The whole South can keep on fighting. We can make the Supreme Court reverse its decision."

Me: "They don't see any hope of that in Virginia. Almond is a lawyer. He struggled with the courts over this thing for seven years. And he doesn't see any possibility of a reversal of the decision. He decided that Virginia had to adjust in some way.

Faubus: "So you enforce integration with state police."

Me: "The police had hardly anything to do. There wasn't any trouble. We now have what Almond calls a "Freedom of Choice Plan." Nobody is compelled to go to any integrated school, and there are tuition grants for those who go to private schools."

Faubus: "The courts are going to break that down--the tuition grants. That's what worries me. Poor children won't have the money to go to private schools."

Me: "Almond got his stuff through the Legislature and got a good reaction in a newspaper public opinion poll. These two speeches will give a pretty good idea of how Almond explained the situation and got the idea across."

Faubus: "I'd like to have them. I want to see what he said."

The Governor glanced at the neglected earlier visitor at this point, and I terminated my visit.

I had assured Fitch that anything said by him or the Governor would be off the record.

Benjamin Muse

July 6, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Little Rock, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, June 28-30, 1959

I was generally lucky in being able to see the people I wished to see in two days, although Harry Ashmore was away. (My visit to Governor Faubus is reported separately.)

I had an hour and a half Monday with Hugh B. Patterson, Jr., Gazette publisher, in one of the conversations which I value most in my recent experience. We discussed Little Rock, Arkansas, and the South. He was sure Faubus would run for a fourth term. He became very much interested in this Leadership Project and offered to cooperate in any possible way.

Patterson felt keenly about the importance of the role of the business community in the solution of this problem. It is dangerous for the individual business man to "stick his neck out," he said, but when they act together they are fairly safe. "If 100 of the leading business men of the state would unite in signing the right kind of statement," it would do wonders in Arkansas. It was business men who were saving the situation in Little Rock now. Even some business leaders in Eastern Arkansas were bringing pressure to bear. He talked about the great job done by the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce.

I made something like headquarters at the Chamber of Commerce (115 W. 6th. Street). Boyd Ridgeway is an attractive, ebullient young man from Greenville, Mississippi ("but I came under the influence of Hodding Carter.") I paid two visits to his office and joined in a long coffee break with Ridgeway and several others.

In Ridgeway's enthusiastic account, the chamber had been chiefly responsible for the election of the three moderates to the school board and for the recall of the other three. It was actively concerned with the situation now. I gather that the chamber is also close to the new city administration, and is encouraged by the preparations for law enforcement next September. Dean Dauley, city manager, and Eugene Smith, chief of police, have the confidence of the chamber and of moderates generally.

Ridgeway likes our L Reports and will be glad to cooperate in any way.

Significantly, the new president of the school board, Everett Tucker, Jr. was chairman of the industrial committee and is a leading light in the chamber. His office is in the same building. His business is the Little Rock Industrial Development Co., which he heads. I talked with

him in Ridgeway's office and again alone. Tucker believes, I think, quite strongly in segregation and is critical of the Supreme Court, but he is firmly determined to keep the schools open with whatever integration is required.

Tuesday I also visited Granger Williams, the chamber president, at the National Old Line Insurance Co. building. A quietly dedicated man, Granger seemed the most earnestly concerned of all with the problem of getting the schools reopened and integrated in an orderly manner.

Granger said the plan of integrating both Hall and Central High--which he believes is now agreed upon--would decentralize the agitation and be advantageous in other ways. The Hall school patrons being on a higher economic level, it would refute the argument that the wealthy children were escaping integration. He said there is a more liberal atmosphere at Hall anyway and integration should have been tried first there.

Williams was also proud of the chamber's accomplishment, but he insisted that credit should be given to the women of the Emergency Committee, without whom his work would have been impossible.

Former Governor Sid McMath (Tuesday) was a little unbending, but extremely friendly. He offered to help in any way he could in this project. Went over much of the same ground as others. "The harm that man (Faubus) has done is incredible." Impressed with the good work of the chamber of commerce, but observed that some business men went along with Faubus. The Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Co. backed Faubus financially, and utility rates stay high as a result.

In the case of all these business men with whom I talked I was impressed with the fact that they like to feel that they are acting on a high plane in the school crisis. There was a sort of good-natured resentment about the suggestion that this was a matter of business and self-interest. Ridgeway: "It's not a matter of business with these men, it's a matter of good citizenship--a matter of principle." It was a matter of "moral principle" to Williams.

They agree, nevertheless, that school trouble is damaging to business, and that is, of course, a cogent argument. I was repeatedly told that "not a single new industry had come to Little Rock since September, 1957." Incidentally, however, business in general is said to be good in Little Rock just now.

I paid a brief visit to Nat Griswold, and had a pleasant evening with Reverend C.S. Cartwright.

I found generally among those with whom I talked a hopeful belief that the schools will open in September without very great disturbance.

Benjamin Muse

December 1, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Washington Post, November 30, 1960

I discussed the question of what the next Administration might do in the field of civil rights today with Bob Estabrook, editorial page editor, and Al Friendly, managing editor of the Washington Post.

Estabrook thought something should be done to break committee log jams in the House of Representatives, but believed Senate Rule 23 should be left alone for this session. He wanted to see some changes in "structural procedure" to eliminate discrimination in employment on federal contracts and in federally subsidized housing. However, he felt that a great deal could be done without new legislation.

He expressed approval of these several suggestions which I made:

1) That an assistant secretary of state visit Southern governors and discuss with them the international implications of segregation, etc. in this country;

2) That the Federal Office of Education should publish officially a handbook on school desegregation similar to "Action Patterns";

3) That the President should speak privately with Roger Blough (and possibly other executives influencing Southern power structures.)

Estabrook thought Kennedy would be firm and clearcut in desegregation crises. Friendly thought the President-elect had genuine compassion for the underdog, in addition to strong civil rights convictions.

I asked how many Negroes had been entertained at the White House during the Eisenhower Administration. Friendly believed, none, except foreign officials. He called the society editors and they confirmed this estimate -- except in that Ralph Bunche might have attended something there.

Friendly remarked that this was not necessarily a matter of race prejudice. There had been no effort to bring representatives of American intellect and talent to the White House. He said, unkindly, that, apart from official entertaining, Mamie and Ike had received only a few oil and Coca Cola magnates, and there were no Negroes in that group.

Benjamin Muse

January 30, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conference on Preserving the Democratic Process

Greenwich, Connecticut, January 25-27, 1962

This was a meeting of approximately 90 persons, aroused over the growing danger from the "radical right." I attended at the request of Dr. Dunbar in response to an invitation extended to him by Harry Fleischman, Director, National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee.

The meeting had no formal sponsorship, but was organized by a group which included: Brendan Byrne, of the American Heritage Foundation, and a member of the New York City Board of Education (my roommate); Dan Lacy, American Book Publishers' Council; C. Dale Fuller, Foreign Policy Association; Rev. Dean M. Kelley, National Council of Churches; Harry Fleischman; etc.

No organizations were officially "represented," but persons prominent in 104 organizations were present. (Some listed two organizations), and they came from 20 states, including conspicuously California. No list of participants was available, but some statistical items were announced at the concluding session. There were 14 persons from international relations organizations, 14 Protestant ministers and 9 Roman Catholic priests. There must have been a dozen men from the AFL-CIO and subsidiary unions -- steelworkers, rubber workers, machinists, etc.

Some other organizations, which I noted from name tabs were: Y.M.C.A., UNICEF, Fair Campaign Practices Committee, League of Women Voters, World Affairs Council, Southern Baptist Convention, Research Institute of America, Catholic Interracial Council, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, NAACP, CORE, Urban League, ADA, ACLU, American Friends Service Committee, NCCJ, ADL, the Carnegie Endowment and the National Farmers Union.

The conference was weakest in participation by the communications media. There were 7 "editors and publishers," but these were only Hugh Patterson, of the Arkansas Gazette, and Chapin, of the Denver Post, and five editors from religious publications.

The conference was in almost constant session, apart from sleep time, from 5 p.m. Thursday until 3 p.m. Saturday, as informal discussion began at breakfast.

Two films were exhibited. The first of these, labeled, "Wasn't It a Time," was an emotional and exaggerated attack upon the Committee on Un-American Activities, which seemed to rival "Operation Abolition" in distortions. It was presented with apologies and seemed to meet with general disapproval. The other film, however, was an objective, 45-minute portrayal of the San Francisco riots with the comments of the House Committee chairman along with those of the mayor and the chief of police of San Francisco and other prominent people. This splendid film is a production of the Catholic Catechetical Guild and may be had for $100 by addressing Impact Films, 262 E. Fourth St., St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

I was most impressed with the participation of William C. Sullivan both personally and as Assistant Director of the FBI. Mr. Sullivan is a scholarly gentleman and a superb speaker at home in the moral and philosophical discussions as well as in the police field. He came to deliver the opening address Thursday evening and, unexpectedly, stayed through Friday evening, keeping busy in formal and informal discussions.

In his address Mr. Sullivan pointed to the absurdity of an hysterical mass movement against internal Communism just at the time when American Communism was at its lowest ebb. He traced the decline of the American Communist Party from a membership of about 80,000 in the 40's to about 10,000 now. Asked if he could be quoted on some of his points, he referred to public speeches of Mr. Hoover and himself and said the FBI would be glad to make factual statements, which might be helpful, in reply to letters. For instance, the radical rightists were using a number of so-called "former officials of the FBI." The identification of these men with the FBI had generally been brief, unimportant or apart from any connection with the investigation of Communists. This would be so stated by Mr. Hoover or himself, in answer to specific inquiries. He gave every evidence of a desire to cooperate.

The tenor of the discussions at the conference can be surmised and they were too voluminous to attempt to recapitulate even in outline. I was impressed with active interest of such organizations as the American Book Publishers' Association, the Foreign Policy Association, the National Council of Churches and the AFL-CIO.

A concluding discussion of what action might be taken brought forth a number of suggestions, with general agreement on the desirability of establishing a clearing house of information. Most participants wished to consult their organizations and others before taking any concrete steps. The consensus was that another conference should be called within a few months, and that in the meantime matters should be left in the hands of the original program committee, headed by Mr. Kelly. That group might also proceed to set up some kind of central information clearing house.

I took about an average part in the discussions, dealing generally with the situation in the South. I also suggested bringing sympathetic representatives of the communications media into the movement. I pointed out that the Southern Regional Council was devoted to combating race discriminatinn but noted that the chief elements of obstruction to racial adjustment in the South are closely related to the radical right in the nation.

The meeting was "off the record but not secret." Remarks were not to be quoted without permission. At the conclusion each participant was given a sheet reading as follows:

IF ASKED QUESTIONS BY REPORTERS THAT YOU CAN'T AVOID ANSWERING

USE THIS

A group of American citizens, concerned about the problem of preserving the democratic process, met in Greenwich, Conn., Jan. 25 - 27, 1962.

They were given briefings by experts on totalitarian threats to America and subversion from both the left and right. This was followed by reports on the sociological, political and religious implications of these movements, supplemented by case histories of attacks on the democratic process. The conference concluded with consideration of a program to promote the democratic process, which individuals could carry on in their respective communities.

Benjamin Muse

March 23, 1962

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C., March 22, 1962

I called on Dr. Hansen to discuss the still vastly distorted picture, still widespread in the South, of conditions in Washington following the integration of the District's public schools.

I related the principle arguments and questions of Southern segregationists with whom I have talked and noted that balancing information and clear-cut answers in some cases are not to be found in Dr. Hansen's various reports, which I had read.

Educational Standards

I remarked that it was assumed by many segregationists that scholastic standards for white pupils in Washington had been lowered. If an overall improvement is cited, the answer is that Negroes have advanced at the expense of white children. Dr. Hansen's reports reveal marked improvement in pupil achievement, but nowhere do they state that the level of white pupil achievement has not been lowered. This is a result of the fact that records are no longer kept by race.

Dr. Hansen said, in answer to my question, that the level of white pupil achievement has actually risen in all classes. This is evident to all in the school administration, though it is not demonstrated statistically.

The "Flight" of Whites from Integration

Dr. Hansen said that the emigration of white families to the suburbs is continuing. The percentage of Negroes in the public school enrollment may soon reach 90 per cent.

Many factors are responsible for this trend. Insofar as race enters into it, more whites are fleeing from Negro residential encroachments than from integrated schools.

The rumor that whites in the District are swarming to private schools, he said is erroneous. He said at first that private scho enrollment was actually declining, but upon examination of data this proved true, only of non-public schools, including parochial schools. The enrollment in private schools had remained about the same.

Immorality

Desegregation has not resulted in an increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency. The behavior record compared favorably with that in other cities in spite of the Washington racial pattern.

His published figures showing a decline in the incidence of gonorrhoea were not too reliable, he said, and should not be emphasized. He said that a decline in juvenile morality was apparent throughout the country.

I remarked that the public had been shocked at the steady increase in juvenile pregnancies in Washington, and that Southern segregationists had made much of this. Dr. Hansen said there was no evidence that any of these pregnancies were interracial, or that integration had had anything to do with the matter. He suggested that we get the juvenile pregnancy figures for some segregated Southern cities.

Benjamin Muse

April 4, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLEMING:

Visit to Tallahassee, Florida, March 29-31, 1959

My visit to Tallahassee (as well as my identification with the Southern Leadership Project) arose from a telephone call which I received on February 18 from Mr. John L. Perry, Administrative Assistant to Governor LeRoy Collins, of Florida.

Calling from Tallahassee, Mr. Perry began with a complimentary reference to my weekly column in the Washington Post, which he said "we" had read regularly for some time. He said that Florida's first integration move had been made in Miami, and asked me to tell him something about the Virginia situation. He inquired particularly about the effect of Virginia's school troubles upon new industry coming to Virginia.

After a few minutes' conversation, Mr. Perry asked if he could phone again from time to time. He had had difficulty in reaching me at Manassas via the Washington Post, and he asked my Manassas phone number, which I gave him. He sent me a transcript of Governor Collins' press conference the following morning, which apparently was slightly influenced by the information from me, and expressed appreciation.

You will recall that I related this incident to you, resulting in our sending further pertinent data on the industrial angle to Mr. Perry, and later in my visit to Tallahassee.

In the meantime I had occasion to visit Atlanta to fill a speaking engagement, when I had a chance to talk with you, and you broached the matter of my taking hold of the Southern Leadership Project. No decision had been reached on this point when I went to Tallahassee, but one purpose of my visit there was to study the possibilities of being helpful in that type of activity.

The Tallahassee situation was exceptional in that my help had been more or less invited, and in the extreme cordiality with which I was received there. It was, of course, exceptional also for the South, in that the Governor of Florida, and his assistants, were working for orderly adjustment to the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling.

Mr. Perry met me when I arrived at the Tallahassee airport Sunday afternoon, March 29. The Administrative Assistant for legal affairs, Mr. William B. Killian, was also waiting for us at the Hotel Duval. These two took me for a drive and dinner. We talked for several hours over dinner, then drove to the capitol, turned on the lights and explored the gubernatorial wing and talked for an hour or two more in Mr. Perry's office.

These were two most attractive young men, wholeheartedly liberal on the race question, and we struck up a warm friendship. We had many further talks in between formal interviews with others, during my two days in Tallahassee. Three or four others came in to their offices casually or were invited in to join in the talks. I lunched one day with Mr. Perry and the next with two newspaper men. I had formal appointments only with the Governor, Superintendent of Schools Thomas D. Bailey and Assistant Attorney General Ralph E. Odum.

With Messers, Perry and Killian I discussed a hundred different aspects of the South's Great Problem, with particular reference to Florida and Virginia. With Mr. Killian I had a brief talk about the so-called "Collins Plan" of desegregation regulated by state commission--which is Mr. Killian's specialty. Mr. Perry was burdened at the time with work on the Governor's message to the coming session of the Legislature. He referred frequently to that, and I may have influenced the contents of his draft in some degree.

Mr. Bailey appeared to be an admirer of Governor Collins, though he is out of harmony with him in his advocacy of a tuition grant plan, of which the Governor disapproves. We discussed mainly the disastrous implications of closing public schools, and the importance of other states profiting by Virginia's experience.

Mr. Odum is a considerably more important figure in the Florida picture than his rank as Assistant Attorney General would indicate. He is a segregationist leader, in the camp of the opponents of the Governor's moderate policies. He is opposed, nevertheless, to school-closing, and has presented some cogent arguments against it in speeches, of which he gave me copies.

Governor Collins, in the midst of preparations for the session of the legislature, gave me only half an hour. He ordered coffee, but we both let it cool while we paced the floor. We discussed rather hurriedly the great damage which has been done by politicians in the South in exploiting race prejudice, the Virginia experience, prospects for the coming session of the Virginia legislature and his program for the Florida legislature.

In summary, my direct purpose in Tallahassee was to give whatever helpful information I could to those working constructively on the problem, and to learn what further information was desired and might be supplied by the Southern Regional Council. The Virginia experience and the story of Governor Almond's "capitulation" were of unfailing interest to all (including Mr. Odum).

Mr. Perry was extremely interested in the economic penalties of school-closing and threatened school-closing. He asked me repeatedly about its effect upon industry in Virginia. I am sure that more information on this subject would be effective in many places in the South.

Mr. Odum asked about the situation in the integrated public schools of Norfolk, with respect to extracurricular activities and the general tranquility and contentment of pupils.

Interest was expressed in the possible advantages of public school desegregation by grades, beginning with the first.

There was general interest in the progress of the movement for establishing private schools as an escape from public school integration.

Advice may not always be welcome on the policy-making level, and I judge that it should be given with diffidence and tact, if at all. In the exceptional situation in Tallahassee, however, I found it possible to offer something in the nature of advice on two points.

There is some criticism of Governor Collins on the ground that he is too aloof from segregationist politicians, some of whom might be helpful to him in specific moderate objectives. I stressed the effectiveness, so often demonstrated in Virginia, of the outspoken segregationist when he reaches the point where he takes a moderate position on a given issue--such as school-closing. I think that was the key to Governor Almond's success in Virginia in carrying both legislature and public with him in his retreat from "massive resistance."

I urged more emphatically that Governor Collins offer a broad program of legislation apart from the segregation question. Apparently, most legislators are descending upon Tallahassee now, obsessed with the segregation issue--and prepared for impulsive action. I thought anything to divert their attention from this issue would be wholesome. Especially, it seemed a good time to stress Florida's industrial development, which is an incidental argument against tampering with public schools.

I made this suggestion directly to Governor Collins. He said that his message was now being drafted and that he intended to offer such a broad program, mentioning half a dozen matters to be included in it. He added the observation that the last session of a Governor's term in office seemed to him a better time than the first in which to present a broad program for his state.

In addition to information--and discreet advice on occasion--there is a third way in which a service can be rendered. Mr. Perry was kind enough to remark to me: "You have certainly been an inspiration to us."

Inspiration is little needed among Governor Collins' group, but it could have considerable importance in other places in the South. The backbone of lonely moderates can often be stiffened by a visitor with messages of encouragement from elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

April 11, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation
Visit to Florida Monday, April 4,
through Thursday, April 7, 1960

The cordiality of the Governor's official family made this visit almost like a home-coming. The Governor's new administrative assistant, Jim Southerland, and the two staff members of the Commission on Race Relations, were similarly cordial and eager to talk -- the latter ravenous for information and advice. I had a feeling in this situation, more than in any previous experience, of the Southern Regional Council rendering a direct, welcome, and important service.

Copies of our Special Report had been sent to six of the seven members of the Commission, with transmitting memoranda from the office of the Governor, and the seventh member had been informed that he would receive a copy as soon as a further supply could be obtained from our Atlanta office. John Perry requested 100 additional copies for distribution by the Commission to advisory committee members and others. When I remarked that the Special Report contained much useful information, "though naturally written from the liberal point of view," Perry said: "That is exactly Gov. Collins' point of view."

The officials with whom I talked were cautious about publicity. They do not want to give much to the press as yet about the Commission's plans -- which are far more ambitious than is generally supposed. Its meetings are, and will continue to be, off the record. I agreed that we would disclose nothing that has not appeared in the press, or been released to the press.

The enthusiasm with which the bi-racial committee project is being launched is really exciting. The group is moving with the utmost vigor and determination. There is an air of urgency. The little staff is working night and day. There has been no exaggeration about the favorable response. The New York Times reporter was allowed to wade through the letters to the Governor, and he was greatly impressed. Two letters came in while I was in Perry's office, and they were wholeheartedly favorable. People asked to serve on advisory committees almost invariably accept. Some phone calls came from

these while I was in the Commission office, and I heard the Commission staff member say, "I know the Governor will appreciate this. We also feel that it is a wonderful undertaking."

Of course, there is opposition, and there are more troubles ahead probably than these gentlemen realize. I took pains to prepare them for difficulties and disappointments. There has been criticism in the usually hostile newspapers. Not more than what seems about half of the Florida press has expressed definite approval.

Political note: Only one of the 10 candidates in the gubernatorial race has endorsed Gov. Collins' initiative. Even Doyle E. Carlton, Jr., believed to have been Collins' favorite has been critical. Only John McCarty and Ted David make an issue of it. McCarty attacks it. However, Ted David, previously regarded as running about No. 6, came out strongly for Collins' program, and his stock appears to have risen greatly since.

The Commission has a liaison office in the Capitol, and headquarters in the State Office Building in Tampa, both opened during my visit. The full-time staff consists of two assistants and two secretaries. A list of the Commission members, with some particulars concerning them, is appended.

The staff assistant for public relations is William N. Rose, an official borrowed from the State Road Department. The other assistant -- for sociological problems -- is Saul A. Silverman, attorney and instructor in the School of Social Welfare at Florida State. (Silverman was one of the little group of us who gathered for a long evening's bullfest last year.) John Perry, a prime mover in the whole project, also gives most of his time to it. Rev. Harry Douglas, Tallahassee Episcopal minister, is very active as a "consultant."

Six advisory committees to the Commission are in process of formation: 1) management of variety stores, restaurants, etc., together with chamber of commerce and merchants' association representatives; 2) law enforcement officials; 3) lawyers; 4) representatives of universities (preferably presidents and deans); 5) clergy and other representatives of religious groups and 6) representatives of press, radio and TV. An advisory committee on members of the Armed Forces in Florida and one representing the medical profession are under consideration. I strongly urged the appointment of an advisory committee to represent organized labor, and one of corporation executives and bankers, representing the state power structure.

Last Saturday the Commission met with the top executives of chain store management in Florida. A press release said that the Commission was "heartened" by their "cooperation and helpful attitude." But that was not the attitude of all at

the beginning of the meeting. Woolworth and Kress talked about "outside leaders having stirred the Negroes up." Woolworth said it gave the Negroes a separate lunch counter in Jacksonville and they didn't use it. Woolworth protested: "We have to insure the safety of our customers."

However, Wahlgren, Wayland, Liggetts and others, more in the spirit of the project, said: "We know this is inevitable."

Perry Harvey, the Negro member of the Commission, made an extremely able speech, directed mainly at Woolworth.

Woolworth and Kress dropped their objections near the end of the meeting and joined in the cooperative attitude. They said finally: "We'll go along when the businessmen along the street are ready."

Saturday, April 9, two advisory committees were to hold their organization meetings: an expanded group of businessmen and the law enforcement people.

Tentatively set for April 16 is an organization meeting for the advisory committee from the clergy, etc. Great emphasis is placed on this advisory committee, and more is expected of it than of any other. It is desired to avoid making this a "preachers' movement," but clergymen are expected quietly to do the most effective work.

John Perry seemed to have the whole project in hand, making decisions on advisory committee appointments, etc. I missed Cody Fowler (out of the state) but went on to Tampa to confer with Harvey, who was described as a key Commission member, and for further talk with Rose -- who flew to Tampa Tuesday night. I spent many hours with Perry, Rose and Silverman. Also much talk with Harry Douglas, Frank Trippett, an old journalistic friend, and Jim Southerland. The last named has taken Perry's former office and many of his former duties as administrative assistant to the Governor.

Wednesday morning John Griffin took me to his home and gave me the Tallahassee story.

Harvey (280 lbs. -- described as a Negro Sidney Greenstreet) is an excellent choice as a Negro representative on the Commission, firm but sensible in his attitude, a good man in conference and negotiation. To Negroes, Harvey says he preaches diligence and good behaviour and achievement as the best answer to the white charge of inferiority. Negroes have to work better than whites and behave better than whites to get an even break. "It's not fair," he says, "but that's the way it is."

The magnitude of this effort in Florida and the enthusiasm in the air are most exciting. It was just getting launched when I came. Silverman opened his office in the Capitol Tuesday.

(When we went out to the Snack Bar we had trouble finding our way back to it.) Rose opened the Tampa office Wednesday, and was still looking for a secretary. One of them, or Perry or Douglas, was at the phone most of the time. The responses over the phone were almost invariably enthusiastic. They have all been surprised at some of the favorable responses, including those from many mayors. Not more than one in ten of the people approached has hesitated to serve with the Commission in some capacity.

As for my personal intervention, I feel that it was just about enough. I worked for most of three days with the little group which is organizing the movement like one of the team, and I gave them all I had in information and advice. They gave every indication of wanting more help, and nothing would be more thrilling for me. But I think from here on it should be a strictly Florida and Governor Collins movement. Of stimulus and determination there is no lack -- and they are learning fast.

There is urgent need, however, for more information on the whole Southern picture, and our Atlanta office can render a great service to them in this field.

Benjamin Muse

May 15,1960

MEMORANDUM

Miami--Conversations with Mrs.Lyle Roberts, School Board Member, and Dr.Joe Hall, Superintendent of Schools

Mrs.Roberts had been described to me as the "key" member of the school board, and my conversation with her tended to bear that out. I spent an evening with her (8-10 P.M., May 11) at her home in Coral Gables.

Mrs.Roberts said the board was made up of four "segregationists," two "moderates," and one "integrationist" (Mrs.Anna Brenner Meyer). She was one of the two "moderates;" her actual views on the moral issue, she said, she kept to herself. She was an ardent admirer of Gov.Collins.

She also admired Editor Baggs of the Miami News, on all but one point. She fiercely resented his statements that the Governor had a part in the board's decision to desegregate Orchard Villa, which she termed a "lie." (She and Baggs, with whom I talked later, gave completely different accounts of this incident.)

She gave a blow-by-blow account of the Sunday evening meeting in which the plan was adopted, a step for which, it appeared, she was mainly responsible. Her delicate manoeuvering had been made more difficult by the "extremists" on both sides, among whom she included the Council on Human Relations. However, she spoke with particular anger of the pro-segregation fanatics and presented me with some of their literature. She boasted of her own carefully balanced middle-of-the road position.

Mrs.Roberts asked my opinion of a plan which she was considering for the school board to employ a security officer of its own. This officer would study attitudes and tensions from the school administration end and serve as a liaison with the police. She had mind a possible man for the post, by the name, I believe, of John Tyler--a former FBI agent.

My reaction was that the idea seemed a good one, provided the security officer and the police were congenial.

Dr.Hall, with whom I talked the next morning, was expressly eager for advice and help. He had many questions to ask about the Norfolk experience, and was keenly interested in our proposal that he visit that city, at the expense of the Southern Regional Council, and talk with Superintendent Brewbaker. He said several members of the school board might also wish to make the trip, and I said the invitation would include them.

My conversation with Dr.Hall is further reported in my memorandum on the Orchard Villa problem.

Benjamin Muse

May 15,1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Miami--The Danger of a White "Boycott" of Orchard Villa School

I became acutely conscious in Miami of the danger that no white children will attend Orchard Villa School when it opens next September.

When (for reasons other than aversion to racial integration on the part of many) the Warren County High School in Virginia opened last February without any white pupils, the result was disastrous from a publicity and psychological point of view. The incident was widely reported as a "unanimous boycott" by the white people of the county, who allegedly"stood like a stone wall" against racial integration, etc. Segregationist extremists hailed the people of Warren County as latterday Confederate heroes.

The effect was largely offset in Virginia by the resounding success of the desegregation in Arlington, Alexandria and Norfolk. But the incident tended to encourage resistance, and planning for school-closing to prevent integration in many sections of the South.

The embarassment which could result from a failure of any white pupils to enter Orchard Villa in Miami next September cannot be overemphasized. (The danger arises in this instance from the fact that for some years the area served by Orchard Villa has been changing steadily into a "Negro neighborhood.")

Many with whom I talked in Miami did not seem to sense this possibility, but assumed that enough white pupils would be left at Orchard Villa to make it an example of integration. On the other hand, I was told in such divergent quarters as the Police Department and the Council on Human Relations that it was virtually certain that no white pupils would attend the school.

Above all, Dr.Joe Hall, the superintendent of schools was deeply concerned. He saw little chance of avoiding an integration fiasco at Orchard Villa.

The all-white enrollment at the school had fallen from 450 four years ago to 243 last September and 170 last March. Dr.Hall interrupted our conversation to phone the Orchard Villa principal and learned that the enrollment figure now stood at 132.

The natural thing to do, Dr.Hall said, would be to fill up Orchard Villa with pupils from an overcrowded Negro school nearby--a step which probably will be taken if no white children enter the school next September.

May 16, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Law Enforcement, Miami--Conversation with J. J. Youell, Assistant Chief of Police

Walter Hadley, the Chief of Police, was out for the day when I called, and I never met him. I asked about him in conversations with half a dozen others and received an uniformly good account of him. He was described as able and devoted to law and order. No one seemed to know his personal views on segregation, although moderates and liberals had a favorable impression of him.

I have had doubts about the reaction of la enforcement people to suggestions or offers of help from us. I was not encouraged in this by John Perry.

However, I decided to broach the idea at least casually, and did so in a conversation with J. A. Youell, Assistant Chief of Police, in a conversation on May 12. I said that I knew of the high reputation of the Miami Police Department and had no doubt of its ability to take care of a desegregation situation.

However, I remarked that Chief Harold Anderson and the Norfolk police had been through school desegregation and had done a wonderful job. If Chief Hadley or Assistant Chief Youell should be interested in going to Norfolk to talk to Anderson, the S.R.C. would be glad to finance the trip.

Mr. Youell's reaction was entirely negative. "We know Harold Anderson," he said. "If we wanted any information from him, we wouldn't hesitate a minute to pick up a phone and ask him."

In further conversation, Mr. Youell said approximately: "There isn't going to be any disorder in Miami. We are going to see to that. We can handle it all right. We have an 125-man riot squad. I don't think it will be needed, but it'll be ready."

With regard to the Orchard Villa school, he seemed to be sure that only Negroes would attend it in September.

Some of Mr. Youell's remarks were disturbing. "Law and order is our business," he said, "and we are going to attend to it--just law and order. The rest of the business (desegregation) is not our affair, but I don't mind telling you I don't believe in it."

COPY

When I remarked, more or less as a conversational item, that Anderson had assigned a couple of officers to keep an eye on the home of each integrated Negro pupil during the critical days, his reaction was a little alarming.

"Guards? —" he said, "Guards? They aren't going to get any guards from us. If they ask for trouble, they needn't come to us for guards." He said more in the same vein. He seemed to feel more resentment against the Negroes than against the fanatics who might molest them.

Benjamin Muse

May 19, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Tallahassee, May 9 and 10, 1959.

I was in the hands of John L. Perry, Administrative Assistant to Governor Collins, during virtually my entire stay in Tallahassee.

Perry met me at the airport Saturday afternoon, left me at my hotel for half an hour to dress, then called and took me to his home for dinner. After dinner we attended a football game for two hours, then returned to Perry's home, joined by three other couples, for a light supper and a talk which lasted until 1 a.m. Sunday morning. The entire group was interested in the segregation problem, and wholly on the liberal side.

Sunday afternoon I spent driving, sight-seeing and talking with Perry. I had only an accidental meeting, and no serious conversation, with Governor Collins. We found him unexpectedly at home when we visited the Mansion, and the Governor courteously insisted on showing me around.

When we stopped for coffee during the final hour before he took me to the air port, I asked Perry what we could best do to help the Governor and the good cause in Florida. His answer was prompt and definite, suggesting that it had been previously considered.

He said approximately:

"Concentrate on Florida. This is the key state now, and you can do more here than anywhere else.

"Come back here and act as a liaison between the Governor and some people that need talking to. There are things the Governor can't say to them, and it isn't politically feasible to send any one from here to talk to them.

"See some of these people and tell them about Virginia. Give them the information they need. Tell them the stuff you told us when you first came to Tallahassee."

He used the expression "liaison between the Governor, etc." I suggested that it would probably amount to my making some visits to moderate leaders on leads from the Governor's office, but he did not explain further. I said the plan needed study, but that I would certainly be happy to cooperate with him and Governor Collins.

Benjamin Muse

I had vague hoped that the repercussions of such an incident could be neutralized and the good faith undertaking made effective by some school desegregation elsewhere in Miami. I was glad to find that Dr. Hall had exactly this in mind.

He said he was considering, and planned to discuss with the school board, the possibility of quietly carrying out token integration next September in some other schools. He described several situations in which this could probably be done "without any trouble at all" as far as the affected schools were concerned. The assignments might be made, possibly, without any publicity until the Negro children were actually in school.

Benjamin Muse

August 27, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Immediate School Plans in Florida--Conversations with:

John L. Perry
William Durden
Floyd Christian
Mrs. Lyle Roberts

In Tallahassee

My object in our Tallahassee stopover, August 12, was to make some return for the earlier hospitality of John L. Perry, the Governor's Administrative Assistant, and others there, and compare notes with them.

William B. Killian, Legal Assistant, who had invited us to have cocktails at his house, had suddenly snatched an opportunity for a two-weeks leave and left town. Perry had arranged for Killian's place to be taken by William Durden, the third member of the Governor's "official family."

I was glad to have this opportunity to get acquainted with Durden, whom I had barely met before. Durden, Executive Assistant, is the senior member of the trio. He is an older man, with a mischievous twinkle in his eye and laconic in conversation -- liberal on the race issue. We had cocktails at the Durdens' and after dinner Durden insisted on our returning to sample some of the seven varieties of liqueurs which he had collected while in Puerto Rico and St. Thomas with the Governor.

The Perrys and Durdens were guests of my wife and me at dinner at the Hotel Duval. I noted a change in Perry's attitude since the anxious days of the Legislative session. I had the impression that he felt that the Governor's office had met its greatest challenge and no longer needed my help or wished to confide.

In the matter of the unfinished business of actual school desegregation I gathered that the Governor is in close touch with the situation privately, but would like for it to appear that, if desegregation comes, it will be the business of school boards only. He apparently would like for it to be regarded as the simple operation of Florida's pupil assignment law and no direct concern of the Governor as long as public order is preserved.

I remarked that Gov. Collins is praised throughout the Nation and in liberal circles in the South for his temperate approach to the segregation problem, but that there is always a qualifying -- "but he has kept Florida segregated." I said that it would be important for his record as a high-minded leader if actual compliance with the Supreme Court decision should begin in Florida before the end of his term.

September 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Ellis Arnall, Atlanta, Sept. 22, 1959

Sept. 22. Half an hour of conversation with former Gov. Ellis Arnall, who had only a little time before catching a plane and suggested that I call upon him later, with a few days notice, for a longer talk.

Some discussion of the political geography of Georgia and the "helpless" status of Atlanta. He said the rest of Georgia hated Atlanta and wouldn't worry much if public schools were closed in Atlanta only. But if schools elsewhere in Georgia were closed, the state would rise up.

His offering himself for Governor is based on a postulated schedule of Atlanta schools closing in 1960 and all schools closing in 1961 or 1962. School-closing in Atlanta would be the signal for a taxpayer's suit which would force the closing of all Georgia schools. All of this would happen unless the folly should be arrested at some point, presumably under his leadership.

He thought it was useless to try to do much until some schools were actually closed. The public would have to see it before they would believe it. People will vote for politicians who threaten to close public schools to prevent integration because they don't believe it can really happen. But when school-closing actually stares them in the face, they will turn to other leaders.

Arnall called himself, not a "moderate," but a law-and-order and a public-schools man. He had refused to support HOPE, for various reasons, including the argument that a movement of that kind would spend its force and tend to peter out before the crucial moment arrived. He said, nevertheless: "Our paths may yet converge."

Arnall objected to the Supreme Court decision on account of its language rather than the principle. He said its wording invited criticism and defiance.

He said Talmadge and Vandiver ("a nice fellow"), especially Talmadge, knew that Georgia would have to adjust eventually -- and that "closing schools would elect Arnall."

Benjamin Muse

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

November 12, 1959

MEMORANDUM

New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, November 5-6, 1959

My visit to New Orleans was, with one exception, an extremely happy one in the cordiality of the people whom I met and their willingness, or eagerness, to discuss the school desegregation problem with me. The exception is related in this memorandum.

Without previous introduction, but by appointment made by telephone, I called upon Sumter D. Marks, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the New Orleans Area, Thursday afternoon, November 5. Mr. Marks, a kindly, courteous gentleman was gracious and cordial. I told him that I was on an assignment from the Southern Regional Council to talk with leaders in communities facing public school desegregation and try to furnish helpful information.

He seemed keenly interested when I talked a few minutes about the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce and the attitude of business leaders in Virginia and elsewhere. He said:

"This is not a matter for 20 minutes of conversation between you and me. We could talk about it for several hours, and several more people ought to be in on it."

He said he would like to arrange a conference, which would include the man who is to succeed him next month as Chamber president, Henry Walther, and the executive vice-president, William Riggs, (a retired admiral). I said that I would hold Friday afternoon free, and Mr. Marks said he would call me Friday morning.

About noon Friday Mr. Marks told me over the phone that a conference had been arranged for two o'clock at the Chamber of Commerce, and that he, Walther and Riggs would be present.

Arriving at the Chamber of Commerce a little before two, I began talking with Admiral Riggs, in whose office the conference was scheduled to be held.

Mr. Marks arrived a few minutes later. Mr. Walther did not arrive before my departure at 2:45.

Riggs was what I might call smilingly hostile throughout the interview, but made, nevertheless, some possibly significant comments.

He indicated some pride in the fact that New Orleans had taken the desegregation of certain public facilities without serious disturbance.

"We're doing pretty well here, aren't we?" -- he asked.

However, he asked repeatedly:

"What do you want? What do you want us to do? What is your business here?" I tried again and again to describe the nature of my assignment, but without any apparent effect.

Riggs said the Chamber of Commerce took no part in the desegregation controversy. He didn't want information. "We know what's happening in other places. We read all the reports."

He said, however: "I have my own opinion," and, in further remarks left no doubt as to what his opinion was. He referred in this connection to the "mess" in New York and Washington.

When I remarked that New York schools had been integrated for 50 years and attempted to correct his erroneous impressions of the Washington situation, he became more hostile.

Nevertheless, I gained the impression that Riggs recognizes eventual school desegregation as inevitable and that, along with most of the Chamber, he wants it to be as little and as late as possible, but he wants to see it take place in New Orleans without disorder and without school-closing when it comes.

Both Riggs and Marks answered several questions very helpfully. There was no private school "movement" in New Orleans, and no talk of one, although several private schools had opened recently, hoping to capitalize on "race mixing" fears.

I got in a word here about the demonstrated impracticability of private schools as a substitute for public schools on a large scale, and both Riggs and Marks concurred in this.

I also got from both of these gentlemen a confirmation of the estimate I have had from other reliable sources that "90 per cent" of the Chamber members would oppose closing schools to escape desegregation. However, they both said: "We're not going to do anything unless the situation gets critical."

Riggs dominated the conversation. He asked more insistently what my business was and why I was taking up their time. I felt increasingly uncomfortable, but I hesitated to leave before the fourth prospective conferee (Walther) should arrive.

Finally, Mr. Sumter seemed to join Riggs in some kind of vague suspicion. Riggs said: "Here he's taken 45 minutes of our time, and hasn't told us yet what his purpose is or what he's doing."

Mr. Sumter said: "Maybe he's holding something back from us."

Here I said that I hoped Mr. Walther would not be disappointed and took my leave.

Mr. Marks was very courteous at this point, though somewhat embarrassed. He hoped I wouldn't think they had been rude. He said Mr. Walther apparently had not yet been able to get away from another meeting. But he made no effort to detain me.

The conference had not been requested, or suggested, by me.

Obviously the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce has no committee charged with study of the possible effects of school trouble upon public order and the city's economy. Nevertheless, I am told that many individual members are quietly alert to the situation and that there are few extremists among responsible business men. The business community as a whole will be a powerful element of stability.

Benjamin Muse

November 16, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Lester Kabacoff -- Judge J. Skelly Wright, Nov. 2-6, 1959

I was recommended to Lester Kabacoff by Philip Stern, of Arlington. Kabacoff occupies the offices of the late Edgar Stern in the American Bank Building and has general charge of the family's legal affairs. I am told by a friend of the Sterns that Kabacoff was "like an adopted son" to the senior Sterns.

He was most cordial and helpful during my visit to New Orleans. He mentioned Alexander and Mitchell and said the Southern Regional Council and the Sterns were "old friends."

Kabacoff invited me to lunch Tuesday, November 3, and he later invited Judge J. Skelly Wright, of whom he is an intimate friend, to join us. Kabacoff asked me to come early for a talk first in his office.

In about an hour's talk we went over salient points in the New Orleans situation, and he placed at my disposal for research a series of public opinion sampling surveys made by the Belden Associates, of Dallas, Texas, which are the property of the Sterns. These surveys contained very detailed samplings of opinion both on the current political campaign and on the desegregation question. He gave me a copy of the latest volume (early October survey). He said the information was confidential but that almost any item could be published, provided his approval is obtained in each case.

Some interesting items from Belden polls in August:

18% approve of Long's performance as Governor; 68% disapprove; 14% no opinion -- statewide.

Also statewide: Would you like to see someone elected who would handle the desegregation problem like Orval Faubus?

Yes, 36%; No, 43%, undecided, 14%.

26% in the state, 21% in New Orleans, would close public schools if necessary, to avoid integration.

The October survey shows Morrison leading Davis in the first primary, with a slight edge indicated for Davis in the run-off.

Question 12 of the October survey, and the answers are quoted in full below:

"As you know, the United States Supreme Court has ruled that all children, no matter what their race, have equal rights to go to the same public schools. Suppose you were on the school board here, and they asked you to give your frank opinion. Which of the four statements on this card (Card D) comes closest to the way you feel about it?"

	Only Orleans	S-East	S-West	North	State-Wide
Keep the races separate even if I have to disobey the law..	24%	23%	13%	22%	20%
Find a way to keep the races separate by getting around the law.....	39	46	48	60	50
Mix the races gradually, wherever there is least opposition.....	15	10	23	7	13
Obey the law even if I have to let all races go to the same schools immediately.	17	15	6	3	10
(Pro-segregation, but not in accord with any of the above views)	-	1	1	2	1
No Opinion.....	5	5	2	6	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Judge Wright particularly asked that the luncheon conversation be "off the record." He manifested a broad interest in the desegregation problem apart from the purely legal aspect, and earnest concern for the peace and welfare of Orleans Parish.

He was interested in political and other developments in Virginia, including especially Judge Hoffman's recent decisions in Norfolk, also in more recent Little Rock story.

We discussed the grade-by-grade plan, which he has suggested to the Orleans Parish School Board. He also remarked that general desegregation would probably lower educational standards and thought this had happened in Washington. I called attention to authoritative reports which showed that standards had not been lowered in Washington.

(At Judge Wright's request, I later sent him a copy of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation" and a copy of our Report No. L-6 on the Washington public schools.)

Information gained in later conversations with Kabacoff is reflected in my New Orleans Survey.

Benjamin Muse

November 17, 1959

MEMORANDUM

New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 3, 1959

George W. Healy, Jr., Editor -- Harold P. McCall, Associate Editor

I found Editor Healy suffering from laryngitis to such an extent that he could not speak at all. He wrote a note saying he would be glad to see me if I would "do all the talking." However, he interjected three or four notes which revealed a feeling of bitter resentment of the Supreme Court decision. One of his notes read:

"We don't want either another Little Rock or compulsion by the Federal Government."

(Healy is a native of Natchez, Mississippi.)

He was entirely cordial to me, but after 20 minutes he observed that this wasn't a very satisfactory way to exchange views and asked me to continue the conversation with Associate Editor McCall.

Mr. McCall, an older man, was very friendly and talkative. He objected to desegregation from no dislike of Negroes. He said talk of "race hatred" was foolish. He didn't know of any such thing. However, he believed in preserving racial integrity. The whole objection boiled down to a matter of interracial marriage. I told him of the record of only one case of interracial marriage in four years of school integration in Washington. He feared, nevertheless, that it would come to "racial amalgamation."

Yet McCall realized that desegregation was inevitable. He said it would not be too difficult, if effected gradually in New Orleans, and later in other urban areas of Louisiana.

It could be "worked out", if the Federal courts are considerate." Judge Wright had been so thus far.

He would hate to see it attempted in the forseeable future in the rural areas of North Louisiana, but in some sections of New Orleans, where many races are already closely intermingled, little attention would be paid to the admission of a few Negro children to white schools.

Benjamin Muse

November 18, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Msgr. Henry C. Bezou, Superintendent of Catholic Parochial Schools, New Orleans, November 3, 1959

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel, with whom I requested an appointment referred me to Msgr. Henry C. Bezou, the archdiocesan superintendent of schools.

Msgr. Bezou, whom I took to be a man in his late sixties (the Archbishop is 82) spoke very deliberately and with grave dignity. He remarked that he understood our conversation would be off the record.

Referring to the Archbishop's announcement regarding the desegregation of parochial schools, he said the Archbishop is tempering his zeal for Christian truth and justice "with prudence."

He was elated over the interracial harmony displayed at the Holy Name Society convention (reported on in my New Orleans Survey). He said that a disproportionate number of Negroes had participated, "because they knew they would be welcome." He said he had rarely seen a "more devout and orderly crowd."

He wished "that Rainach could have seen that parade!" Incidentally, he remarked that Rainach was getting undue publicity in the press. The press gives daily publicity to the five leading candidates for Governor and ignores the other six. He wished the press would ignore seven!

I did not ask him when desegregation of the parochial schools would begin, and I did not get the impression that a firm decision had been reached. He said a committee of both clergy and laymen had the matter under constant study. In answer to a question he said they had not finally decided whether desegregation would be grade-by-grade or otherwise. (He had a copy of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation.")

He said his problem would be easier in one respect than that of the public schools, since most parochial high schools are either for girls or for boys exclusively.

He wondered how a lowering of standards could be avoided when the races were mixed on a large scale and was under the impression they had been lowered in Washington, D.C. I told him this was not the case (and later sent him our L-Report on the subject).

He said that integration of the parochial schools would not be a sweeping thing. There would be no rush of Negro pupils to attend white schools and they would not be required to leave Negro schools. There would be far fewer Negro applicants for enrollment in mixed schools than is widely imagined. Some Negro schools would probably remain Negro schools indefinitely.

Benjamin Muse

October 16, 1960

MEMORANDUM

New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Lafayette, La.

October 9-14, 1960

My principal purpose in flying to New Orleans was to talk with Monsignor Henry C. Bozou, the archdiocesan superintendent of schools, administrator of the 50,000-pupil system of Catholic parochial schools. I also visited Lester E. Kabacoff, the Stern family "executive assistant", and Dr. Albert Dent, president of Dillard U. and SRC vice-president. In Baton Rouge I called on former (until this year) State Senator J. D. DeBlieux and Chris Fraser, the Governor's administrative assistant. I went on to Lafayette on a pressing invitation from Father Alexander O. Segur, of our SRC executive committee, and took my plane home from there.

The New Orleans situation had reached a critical and fast-moving stage which tended to rule out general discussion and made strategy the whole concern of most of the busy principals in the drama. A burst of developments occurred during the few days of my visit.

It was announced Sunday, October 9, that 135 Negro children had applied for admission to the first grade of New Orleans white schools. Monday evening the school board met and voted to apply the Louisiana pupil assignment law (which has not been invalidated.) On Wednesday Superintendent James F. Redman announced that all integrated first grade classes would be segregated according to sex. On the other hand an organization called the White Education Association launched a fund drive to establish a 12-grade private school to escape integration.

A petition was being circulated for removal of the four (out of five) school board members who have accepted the desegregation ruling. This has now taken the form of a demand for such action by a special session of the legislature. Three extreme segregationists announced their candidacies for the school board, challenging Matthew R. Southerland, one of the "moderate" members who is running for reelection November 8.

The pressure on Governor Jimmie H. Davis to call a special session is increasing and the principal objective of Kabacoff and his friends during my stay in New Orleans was to bring contrary pressure to bear. Efforts were being made to have a power structure delegation from New Orleans call upon the Governor to urge that no special session be called. It is significant that John F. Tims, president of the company which publishes the two newspapers, is working energetically with Kabacoff in this endeavor. (The press is now editorially helpful.) Cooperating also, as I learned from phone conversations in my presence, was Robert A. Ainsworth, president pro-tem of the Senate.

Incidentally both Kabacoff and Dent wished me to convey an expression of appreciation for the help of the SRC in this crisis, which, they said, had been valuable and effective. Kabacoff says he is working all hours on this

school problem (and needs a rest). He also finds time to strike a few blows for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, says Kennedy will carry Louisiana handsomely. A Belden Associates poll showed sentiment running 52 for Kennedy to 28 for Nixon and about 16 for the state rights ticket.

Meanwhile, New Orleans was shocked to learn of a serious accident suffered Sunday by Joseph Francis Rummell, Archbishop of New Orleans. The archbishop, who was within five days of his 84th. birthday, stumbled over a curbstone and fell on a cement pavement while leaving a dedication ceremony in Baton Rouge. He suffered severe leg and other injuries. Although subsequent daily press bulletins reported the archbishop "resting well," Msgr. Bezou told me his condition was more serious than was generally supposed. It would be six months or longer before he could walk and many months before he would "be himself again."

It is evident to all liberal observers that a beginning of desegregation in the parochial schools would tend to ease the problem in the public schools and improve the atmosphere generally. Kabacoff and Dent, for instance, felt very strongly about this. (The school population of Orleans Parish is roughly; 43,000 white and 52,000 Negroes in public schools; 40,000 white and 10,000 Negroes in Catholic parochial schools.)

When I called upon Msgr. Bezou we talked first about the accident of the archbishop and his condition. I observed that the archbishop's tragic disability must have thrown great responsibilities upon his assistants. The monsignor agreed with some feeling that this was the case.

Msgr. Bezou, however, is a rather gruff old administrator with little warmth of personality. He launched into a lengthy review of progress in eliminating race discrimination in the archdiocese of New Orleans -- the integration of Catholic conventions, societies, parades, seminaries, choirs, etc. Some priests were preaching interracial brotherhood with notable courage. The pastor of the church attended by Attorney General Jack P. F. Gremillion had deplored from the pulpit the attorney general's recent performance in a federal court with the attorney general present in his congregation. (Gremillion took it calmly.)

It was with some difficulty that I brought the monsignor around to the burning question of the integration of parochial schools. The archbishop, he said, had labored steadily for five years to prepare for this step. But prudence had to be employed; one evil had to be weighed against another. Few realized the magnitude of the economic problem of maintaining this vast system of parochial schools. Until a recent court order parochial schools had faced the loss of accreditation and certain state support in the form of school lunches, etc., in the event of integration. A withdrawal of tuition-paying white pupils and the alienation of some Catholic donors would be dangerous to the system's precarious finances. All this in addition to other possibilities of disruption and disorder.

I remarked that public school administrators, under court orders, had faced equal and greater risks in some districts but had gone right on. Delay by the archdiocese now would tend to strengthen the argument that school desegregation is not a moral issue but a case of judicial "tyranny." Whatever the difficulties, the Christian impulse should move ahead of legal compulsion.

Then, after a pause, I was rather startled when the monsignor said: "I agree with you, Mr. Muse. I was on my way to see the archbishop to ask his permission to move now, when the accident occurred!"

He gave me a little picture of distress and confusion in the archdiocesan hierarchy. The vicar general was technically next in authority. But anything like superceding the venerable archbishop was unthinkable. And in his present condition, how could he be burdened with this dreadful question?

I went on, with vigor unbecoming a layman, to stress the overriding importance of taking the Christian step now. If the archdiocese should fail in this crisis, I said it would be a source of "mortification" to Catholics throughout the nation. Many priests, and many laymen in New Orleans would "blush."

Monsignor Bezou said only, in apparent spiritual pain, "What you say is true."

In Baton Rouge, at the suggestion of Father Segur, I called upon former State Senator J. D. DeBlieux (about 40) appeared to be a dedicated liberal on the race question, and was eager to talk. I mainly listened. It was heart-warming, if somewhat redundant, to hear him review the race problem in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and the South. It was remarkable, however, to find a man with such views in Louisiana politics. He was only narrowly defeated in the last election -- by some 700 votes. He polled 26,000 out of 52,000-plus votes cast. He thinks it was perhaps fortunate that he escaped a frustrating and embarrassing experience in the present legislature. Expects to run again next time. (He Baton Rouge was used as Virginia organization for Negro Citizens)

DeBlieux made an appointment for me by telephone with Chris Fraser, the Governor's administrative assistant. But he warned me that "they haven't any love for me at the capitol -- no love for people like us."

An hour spent in Governor Davis' crowded reception room the next morning was a perhaps fruitless, but not a boring experience. Among other concerns of the Governor, the joint committee on segregation was in session and Gov. Davis joined that group for half an hour. He left for the day before I got in to see Chris Fraser. The latter was affable and courteous and apparently a man of more depth than I expected. I remarked that Virginia had tried every conceivable plan of resistance and found that it would not work. School desegregation was inevitable. The problem was merely one of adjusting to it, politically and otherwise. I realized how difficult the problem was. I said the Governor had no doubt felt it necessary to fight integration to the last ditch, but after the last ditch has been reached, another course had to be followed. I noted that more school integration had taken place in the South at the opening of this school term than ever before, and that thus far there had not been one breach of public order.

Fraser was also impressed by this, and agreed that the South was moving "just a little" toward acceptance of the ruling. "It will take time," he said.

I told the Virginia story briefly and left with him a copy of Gov. Almond's "capitulation" speech of January 28, 1959. He seemed really interested in this, and thanked me. "The Governor may be able to use some of it," he said.

I advised above all against the Governor's calling a special session of the legislature. The Governor would have to resist a lot of pressure, but a special session now could do no good from any point of view, and could cause embarrassment and grief for all concerned, including the Governor. I urged repeatedly that the Governor "sit this out."

Fraser replied twice: "You can be sure the Governor is not going to do anything rash."

On my leaving, Fraser invited me to come to see him again -- whenever I should return to Baton Rouge -- an invitation on which I may be able to gracefully follow through on another trip to those parts.

As it happened I met Gov. Davis, quite insignificantly the same evening. When I arrived in Lafayette, Father Segur rushed me off immediately to an elaborate dinner to which he had secured an informal invitation for me. The dinner was in celebration of the elevation of the "institute" to the status of a "university." Father Segur is the chaplain in charge of the Catholic Center in the predominantly Catholic University of Southwestern Louisiana, and he offered the invocation. Governor Davis delivered the principal address (dull written text and incredibly crude ad lib,) and Lt. Gov. C. C. Aycock also spoke. A score of other legislators, officials and politicians present were asked to stand and be recognized. Little or no opportunity for conversation on my part, but an interesting glimpse of some of the political confraternity. I shook hands and exchanged amenities with Governor Davis. However, he insisted on taking me for a USL professor!

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

COPY

April 27, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Parochial School Desegregation, New Orleans

April 1-2, 1962

I visited New Orleans at the request of Henry Cabirac, executive director of the Catholic Council on Human Relations. While enroute to New Orleans by auto on a southern tour, I learned of the announcement of the decision of Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel March 27 that all parochial schools would be desegregated next September. I arrived Sunday evening, March 31, and spent Monday and Tuesday in consultation with various individuals and groups.

Cabirac called a meeting for Monday evening of the CCHR public relations committee, which is the archbishop's principle group of lay advisors in this crisis, and which included also Msgr. Charles Plauché, chancellor, and Rev. Elmo L. Romagosa, director of information, of the archdiocese, C. Ellis Henican, of the law firm of Henican, James and Cleveland, CCHR chairman and a member of the committee, and John P. Nelson, Jr., prominent lawyer and CCHR vice-chairman, are particularly active and dedicated foes of segregation.

In the three-hour conference we discussed many problems involved in the desegregation move. Details of our discussion at that stage of a fast-moving situation, or of my part in it, are of little interest now. I may report, however, that I urged every effort to assure that some Negroes would apply for admission to every white school. Cabirac had planned some lay work to this end, but Msgr. Plauché said that school teachers themselves would attend to this; some unsuitable Negro youths might also be deterred in private counselling. He agreed in the desirability of having desegregation spread as widely as possible. No encouragement, however, would be given to Negro enrollment in several white schools in districts where no Negro Catholics reside -- or in the small parish of Plaquemines. In Plaquemines, which is completely subject to domination and intimidation by the Leander Perez machine, no one expected any parochial school desegregation to take place.

Our group was pleased, or relieved, at the initial reaction to the archbishop's announcement. Msgr. Plauché described the crowded meeting of the archdiocesan clergy at

which the announcement was made. He said the archbishop received a standing ovation. Although there were a few noisy dissenters, there were many evidences of loyal support on the part of the Catholic community. In spite of the call of Pérez and others for a boycott of "the fat-bellied priests," Msgr. Plauché said that from all reports coming to him attendance -- and collections -- at Catholic churches Sunday were normal. The absence of fulminations on the part of politicians was encouraging. Each of the two candidates for Mayor of New Orleans said this was a "private affair" of the Catholic Church.

The most conspicuous trouble-makers were Mrs. B. J. Gaillot, Jr., president of Save Our Nation, Inc., Leander H. Pérez, Emile Wagner and Jackson G. Ricau, director of the Southwest Louisiana Citizens Council -- all four of whom had been sent "letters of admonition" by the archbishop, and all but Wagner have since been excommunicated. These dissenters were playing a badly-worn record, and it was felt that Mrs. Gaillot's melodrama might be actually helpful locally in identifying the opposition with this obvious fanatic. State Rep. Rodney Buras took part in a Citizens Council meeting of protest and was also sent a "letter of admonition," but he recanted after an interview with Archbishop Rummel. After his visit to the archbishop, Buras issued this interesting statement:

"I am now, as I have been in the past, emphatically opposed to integration by race of all schools.

"Even though bills introduced against integration of public schools have been found unconstitutional, I am still opposed to the decision although I must recognize the courts in their authority.

"I am and have been opposed to the integration of all private sectarian schools and will continue, as in the case of public schools, to be in opposition to their integration. However, as a member of the Roman Catholic church I must abide by its laws and decisions pertaining to the diocese in which I live."

Along with Cabirac I lunched one day with Al Hero of the World Peace Foundation, and the next with Emile Colmar, States-Item reporter and Louisiana correspondent of the Southern School News. (Hero spent the entire time in giving us side-lights on the fabulous Leander Pérez, who is his next door neighbor.) I also called on the editors of both the Times-Picayune and the States-Item.

George Healy called my attention to the objective handling of the initial announcement by the Times-Picayune. Carl Corbin had followed in the States-Item with a really fine editorial calling for calm acceptance of this move by the Catholic parochial schools. In both of these newspapers, which

voiced so much editorial defiance before 1960, I found an apparent desire to be helpful now. Corbin, who spoke very freely in his conversation with me, was insistent on the confidential nature of his remarks and asked that no opinion be attributed to him.

I may note several observations which reflect the views of the various newspaper men with whom I talked. The parochial school integration was expected to be effected without any serious public disorder. Reprisals by the state legislature in cutting off state aid in the matter of school lunches, textbooks, transportation, etc., was considered improbable. Politicians would risk losing more votes than they would gain by such action. Mrs. Caillot was considered a joke. Healy told me a very good story about this. One day a group of women picketed City Hall in protest against a threatened ordinance regulating cats and found themselves in a big photo on the front page of the States-Item. The same afternoon Mrs. Caillot's platoon picketed the Archbishop's office and neither paper carried their picture. Mrs. Caillot phoned the editors in great indignation, asking if cats were more important than children!

Newspaper men appeared to feel that the visit of President Kennedy to New Orleans May 4 might precipitate greater public disorder than school integration in September. The President is scheduled to deliver a major foreign trade address at the new Nashville Ave. warf and participate in "McDonogh Day" ceremonies at City Hall. (John McDonogh was a famous public school benefactor.) The Citizens Council is said to be planning hostile demonstrations.

The archdiocese of New Orleans embraces the civil parishes of Orleans, Jefferson, St. Bernard, Plaquemines, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, Lafourche, Terrebonne, St. Tammany, and Washington and a part of St. Mary. Some 527,400 of the total population of 1,142,967 are Catholics. Current parochial school enrollment is 75,707, 64,842 white and 10,865 Negro pupils, in 116 elementary schools and 37 high schools.

Benjamin Muse

MEMORANDUM February 11, 1961

William L. Higgs
707 N. Congress Street
Jackson, Mississippi
FI 3-4133

Enthusiastic young lawyer (25) who is out to reform Mississippi. Was chairman of Mississippi Citizens for Kennedy and Johnson.

Ran for Congress in Democratic primary against John Bell Williams. Friend of Harris Wofford, in constant touch with Civil Rights Division of Justice Department and Civil Rights Commission. Saw Wofford 5 days ago, was on the phone with CRD today.

Associated with Hazel Brannon Smith and writes column for liberal North Jackson Reporter and Lexington Advertiser, which she publishes. These papers carry cartoons by Ronnie Shaffer, a Higgs buddy even younger looking than he, whom I met. The cartoons are broadly liberal with only oblique references to the race problem. Began circularizing this week in effort to sell the cartoons to other Mississippi newspapers.

Advises with Negro leaders. Has drawn up a form on which to report all manner of violations of civil rights. He went over this with the CRD. (Have a copy. This whole matter is strictly confidential.) His copies are models to be copied by various Negroes and widely distributed. (Tougaloo College is making 2,000 copies.)

His big undertaking is the case against the Mississippi subsidy to the Citizens Council. He thinks this case, with the things which it will reveal, can go far toward discrediting the Citizens Councils both in Mississippi and throughout the South. He is fitting out special offices for the job, three rooms in his home. His proud father and his pal Ronnie Shaffer were busy with hammer and saw, putting in shelves. Higgs plans to assemble all manner of evidence and exhibits. Has purchased thermofax and other equipment. Hopes he will get some money from somewhere.

Higgs is co-plaintiff. Robert L. J. Smith, a Negro, has put $600 on the line. Tougaloo College professors have contributed $300. Other donations thus far have brought his total stake to approximately $1,150. For a long-drawn litigation, which he expects, he may need $5,000.

Believes federal district judges and federal D.A.s are a major obstacle to the prosecution of civil rights violations in Mississippi. D.As. will make no move in this area.

Borrowed a copy of our "Federal Executive" from Harris Wofford while in Washington. Delivered a lecture on it to a Tougaloo College group.

Benjamin Muse

March 13, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversations with Mississippians

February 5-18, 1961

James P. Coleman, former governor, at Ackerman, February 18: Governor Coleman was busy fitting out his new library in a newly constructed one-story building behind his house. We sat on a workbench and had a very informal talk. Present also was one Sam Willheight, political associate and former state official, whom Coleman said was completely "in his confidence."

We discussed various angles of politics in Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi and the United States. Governor Coleman is an enthusiastic Kennedy man and wholeheartedly liberal. For instance, he would like to see a minimum wage law in Mississippi, which would raise the general wage scale and put more money in circulation.

Governor Coleman would certainly not say that he favors school desegregation, and I would not ask him to make such a politically dangerous assertion. But he implies all along that desegregation is inevitable and that it would not be as bad as many Mississippians fear. He was very much interested in hearing how integration was working out in Virginia. He had some jokes about Senator Byrd, for whom he has no love.

He attacks the prevailing attitude indirectly as a part of a backward-looking complex and wants Mississippi to face the present and the future. He is eloquent in recalling the Civil War and Reconstruction, denouncing the Carpetbaggers, etc., but he insists that "we were licked," and all that is over. Mississippi should now get in the Union and go forward. He points out that Mississippi in 1860 had the fifth highest per capita income of any state in the Union; now it is at the bottom. He wants to see Mississippi "get going again."

Governor Coleman wants to be elected governor again in 1963. He has to have an effective line of talk, and that is probably as effective as any. He cannot meet the desegregation issue head-on; he has to orate and even "get mad" over something else.

Negatively, he will attack Ross Barnett, for whom he has great contempt. Barnett, by the way, is getting the state into financial difficulty, among other failings.

However, Coleman boasts that when he ran for governor in 1955, in spite of the anti-Supreme Court furor, he kept the race issue out of the campaign, and was elected by the biggest majority in the history of Mississippi.

Coleman's keen interest in the economic penalties of school trouble is another evidence of his intention to strive for orderly adjustment to school desegregation. He was following this phase closely in New Orleans and Little Rock. Willheight volunteered the information that Little Rock was now on the point of getting its first new industry since 1957.

While avoiding liberal statements of his own on the race issue, he took no exception ~~with~~ my remarks on the desegregation problem.

Coleman is a very attractive and able man. I am not sure that I would want to hear him express more liberal views on the race issue, because the important thing for the cause of tolerance and sanity now is for him to be elected governor of Mississippi again.

I may add that my liberal contacts in Mississippi invariably expressed a high opinion of Coleman.

J. Oliver Emmerich, editor of the Jackson State Times and also of the Enterprise-Journal at McComb, where he lives. His attempt to launch a moderate movement is the more important because of his identification with the business community and the power structure, including members of the Citizens Council, and his desire to hold the friendship of these elements. His cautious, somewhat devious approach, to the desegregation question is better understood when this -- and the general Mississippi climate -- are borne in mind. He is a forceful, dynamic person, and is much in demand as a public speaker.

Additional significance attaches to Emmerich's position because of the unusual background and character of the State Times. This paper was established five years ago by a large group which objected to the Hederman family monopoly resulting from the acquisition of the Daily News by the Clarion Ledger. The State Times advertises itself as the paper "owned by the people", and carries 86 names daily at the top of its editorial column.

Twenty-one of these are officers and staff, and 65 are listed as "Board of Directors and Advisory Board." Presumably Emmerich's views must be shared to some extent by this large number of substantial citizens.

Paul Tiblier is executive editor of the State Times. I called first upon Tiblier. (February 16 a.m.) He seized with alacrity upon my offer of information and help. He was particularly interested in the idea of bringing Little Rock School Board Chairman Everett Tucker and Little Rock Chamber of Commerce Executive Vice President Ridgway to tell groups in Mississippi about the Little Rock experience.

Tiblier felt that it was most important that Emmerich and I should get together, but he explained that Emmerich was always "on the go." Now in Macomb, he had engagements to speak to a state convention of young business men in Jackson that evening and to a breakfast meeting the next morning in Macomb. He invited me to attend the dinner meeting in Jackson, but, upon further consideration, we agreed that the contingent of Citizens Council brethren expected might cause me some embarrassment. I prepared to drive to Macomb the next day, and Tiblier promised to phone me further. After several phone calls during the afternoon, it was agreed that Tiblier and Emmerich would come to see me at my motel at 9 p.m. -- which they did.

I give these details to show the eagerness of these gentlemen to do something about the Mississippi situation and to get possible help from me. I only hope that Emmerich's extraordinary energy and impulsiveness may not lead to early embarrassment and discouragement. He wanted to get things moving at once. Tiblier was to set up an appointment for him with the president of the chamber of commerce for "next wednesday" -- to discuss the possibility of a visit from the Little Rock leaders. He wanted all possible information on danger of school troubles to business, also information on the harmlessness of public school integration, the impracticability of private school substitutes, etc. I gave him a complete bound file of our L-Reports. He handed it to Tiblier and said: "Go through it all and see what we can use."

Emmerich gave the impression that he was -- or wanted me to believe that he was -- completely liberal on the race question. But he wanted to work with the community and not be ostracized "like Hodding Carter." Hodding, he said, had "lost all his influence in Mississippi." He didn't want that to happen to him. Consequently, he said, somewhat apologetically, he had to "handle this thing in a special way."

(Coleman said of Emmerich that, although he was glad to see him trying to help on the race question, he was a "reactionary" in other respects. Carter said Emmerich was an old friend, who had considerable ability and might do some good.)

Emmerich said he had just attended a Federal Reserve meeting in New Orleans, where he heard an earful about the damage to business in that city -- store sales off 30 per cent, etc.

I am corresponding with Emmerich and have prepared Tucker and Ridgway for a possible invitation to visit Mississippi. I am afraid, however, that Emmerich will run into more difficulty than he anticipates in making arrangements for this at the Mississippi end.

Paul Blass, Wiggins, Miss. (February 9): Blass is a former leader of the moderate bloc in the Mississippi legislature (mentioned in "Magnolia Jungle"). He declined to run for reelection last year, he said, because he couldn't accomplish enough now to justify leaving his law practice. After an hour's conversation in his office, he took me out to lunch and further talk.

He appears to be sincere in his disapproval of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and in his preference for segregation. He believes, however, in orderly adjustment and open public schools, is bitterly opposed to Governor Barnett and the Citizens Councils and is an ardent admirer of Coleman. Thinks some school integration would be possible in Wiggins, for instance, under a different state policy. He remarked that many legislators expressed views to him privately which were very different from their public expressions.

He thinks mass Negro voting in Mississippi would be dangerous. I argued this point with him.

Blass mentioned Sam Lumkin (Tupelo), a former lieutenant governor and a former Speaker as a politician with views similar to his own. (I did not get a chance to see Lumkin.) He tried to get Governor Coleman over the phone to prepare him for my visit, but Coleman was then in Washington.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo College was of all my contacts the one who seemed to have the strongest feeling of responsibility for stimulating and uniting

liberals in Mississippi. Tougaloo, I found to be a veritable center of Mississippi liberalism. Integrated lectures, followed by integrated luncheons, were frequently held. This had been going on for so long that the authorities did nothing about it.

Dr. Ernest Borinski, sociologist and dean, was Tougaloo's intellectual powerhouse. Anti-segregation literature was lying about in his basement office, where I visited him. He seems obsessed with the race problem, which he has studied from various angles. He discusses it frequently with students and Negro visitors. A gathering of ten whites and ten Negroes meeting there last week discussed the question: "How can we establish a civilized climate in this community?" A similar discussion was planned for two weeks later. A white speaker at the last meeting said: "School integration is not in the cards for the near future. We must concentrate on Negro voting rights and desegregation of buses and some institutions of higher learning."

Borinski said there is practically no communication with Negroes in Mississippi on the official level, except through Dr. Fortenberry, supervisor of Negro education.

He said he found many people disturbed over the situation in Mississippi -- at drug stores, shopping centers and churches. A core of liberal young adults was to be found in nearly every church.

He thought an all-white movement would be more effective now in Mississippi than a bi-racial one.

Easton King, editor of the Pascagoula Chronicle Star, is a well-known liberal warhorse. We had the Kings over (Feb. 5) for dinner. Incidentally, they are ardent admirers of Coleman's. King said he was having no trouble now with the power structure, that the Citizens Council is feeble in that area.

Rev. Murray Cox, Gulfport (Feb. 6), chairman of the Mississippi advisory committee to the Civil Rights Commission, is an indomitable old gentleman and a dedicated liberal. He lost two churches as a result of his taking the CRC post, but, Citizens Council pressure having been removed, the congregations are apologetic now.

P. D. East came in for an evening at Rabbi Mantinband's. He seems discouraged, maladjusted even with his liberal friends and not to be doing very well.

Dr. Ralph Muncaster, president of William Carey Baptist College, Hattiesburg, (February 9) was exceedingly cordial, as a fellow Virginian. A silent liberal. He said, incidentally, that he knew nearly every college president in Mississippi and he believed they were all liberal at heart on the race issue.

Alton Fine, Laurel (Feb. 10): Fine, a friend of Rabbi Mantinband, is a realistic, "hardboiled" business man, who doesn't see how school integration could be accomplished anywhere in Mississippi in the foreseeable future. He said, "A definite majority of the prominent people in Laurel are members of the Citizens Council." Fine stressed the backwardness of Mississippi Negroes as a major difficulty. "The good ones move out of the state." There were no Negro leaders in Laurel, he said, with whom the white leaders could deal. He seriously urged that the best thing for race relations in Mississippi would be for us to "induce some educated, respectable Negroes to live in Mississippi."

L. A. Barry, port director, Natchez, (Feb. 13) to whom I had been directed by a member of our council, was a liberal and a realist but did not seem inclined to do anything about the matter.

John Haien, Piney Woods (Feb. 10). I had a fascinating visit with this former Chrysler Corp. executive, who is spending his retirement in the role of a Big Brother and financial benefactor at this small Negro College.

Miss Eudora Welty, novelist, invited my wife and me to lunch (Feb. 16). A gentle, retiring person, she keeps out of controversy, but is gravely concerned.

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Bishop Joseph P. Brunini and Hodding Carter are members of our Council. I had a pleasant visit with each.

Benjamin Muse

Cleared with by 11/10/61 Benjamin Hill

August 23, 1961

MEMORANDUM

Memphis

August 12-16, 1961

Persons Seen

E. William Henry, attorney, Home Federal Building, 2nd. St. and Jefferson Ave.

A. Eugene Cox, Delta Foundation, 933 Chambliss Road

Hollis F. Price, president, Le Moyne College, (first vice president MCRC) 807 Walker Ave., WH 8-6626

Edward J. Meeman, editor, Memphis Press-Scimitar, 495 Union Ave.

Miss Margaret McCullough, 858 Whitford Place, WH 6-4570

(I also heard some discussion of the Memphis problem later with liberal professors at the University of Mississippi.

I made unsuccessful efforts to see Lewis R. Donelson III, chairman of a CRC sub-committee on lunch-counter desegregation, and Lucious Burch, one of the founders of the CRC. Burch was in Europe.)

Situation in Brief

It is assumed by all with whom I talked, that there will be no school integration crisis this fall. The NAACP lawsuit, on appeal, is not expected to be heard, by the U.S. Court of Appeals, before November. Under the school board's plan approved by the district court April 14, the time limit for appeal from assignments to previous schools has expired and action can be taken only on applications for enrollment in Memphis schools for the first time. The NAACP is not encouraging any Negro enrollments under this plan.

The most serious immediate danger of public disorder is in connection with the demonstrations and pressure looking to department store lunch counter desegregation. Negotiations are in progress among merchants and with Negro leaders.

General Observations

I am hesitant to express opinions on a Memphis reconnaissance necessarily limited to two days (plus Sunday), but these observations may be submitted.

Memphis is far behind Nashville, for instance, in desegregation, but is making notable progress compared with neighboring Mississippi. Eugene Cox, well-known human relations crusader, was impressed by the progress made during the past 15 months. This included desegregation of library, art gallery, zoo, several parks, McKeller Park Docks, and buses. Integration at Memphis State University has been extended from 2 or 3 to 34 Negro students. Library rest rooms were desegregated during my visit (Aug. 14). There are two Negro members of the local Democratic Committee. Recently Negroes have been appointed to a number of minor public offices and to one office of major responsibility. There were Negro deputies in Shelby County, a Negro assistant public defender, and a Negro assistant in the county trustee's office. The appointment of a Negro assistant appraiser in the county assessor's office was announced during my visit. A really epoch-making event was the appointment of Maceo Walker, a wealthy Negro insurance company executive, as one of three members of the Memphis Transit Authority. He succeeded Edmund Orgill, a former mayor and former candidate for governor, on that body.

The impress of the old Crump regime is still felt in Memphis in many ways. One legacy is a strong Negro electorate (now about 80,000 registered voters in county and city) with a keen interest in local politics, and a group of active Negro politicians, who secure promises, or "make deals" and figure in every white politician's calculations. The Negroes operate through a "Democratic Club," and I was told that three leaders can "deliver" the Negro vote. One theory, ventured by some, is that a remnant of the subservience of the populace to City Hall under Boss Crump might prove beneficial in a race crisis. The elements most likely to stage a riot are inclined instinctively to take their "line" from City Hall and in such an event the "line" would be "Lay off."

The Citizens Council in Memphis is said to be feeble. The most important organizations concerned with race relations are: the NAACP, the Memphis Council on Human Relations and the Memphis Committee on Community Relations. The MCHR operates much like the usual unit under the state CHR and the SRC. The third body, which is more often called the Community Relations Committee, or the CRC, is a large interracial organization, with a white membership of varying attitudes, and includes a considerable representation from the city's power structure. (The editors of both newspapers are members.) The CRC's role was described as one of "mediation." It is deeply concerned now with the problem of lunch counter desegregation.

Business men speak through three groups: the chamber of commerce, Future Memphis, Inc. (100 executives of the largest corporations) and the Downtown Association. (The president of the last mentioned was described as "last-ditcher.")

Lunch Counter Desegregation

Earnest efforts are being made to solve this problem. Details were difficult to get at owing to the secrecy which surrounds the negotiations and which CRC members are urged to observe. I was told, however, that two prime difficulties were the usual one of obtaining assurances of united action, and the incidental problem of department store rest rooms.

Further notes on my visits to some individuals are given below:

E. William Henry

Henry was not well informed on race relations developments around the South, and he was not acquainted with our organization. He was, however, deeply interested in the Memphis situation and anxious to help. He might "have some part" in the lunch counter negotiations. He wished the fullest information from us. He said the mayor and other city commissioners were shrewd, opportunist politicians and segregationists but that they would probably show a sense of responsibility in the event of a threat to public order.

Hollis Price

The jovial, mundane Negro president of Le Moyne College, a keen observer of the local scene, said that he had witnessed a remarkable change in white attitudes during the past two years. "Two years ago many said 'Never,' now all the important people agree privately that segregation must go -- just a question of time."

Edward J. Meeman

Although their editorial conservatism irritates many, both Memphis newspapers have cooperated with the CRC and have treated the recent desegregation moves in a way calculated to promote public acceptance. Commercial Appeal editor Frank R. Ahlgren was described by some of my friends as a hopeless extremist. Press-Scimitar editor Meeman was called from slightly moderate to "fine."

I saw only Meeman. He began by quizzing me in detail about the SRC and my own activities, then said, "I understand. Now we can talk." A fidgety, hard-bitten elderly gentleman, he then treated me to a rapid fire discourse on Memphis politics, race relations and the policy of his newspaper. It was all intended to be helpful and from a liberal point of view as far as the race issue is concerned.

Mayor Henry Loeb came into office as a die-hard segregationist, strongly opposed by the Negroes. Some liberals

ibed him to me as stupid and unscrupulous. On the other
Dean Farley at the University of Mississippi thought
had shown great ability in steering Memphis through a
ies of steps of race relations progress. Editor Meeman
said Loeb "had shown himself a statesman." Meeman was ob-
viously a friend and ally of Loeb and had worked closely
with him. He dealt at length with the sensational develop-
ments which culminated in the appointment of Walker to the
MTA. The furor started when the city commission, under
pressure from misguided Negro groups -- as Meeman put it --
voted 4 to 1 to appoint A. W. Willis, NAACP counsel, to the
post. Mayor Loeb vetoed this and secured the appointment
of a much better qualified and less controversial representa-
tive of the Negro community. Then in order to make everybody
happy over the outcome the Press-Scimitar had Clark Porteous
(a liberal staffer about whom I had heard from Johnny Pop-
man) do a 6-column, page-deep write-up, streamlined, "Getting
Acquainted with A. Maceo Walker," with appropriate photos,
somewhat like the write-up of a newly elected governor.
Meeman, insisting that I see it, sent for a copy of the issue
(August 2) and gave it to me. It was very well done, and
must have helped to make white citizens agreeable and Negroes
proud.

Benjamin Muse

Copies: Marshall Berger

Please return by 11/10/61 to
Dwyane Ward

August 23, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM

University of Mississippi

August 16-17, 1961

Thanks to the dynamic hospitality of Jim Silver, my visit to "Old Miss" was a saturation operation; I left feeling like a UM alumnus. I met a number of faculty members casually and talked at varying length with the following:

Dr. John Davis Williams, chancellor

Hugh H. Clegg, assistant to the chancellor and director of development

Dr. Robert Joseph Farley, dean of the law school

Dr. Charles Nolan Fortenberry, dean of the graduate school and chairman, political science department

Dr. Russell Hunter Barrett, associate professor of political science

William Patrick Murphy, professor of law

Dr. James Wesley Silver, professor of history

Conclusions in Brief

No integration crisis is expected at "Old Miss" in September or during the first semester. In the case of Negro applicant James H. Meredith, the court has set September 5 for briefs for the state and allowed ten additional days for plaintiff's answering brief. Registration begins September 20 and classes, September 22. Judge Sidney C. Mize said that his ruling will apply "to the next ensuing session," but appeal by one side or the other is regarded as a foregone conclusion. No newspaper men are to be seen at "Old Miss," in contrast to the situation in earlier crises, when swarms of these descended upon the University.

When integration finally comes to "Old Miss," the University -- and the town of Oxford -- appear to be well prepared to take it without serious disorder. Violence is improbable unless it

should be from visiting "caravans". With the present state emphasis on law and order these would probably be discouraged or prevented.

A greater danger of violence in Mississippi in the near future would be in connection with a possible ICC requirement for the desegregation of buses and bus stations. The consensus of people with whom I talked was that even this crisis can be surmounted without great disturbance if initial bus integration is effected with planned discretion on the part of the Negroes.

The Meredith Case

The hearings in progress in the Meredith case were the subject of avid discussion among my friends on the campus.

In the course of a long evening's bullfest among a liberal group (all the contacts listed except the chancellor and his assistant) shock was expressed in varying degrees at the testimony of Registrar Robert P. Ellis who testified that race had not been taken into consideration in denying Meredith's application, that he had no instructions to deal with Negro applications differently from others and there were no regulations to that effect; but that Meredith had been found unqualified for various reasons other than race.

Silver said Ellis was a liar and thought he should be charged with perjury. Others thought Meredith's attorney should have had Chancellor Williams and others testify. Dean Farley said there was in fact a regulation not aimed at Negroes originally, but at Japanese at the end of World War II, requiring that applications from persons not of the Caucasian race be referred to higher authority. It had been observed subsequently in the case of Chinese, and other Orientals, who had generally been accepted with approval of chancellor and trustees.

Clegg, assistant to the chancellor, was described to me by Silver as a shrewd segregationist but an extremely able man and the No. 2 power on the campus. He is the man in closest touch with the Meredith case from the University end. Clegg said to me in a conference the next day that Ellis' testimony was correct. He said that the University was forthright in its position that it had not discriminated against Negroes at any time because of race. It simply happened that no qualified American Negro had ever applied for admission. He went into some detail in pointing out Meredith's shortcomings. The Negro was erratic in filling out his application and in his testimony in court. He said that Meredith's lack of educational qualifications was evident from his failure to answer many questions put to him.

At this point Silver, who was with me, asked Clegg if it were not true that half the white students could not answer the same questions correctly.

Clegg replied: "Probably they couldn't -- but they are not going to court."

The assistant to the chancellor said that it was practically certain there would be no integration crisis before next February. He did not think there would be one then. He confidently predicted that the decision in the Meredith case would run like this: the district court would enjoin all state institutions of higher learning from denying admission to any applicant on account of race, but would rule that Meredith had not met the requirements for admission to the UM.

In my interview with Dr. Williams the chancellor expressed "pride" in the fact that Registrar Ellis had been able to go into court and "tell the truth" about the policy and practice of the University. He thought there was something epoch-making about the registrar saying to a federal court -- and to press and public -- that qualified Negroes are not barred from admission to the University of Mississippi. He added -- and it is obviously in part a legal precaution -- that a search of University files, trustee's minutes, etc. would reveal nothing contrary to that statement. He was happy that the University had such a"clean record."

Clegg and several liberals also expressed the opinion that Constance Baker Motley, NAACP counsel for plaintiff, was handling the case ineptly.

The Danger of Violence at "Old Miss"

All of my informants agreed that there is little danger of violence, or serious disturbance at the UM when integration comes. There are no extremists among the faculty and many members are moderate-to-liberal on the race issue. (Only conflicting engagements prevented Hector Currie (law) and J.R. Tatum (sociology) from joining in our liberal talks.) There are no signs of protest among the students. Race relations are good and there is much moderate sentiment in the town of Oxford.

My liberal friends thought it would be wise to have some federal marshals around when the time came. Silver said he had advised Burke Marshall "one marshal." I suggested two -- to make it possible to say "marshals" in the plural. All agreed that it would have a stabilizing effect to let it get around that there were federal marshals on the campus. The Mississippi "red necks" had a lot of respect for federal marshals.

There has been some careful planning for the contingency by the remarkable Hugh Clegg, assistant to the chancellor. Clegg had been an FBI official before he came to the University.

He told me, as I had heard before, that the football squad is prepared to preserve order if need be. The three coaches like the idea and they know what to do. Clegg said the Oxford chamber of commerce also has plans for keeping the community quiet and orderly.

Chancellor Williams said he had no fears as far as the University and the local community was concerned. He felt there was little danger even of visiting "caravans." There would have been a swarm of them and "blood would have flowed," he said, if integration had been attempted two years ago. But there was a new feeling about law and order in Mississippi now.

Dr. Williams, who was in an optimistic mood, attached great importance to the pride which the public is taking since the arrival of the Freedom Riders in the demonstration that "Mississippi preserves order." Governor Barnett had received praise from near and far. Even the Citizens Councils had urged orderly behavior. He believed the public order principle had enough momentum to carry over into crises to come.

Close "Old Miss?"

John L. Kennedy is a young moderate politician who lost his seat in the legislature in the last election to an extremist opponent. I was introduced to him in an Oxford restaurant and we talked briefly. He said that, in the event of an order to admit the Negro, the governor would close the University.

Silver said later that Kennedy is not very well informed. No one on the campus with whom I talked seemed to have any serious fear of the University closing. Chancellor Williams, law school dean Farley have good relations with the governor and see him from time to time. The alumni generally would oppose the closing. The devotion of the public to the famous football team of "Old Miss" would be an important deterrent.

Violence in the Wake of an ICC Ruling?

At the session of the liberal faculty group I invited speculation as to the effect upon public order in Mississippi of bus desegregation under an ICC order. Dean Farley said: "There won't be any trouble." I said the Negroes would have to move discreetly and without fanfare. Farley said: "Of course. -- I mean if the Negroes handle it right."

All thought that state authorities would be inclined to continue their recent firmness in keeping public order.

Nevertheless, Dean Barrett thought the ICC order could produce an explosive situation. Negroes would have to proceed with extreme caution and a minimum of publicity at the

beginning. Federal marshals should be used, possibly one on each bus with the first unsegregated Negro passengers.

Chancellor Williams

In my further conversation with the chancellor he revealed a kind of master-servant racism. He thought the Negroes were "making a great mistake." Why didn't they continue to develop their own culture -- spirituals, etc. -- among themselves? Like the Irish and the Indians? (I gently demolished the Irish comparison.) He recalled a visit to the Cherokee Indian Reservation and the enthusiasm of his guide over Indian achievements. "They wanted to have as little as possible to do with palefaces."

We were unable to prolong the conversation, but he invited me to come again at a later date and talk some more.

He is a smooth diplomat, skilled in soothing extremists and defending the University and himself in an intensively segregationist milieu.

Getting Rid of Bill Murphy

During a visit in his home, law professor Murphy gave me a long account of the efforts during the past several years to secure his separation from the University. He was the one chosen for first attention in a list of ten liberal professors cited in a Citizens Council alumni manifesto two years ago. Legislature, governor, trustees, chancellor and dean had all gotten into the act as one move after another had been thwarted. Sam Farley had been Murphy's most effective champion, pointing out the damage which the law school would suffer if a professor should be dismissed because of his liberal views. The University has used every means short of dismissal. During the summer Murphy was retained on the faculty and paid his salary, but not allowed to teach. He was offered a similar arrangement for the coming semester -- compensation for not teaching. He refused, but, after a struggle succeeded in getting himself kept on the faculty roster with a year's "leave of absence." He will teach next year at the University of Missouri.

Benjamin Muse

Copies (Fleming for recum) Marshall, Wofford

September 2, 1961

MEMORANDUM

August, 1961, Activities

This is to account for my principle activities during August.

August 6-21, Southern tour by auto

August 8: I addressed the Lions Club of Cartersville, Ga. Reports of my talk in the Cartersville Daily and Weekly, Tribune News are enclosed herewith. After the luncheon I continued to Dalton, Ga., and conferred with Julius Longley, industrial consultant.

August 9: I called upon Erwin Mitchell, State Senator and former Congressman in his office at the First National Bank Building, Dalton, and spent most of the morning with this fine liberal political leader. In the afternoon I visited our good friends at the Chattanooga Times -- Martin Ochs, editor, and Johnny Popham, executive editor. I was particularly glad also to meet Charles Norman Bradley, associate editor, and a native of Mississippi. Bradley was editor of the Jackson State-Times from its first issue, February 28, 1955, but was too liberal for Jackson and left after about one year.

August 10: Proceeded to Nashville and conferred with Harland Randolph, director of the Southern Student Leadership Seminar, at which I had agreed to conduct a class in "Politics" August 11.

August 11: Conducted class in the morning at Fisk. In the afternoon I drove to the Vanderbilt-Peabody area in the hope of seeing some of our professor friends, or Will Campbell. All away. However, I fell into a conversation with Dr. W. Knox McCharen, Director of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation at Peabody, who proved to be another liberal Mississippian. He told me about successful integration at Peabody and expressed a high opinion of some of the Negro students. Suggested I visit his brother, Travis McCharen, State Dept. of Education, Jackson, Miss.

August 12: (Saturday) Proceeded to Memphis. (See my memorandum of August 23 on my Memphis visit.)

August 16: Proceeded to Oxford, Miss. (See my memorandum of August 23 on my visit to the University of Mississippi.)

August 18: Left Oxford, driving east, and, at Tupelo, Miss., called upon George McLean, publisher-executive editor of the Daily Journal, one of Mississippi's most articulate and effective moderates.

August 19: Another conference with Longley in Dalton, Ga.

August 21: Returned to Manassas, Va.

On August 24, I flew to Detroit to attend the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. My assignment was to confer, August 25, with a "by-invitation-only" group of about fifteen school administrators and other concerned prelates on parochial school desegregation. We labored all day. I may have justified my presence by a sentence which, coming from layman to clergy, had some reaction; it was used as the text for Director Matt Ahman's address to the evening assembly. When priests expressed fears of loss of communicants and financial support, I remarked that "the time may have come once more in the long history of the Church for Christians to suffer for the truth."

I stayed through the Saturday evening banquet (August 26) on my own account and returned Sunday. It was of incidental interest that all of the principals in the UAW-auto industry negotiations came to our banquet. Ford Vice-President Gossett was MC and Secretary Goldberg, a scheduled speaker. Walter Reuther and American Motors, General Motors and Chrysler vice-presidents also came. The Archbishop expressed gratification at seeing them break bread together in Christian fellowship. Fred Routh and I chatted with Reuther and expressed appreciation for AFL-CIO support of SRC.

During the week after my return to Manassas, complying a request of Matt Ahman, I prepared a paper (about 3,000 words), "The Problem of Integrating Parochial Schools in the South" and forwarded it to him. A copy of this paper is enclosed herewith.

Benjamin Muse

DRAFT

Confidential Memorandum
Mississippi, September 19 - October 12, 1961
4 pages

Moderate Leadership Resources in Mississippi

~~September, 1961~~

3 pages

A very large element -- some say, a majority, of educated Mississippians -- are silently, or privately moderate on the race issue. An unpredictable number of public officials and business leaders at a high level, now silent, will undoubtedly come forward in support of moderate policy at the showdown. Chancellor J. D. Williams of the University of Mississippi is a conspicuous public figure, on cordial terms with Governor Barnett and most of the power structure. Dr. Williams' chief concern is protection of his university, but he has exercised some moderate influence on the broader question. It is believed that Boyd Campbell, of Jackson, a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce and a man of nationwide contacts, would exert moderate influence in a crisis, but he is now silent on the issue. Campbell's firm supplies Mississippi school books, and he is closely identified with the power structure.

Some important leaders are more definitely known to close friends, or even to a wider public, to favor a moderate and constructive approach to race problems. Among politicians in this category I would name first these seven:

former Governor James P. Coleman, Ackerman;

William Forest Winter, State Tax Collector, Jackson;

Joel Blass, former state representative, Wiggins;

Rep. ~~Kenneth O. Williams~~, Pascagoula;

Rep. Joseph E. Wroten, Greenville;

State Sen. David F. Lambert, Jr., Belmont;

Associate Judge William N. Ethridge, Jr., Mississippi Supreme Court;

and Sam Lumpkin, Tupelo, former Speaker, Lieutenant

Superintendent of Public Education Jackson McWhirter Tubbs has taken a strong position against closing public schools to avoid integration.

Governor and unsuccessful candidate for governor. Cong. Frank E. Smith is considered a moderate, but apparently does not consider the Mississippi race problem a part of his responsibilities.

At the next level either of influence or of dedication to the moderate cause ~~I would probably be~~ able, upon further exploration, perhaps ~~to list~~ a score of politicians. [illegible]

One of these, whom I visited, would be John L. Kennedy, Holly Springs, a young former representative and close friend of Lumpkin and Blass, reputedly liberal, but of more limited influence and not now interested in returning to the political arena. Kennedy said he knew ~~felt confident~~ of the moderate leaning of the following incumbent legislators:

~~Other~~ [illegible]

State Sen. James R. Christenberry, Rolling Fork;

State Sen. John Clark Love, Kosciusco;

State Sen. Gillespie V. Montgomery, Meridian;

Rep. James N. Bailey, Jr.; Coffeeville;

Rep. Edgar Lee Boteler, Jr., Grenada;

Rep. Philip D. Bryant, Oxford;

Rep. William C. Butler, Eupora;

Rep. James P. Dean, Corinth;

Rep. Charles M. Deaton, Greenwood;

Rep. Eugene B. Gifford, Rienzi;

Rep. John D. Guyton, Kosciusko

Rep. Horace L. Meridith, Greenville;

Rep. Ray S. Mikell, Kosciusko;

Rep. Albert V. Miller, Rolling Fork;

Rep. George W. Rogers, Vicksburg;

Rep. Billy W. Shelton, Tupelo.

Also: [illegible] Deaton;

Rev. Charles Granville Hamilton, Aberdeen, might be classed among politiicans, as he has been a candidate for lieutenant governor, and has been active in presidential campaigns. Now lecturing at Dillard University, Hamilton is an Episcopal minister without a charge and is considered eccentric by many. He broadcasts, and otherwise expresses, shockingly liberal views on race and a variety of subjects.

Claude Ramsey, Jackson, chairman, Mississippi Labor Council, seems devoted to the liberal cause in race relations almost as much as in the field of organized labor.

William L. Higgs, Jackson, is an enthusiastically liberal lawyer 25 years old who has unsuccessful political adventures. A close associate and adviser of Negro lawyers, legal counsel of the CCR advisory committee, he holds Negro voter classes and is active in the liberal cause in many ways.

Moderate Newspaper Editors

Among the editors of moderate leaning, because of his influence both personally and through the Jackson State Times and the McComb Enterprise Journal, which he edits, first mention should be made of J. Oliver Emmerich, McComb.

Robert Webb, associate editor of the State Times, is a liberal, who makes a helpful contribution.

Hodding Carter, Jr., is continuing in his father's footsteps as editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times.

Joe McLean is publisher-executive editor of the second largest moderate paper, the Tupelo Times Daily Journal.

Easton King, long editor of the Pascagoula Chronicle-Star is not longer identified with that paper, but continues to be an aggressive liberal influence and may get back into

journalism.

A number of editors of smaller papers make cautious efforts to promote moderation. Among them are:

Hunt Howell, The Panolian, Batesville;

Curtis Mullen, Madison County Herald, Bay Springs;

Hall Decell, Rolling Fork; Deer Creek Pilot

Paul Pittman, Tylertown; and

H. H. Crisler, Jr., Jasper County Herald, Canton.

(Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington Advertiser and North Jackson Reporter, belongs to the group of crusading liberals, discussed hereinafter.)

Jackson

Other Influential Leaders

Hodding Carter, Sr., is widely execrated for his outspoken liberal views, but to many silent moderates he is still a voice of conscience and common sense.

~~Dr. Ernest Borinski is the veteran liberal dean at~~ Tougaloo

Joseph B. Brunini, Jackson, Catholic auxiliary bishop and a member of SRC.

Dr. James W. Silver, irrepressible liberal at the University of Mississippi, exerts some influence beyond that campus.

Dr. Robert J. Farley, dean of the law school, University of Mississippi, exerts a shrewdly moderate influence.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, is a crusading liberal.

President H. Ellis Finger and Dean Jos. S. Ferguson, of Millsaps College are moderates less persona non grata to the power structure than Beittel.

(see p 5)

The white college presidents in Mississippi are probably all nearly all of privately moderate. One of them who knows ~~practically~~

all the others told me he believed this to be true. They walk a tight rope among state authorities and trustees, while they tolerate and protect many liberal faculty members.

Dr. Ernest Borinski is the veteran liberal dean at Tougaloo.

White Leaders Active in the Desegregation Cause

The following individuals are aggressively dedicated to the cause of desegregation.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo College, near Jackson, has been a central figure among white "integrationists" in recent months. He states his views boldly on a Jackson TV program. Two white young ladies are now enrolled in the otherwise all-Negro Tougaloo student body. Groups of white moderates from Jackson and bi-racial groups meet from time to time at Tougaloo.

Rev. Murray Cox, Gulfport, retired Methodist minister, 74 years old, is the elderly chairman of the Mississippi CCR advisory committee and a leading "apostle" to the liberals in southern Mississippi.

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, is a member of the SRC.

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, William Higgs and Claude Ramsey are mentioned above.

A. Eugene Cox is a veteran crusader who feels that he is now a marked man in Mississippi. He has found it more comfortable to make his home in Tennessee south of Memphis (933 Chambliss Road), to which he returns week-ends. Cox is now giving full time, financed by a small foundation grant, anxiously to visiting and ferreting out moderates in Mississippi. Most of his contacts are clergymen. He has a list of over 200 and expects it to exceed 400 by Christmas.

Political Notes

Joel Blass, considerably more optimistic than at the time of my visit last February, looks forward to some kind of liberal revival in the campaign before the 1963 elections. He stood aside in the last election, not because of lack of local support, but because of discouragement at frustrations in the legislature. ~~Expects to get back into politics, probably running for some office.~~ He finds a new stirring and increased confidence among his liberal political friends.

Blass' hopes are built around a prospective campaign for governor on the part of J. P. Coleman, whom he idolizes. Practically all liberal and moderate elements have the same feeling about Coleman. (Fortunately Coleman has support also among many who are not so liberal on the race question.)

Knowledgeable liberals also hold Tax Collector Winter in high esteem and think of him as eventual gubernatorial material. Winter is a staunch supporter of Coleman.

The moderate cause has been appreciably aided by developments not directly related to the race question. Lumpkin pointed out that Governor Barnett, whom he described as a "jackass," has given Mississippi its first deficit ($45 million) since the Bilbo Administration. Above all, the remodeling of the executive mansion at a cost of $302, 724.80 has furnished a bonanza of political capital for the opposition. The statement of cost, published early in September, showed an item for $10,350.77 for gold-plated fixtures, etc. for the guest bathroom. It is difficult from outside the state to realize the extent to which this ~~matter~~ has ~~aroused~~ and exercised Mississippi politicians, pundits and the public, and the end is not yet. It will be damaging to the Barnett faction and significantly to Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, a likely segregationist candidate for governor in 1963.

(OVER)

Attitude Toward Increased Negro Voting

I am told that, apart from the registrars, court house politicians and others ~~of the older generation~~ in the offending counties, most responsible Mississippians now view the denial of registration and the vote to qualified Negroes as indefensible. -- ~~But~~ nevertheless no prominent individual is willing to express this view publicly. All those with whom I discussed the matter felt that the best place to press for Negro rights now is on the voting front.

Editor McLean of Tupelo thought that increased Negro voting strength would be felt in the whole political attitude toward race relations. Even a little increase in the Negro vote would have this effect in some Mississippi localities. In fact, he had already observed some white politicians quietly cultivating Negro leaders in several places where the Negro vote is likely to be substantial in the next election.

Editor Emmerich, who always favors the oblique approach, told me he was considering ~~editorially~~ urging Negro school teachers to vote -- not discouraging others, but emphasizing the right of these obviously educated citizens to vote the franchise.

(Other liberals pointed out that rejecting a Negro school teacher as unqualified for registration implies that Mississippi is staffing Negro schools with illiterate teachers -- another denial of equal treatment under violation of the 14th. Amendment!)

Barnett's Law and Order

I learned uniformly from various informants that the calm and orderly handling of the first Freedom-Riders, for which Governor Barnett has received some acclaim, was in no sense due to that executive. Barnett was on the point of calling out the National Guard, possibly declaring martial law, and had papers tentatively drawn up. He was restrained by Mayor Thompson and others, who urged quieter, less sensational procedure.

Catholic Church Integration

John Kennedy told me that some Negroes had attended the Catholic church in Holly Springs from time immemorial. However, some eight were noticed in church two months ago by a Citizens Council sleuth and they were denounced as "kneelers-in". No Negroes have attended that church since, but I found that integrated Catholic congregations are not uncommon in Mississippi. We noticed three Negroes at Mass in the cathedral in Jackson and one in the church at Hattiesburg. Blass told us of a Catholic church at Chatawa which has many Negro parishioners along with white. The Catholic seminary at Bay St. Louis has a few Negroes training for the priesthood.

Personal Visits — earlier

This tour of Mississippi was made particularly pleasant by the cordial welcome with which I was received in many quarters and the almost embarrassing hospitality extended at times to my wife and me. The eagerness on the part of Mississippi moderates to discuss their problems with an "integrationist" outsider was ~~impressive.~~ was surprising to my wife. I think, significant.

We visited the Kennedy's in Holly Springs on an invitation extended after a casual meeting in August. We were their guests from 2 P. M., September 20, while we talked in his office, toured places of interest in the area, dined and lingered until 11 P. M. -- the conversation covering much of Mississippi racial and political lore. We were received with similar kindness in the Blass home at Wiggins, the Beittel home at Tougaloo and by the Silvers and others of the faculty at Ole Miss. I was cordially received in a dozen offices. Calling upon State Tax Collector Winter one day and finding him out, I returned the next day. His secretary said at once: "Mr Winter was hoping you would come back." I found it difficult to get away from labor council chairman Ramsey after a visit of several hours, which included a visit to a nearby coffee shop. Editors Emmerich and McLean seemed very glad to see me. (Governor Coleman was absent on a trip to New York.)

~~Some~~ Some further notes on significant conversations are given below:

Visit to the University of Mississippi

At least a dozen professors at the University are obviously hungry for race problem discussion, and I have a good time there; but I am conscious of the possible embarrassment to the administration of my being too much in evidence and may not visit or mention again in the near future.

However, our stopping over a Friday night on our trip south was a signal to Jim Silver to organize another party. It lasted from 6:30 P.M. Friday to 1 A. M. Saturday. Present this time, in addition to the Silvers were a group whom we had not met before: Dr. Charles F. Haywood, provost; Dr. Julien R. Tatum, chairman, sociology; Professors Gibson and Harrington -- and the wives of each. Dr. Haywood shares with Chancellor Williams responsibility for keeping the University out of trouble. He was an interested and congenial participant in the thoroughly liberal discussion, but I noticed that he avoided making any "incriminating" statement himself. His remarks, taken out of context, ~~would hardly~~ might not have aroused suspicion on the part of the State Sovereignty Commission. Others were more particularly liberal in conversation aside with me and seemed ~~happy~~ elated over the progress of desegregation in the South. Dr. Tatum was deeply interested and wished me to come back for a further talk with him. He also said: "We are completely uninhibited in my department."

Dr. Haywood lingered to talk with me for twenty minutes after the others left. I feel that in all the circumstances and under all the scrutiny, harassment and attack, the University has done an admirable job of preserving intellectual integrity. ~~He~~ The provost was pleased when I expressed that opinion to him.

John L. Kennedy is working on the suit of University of Mississippi student Billy Barton against state and Citizens Council officials for libel in charges made against him during his campaign last spring for the editorship of the campus newspaper. Kennedy was elated at having learned that Morris Abrams would handle the case from the Atlanta end.

Kennedy felt bitter about the "tyranny" of the present 73-year-old Speaker, Walter Sillers, over the Mississippi House of Representatives. (Blass, on the other hand, described Sillers as not fundamentally bad and "almost a moderate when you get him alone.")

Joel Blass says vaguely that he "might run for some state office," but will more likely be a candidate for the House again. When he stepped aside in the last election he encouraged young Roy Strickland to run to succeed him and Strickland won. Blass is loath, therefore, to try to knock out Strickland. I expressed the opinion that there would be nothing dishonorable about talling the incumbent that he felt a call of duty to seek his old seat again.

~~Blass~~ He gave me some interesting background on Tax Collector Winter, whom he greatly admires. Winter and Sillers were opponents in the race for House Speaker. Governor Coleman, although a friend of Winter, felt obliged to support Sillers. Later the state tax collector died, and Coleman appointed Winter ad interim, ~~to the office, to~~ which Winter was duly elected to the office at the next election. Blass said that tax collector is the most remunerative public office in Mississippi, paying as much as $40,000 a year in fees. Ironically, Winter had

previously made an effort in the legislature to have the system abolished.

William Winter, the state Tax Collector, is a thoughtful, scholarly gentleman of 38 who makes a fine impression. He likes to review Mississippi history and recall that there have been relatively liberal ~~periods.~~ interludes. We talked about Mississippi, Virginia and the South. His close friendship with well known liberals on the race question was amazing. "EastontKing was in to see me the other day." More amazing is his ability to win elections in spite of this. He explained that Grenada county people who know him best are loyal to him on other grounds and that the duties of Tax Collector are rather remote from the race question.

Claude Ramsey, labor council chairman, follows the race problem in Mississippi closely and is one of the best informed. (Thomas Knight, secretary general of the council took part in some of our discussion). Ramsey ~~says~~ observed that organized labor and racial integration are almost equally anathema in Mississippi; he is working for both. He is a close friend of Medgar Evers, local NAACP leader. Some integration has been achieved in Mississippi unions. Negroes take part in state conventions and several Negroes serve on the Credit Union Board. Ramsey ~~thought~~ felt strongly that efforts should be concentrated now on increasing the Negro vote. He is a warm admirer of both Winter and Blass.

Wilbur Higgs told me his seat is in suspense for lack of funds. Having given up his law practice for pro-Negro activities he finds himself almost in suspense for the same reason.

Travis McCharen, director of vocational rehabilitation in the state department of education and presently chairman of the Governor's Committee for Employment of the Handicapped, is an interesting and significant example of the silent moderate. He may conclude that there are many more like him in Mississippi. McCharen was not motivated by any of my liberal friends; none of them seemed familiar with his name. I discovered him and gained his confidence, because I knew his brother, Dr. Knox McCharen of Peabody College in Nashville. Dr. Knox McCharen, when I visited him in Argyle, was frankly liberal on the race question and asked me to call on his brother when I should next be in Jackson, Miss. Travis McCharen in the privacy of his large office quickly unbosomed himself in a completely liberal manner. Incidentally he emphasized the impossibility of stopping the Negro advance. "They have radio and television; they know the score." He mentioned several friends, whose liberalism was not suspected, who had revealed their liberal feeling to him. A cardiologist expressed the same feelings to him. A specialist felt as he did about having to segregate patients in his waiting room. I asked if he thought very many Mississippians were privately of his thought on the question. He answered emphatically, "A very many."

Leopold C. Eaton, president of the People's Bank and Trust Co., member of the board of alderman and a leading citizen of Vicksburg is an important concluding reminder of the type of this name is also again in Mississippi.

Ramsey gave an interesting account of Higgs' possibly probably abortive suit to stop State Sovereignty payments to the Citizens Councils. He said Higgs, an "inexperienced idealist just out of law school," had launched upon the suit and attendant publicity without consulting him, in spite of the fact that Higgs had secured the participation of two labor men. This stunt had stymied a plan on the part of the Council of Labor itself to bring such a suit, employing the best legal talent."

(Page omitted)

Eason was suggested to me by McLean as a public-spirited citizen identified with activities on behalf of local Negroes. The old gentleman was glad to talk about the things he and the bank did for Negroes, friendly advice, prizes for achievement, etc. (I am sure it was not unrelated to Negro accounts and mortgages at the bank.) Negroes met their obligations just as well as white folks. The bank "gave", or financed, an annual dinner for Negro community leaders but, "of course," he did not attend personally. He had a faithful Negro servant who had been wonderful to his wife when she was ill. "They're all right in their place. We treat them a lot better than Northerners treat their Negroes. Still ~~those people try to tell us how to run our state~~. It's nothing but politics. Politics is behind all this ~~mess~~." The idea of school integration in Mississippi he regarded as fantastic. Mississippi ~~would~~ intended to preserve its way of life.

We ought to keep these people from coming down here and stirring up trouble.

Our Negroes are happy. They don't want integration.

Copied Flemming's Wonderful Wofford

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

April 30, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Mississippi

April 4-11, 1962

On October 14, 1961, I submitted a comprehensive memorandum headed "Moderate Leadership Resources in Mississippi."

As a result of conversations on the trip I would add to the list of minor politicians Mr. and Mrs. John B. Farese, Ashland, (each has served in the legislature) and Barron Drowry, Corinth, another ex-legislator; to "Other Influential Leaders" should be added Jack M. Dubard, prominent attorney of Booneville, and Power Stern, retired business man and state CHR president, of Jackson. Others of the moderate school whom I visited in April have been mentioned before.

Wednesday, April 4, in Tylertown I visited Mrs. Paul Pittman, who is editing the paper in the absence of her husband, and J. Oliver Emmerich, editor of the McComb Enterprise Journal. (Emmerich was also editor of the Jackson State Times until that paper's demise a few months ago.) The Pittmans are both liberal. Paul was president of the Young Democrats and a leader in the Kennedy campaign in 1960. Now on duty as a Naval Reserve officer, he will return to the Mississippi scene next October. Emmerich is expecting his son to return to McComb and the paper in June. Junior, who is more liberal than his father, has been studying at Harvard under a Newman Fellowship.

In Jackson April 5-6 I talked with Dr. A. D. Beittel and Power Stern, CHR leaders and spent Friday morning with A. Boyd Campbell, Mississippi School Supply Co., 116 E. South St.

Conversation with Boyd Campbell

Mr. Campbell, 72, is a director in various firms, a former president of the Jackson chamber of commerce and a man of great quiet influence in business and financial circles in Mississippi. He has served on various national economic and educational commissions and was president in 1955, and chairman of the board in 1956, of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

A reference to a common friend, former Gov. Darden of Virginia, brought a cordial welcome from Mr. Campbell, who invited me to join in a late breakfast at his desk, and we talked until 11:30 a.m. We began with a lengthy discussion of the SRC, of which he knew almost nothing. He asked about its history, funds, personalities and activities. His only recollection of the SRC seemed to be of an office operated in Jackson "several years ago" by a Mrs. Lyles. He said Mrs. Lyles was a very nice Negro lady who did a good job in promoting communication between the races.

As I had never heard of this episode he phoned Negro College president Dr. Jacob P. Reddix and several white friends, who confirmed the fact that Mrs. Ruby Stutts Lyles did indeed operate such an office for the SRC probably five years ago.

Mr. Campbell felt very strongly about the ineptitude and blindness of Mississippi in dealing with the race problem, but he felt strongly at the same time about "federal intrusions in state affairs." He was nothing less than incensed over Secretary Ribicoff's recent announcement that federal funds will be withheld from certain segregated schools in federally impacted areas.

After his brief comment on this point, the remainder of our two hours conversation was harmonious and from the point of view of a common desire to see an orderly adjustment in Mississippi.

Mr. Campbell was obviously an ardent admirer of former Gov. J. P. Coleman. On the gubernatorial prospects for 1963, he said:

"We had a little informal conference on that here in the office. The tide for Coleman is setting in stronger and stronger. Of course, they will load the Kennedy Administration on to his back. They might beat him on that. The Citizens Councils dominate the state, and they will fight Coleman. But Coleman is strong."

Coleman's principle opponent was likely to be Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, who never publicly committed himself in the 1960 presidential election. On Congressional outlook, Mr. Campbell said Rep. Frank Smith, Mississippi's one liberal Congressman, was sure to be defeated this year. (He has been redistricted into competition with incumbent Rep. James T. Whitten.)

Mr. Campbell discussed the school equalization program in Mississippi, observing that for some years now 70% of the capital expenditures for public schools had gone to Negro schools. His emphasis on the enormous improvement in Negro schools pointed up a strong speech upon discrimination against the Negro in employment. This seemed to be the area of discrimination which disturbed Mr. Campbell most.

"We are training the Negro and then, refusing him the employment he is trained for. The more he becomes qualified to help in our economy the more we are forcing him to go elsewhere. We are training Negroes to make a success in Chicago and New York." He told at some length of successful Mississippi Negroes that he had met in his speech-making travels, including John Johnson, publisher of Ebony (born in Vicksburg, Miss.) and Sidney P. Brown, a former vice-president of the Chicago school board. He was so impressed with Brown that he inquired of some Chicago friends about him. He showed me letters which he had received in reply, praising Brown in the highest terms. Brown had received an award for "outstanding service to Chicago.

I remarked that many business leaders across the South were awakening to the need for opening jobs to Negroes. Mr. Campbell said he detected no such awakening in Mississippi, except among the Negroes themselves. If decent jobs were made available to Negroes, he said, it would help solve many other problems.

He said race relations in Mississippi had worsened in many ways since 1954. There was much more aloofness and ill will. He had been instrumental in arranging an appearance of Leontyne Price in Jackson when she was received with enthusiastic applause by both white and colored. Anything of this sort would be impossible today.

On the other hand, he observed a certain restraint on the part of the white populace in critical situations which was new in Mississippi. Earlier it would have been impossible to prevent bloody riots in situations like that of the Freedom Rides or more recent sit-in demonstrations. He also had been surprised to find some segregationists whom he had suspected to be adamant -- such as a prominent planter from the Delta region -- quietly advocating the admission of a Negro to Old Miss.

He was also surprised at times to hear some otherwise intelligent friends fanatically urging resistance to integration come what may.

I submitted that Mississippi is not "carrying the banner for the South" as many Mississippians appear to believe, but that Mississippi is widely condemned even in the South on three points: (1) denial of voting rights to Negroes; (2) denial of justice to Negroes in the courts; and (3) exclusion of Negroes from employment . Mr. Campbell agreed, but he felt there was improvement in the area of Negro voting. For his own part, he said, he sometimes accompanied Negro employees to the polls to make sure they voted -- and without interference. The most urgent need he felt was for breaking the race barrier in employment.

I asked if he did not feel that Mississippi is "riding toward calamity." He said:

"Yes I feel that. But I've been feeling that so long that I have sort of gotten used to the feeling."

Was there any chance that Mississippi would get off the road in time?

"No," he said. "I am afraid Mississippi will have to meet it head on -- I mean, too late to prevent the initial explosion."

In sum I gained the impression that Mr. Campbell is a moderate (as he called himself) who would by no means advocate integration out of hand, but who is opposed to the Citizens Councils and to the whole state policy on race, who favors Negro voting, justice for Negroes in the courts and greater employment opportunities for Negroes. His influence would be on the side of acceptance of any court-ordered desegregation and he believes in the maintenance of public schools and law and order under any circumstances.

He said the lack of communication between white men on the subject was more acute than the lack of communication between whites and Negroes. He felt that Mississippi's difficulties were not understood in the "North" -- not understood in Washington.

I remarked that it might be a good thing if these problems could be discussed in a friendly way between Deep South leaders and some members of the Kennedy Administration.

He said: "I couldn't agree with you more."

Saturday, April 7, I visited Curtis Mullins, editor of the Madison County Herald, at Clinton. Mullins is an energetic and influential liberal editor-politician in a county where the population is 71 per cent Negro. Editorially, he rarely mentions the race problem, though he has taken an openly liberal stand on such borderline issues as the question of Mississippi college baseball and basket ball teams playing against integrated opponents. Otherwise, his editorials are belligerently liberal and pro-Kennedy Administration. A close friend of Paul Pittman, of Tylertown, they were associated in the pro-Kennedy campaign in Mississippi and Mullins was a member of the Democratic slate of presidential electors in 1960.

Strongly anti-Citizen Council, Mullins believes that CC membership is falling off in Madison County, that it is probably "slipping" all over Mississippi -- although a crisis might give it new life.

Due to some personal commitments he did not support J. P. Coleman in 1955, but he will do everything he can to see Coleman elected next year. He is a great admirer of J. P. Coleman and believes he will win.

I asked how his liberal attitude affected his standing in the community. He said he did not suffer at all; his paper was doing very well.

He was the only positively optimistic person with whom I talked in Mississippi -- said he saw improvement, more and more people were beginning to accept the prospect of integration as inevitable, thought Mississippi would pull through without any very disastrous explosion.

He thought most of the common people of Mississippi were pro-Kennedy, and that President Kennedy would carry the state today.

He was bitter over the Congressional redistricting performance in Mississippi. The reduction had been accomplished by combining the districts of the only two "liberal" Congressmen, leaving the conservative Congressmen unaffected. The former Third District of Frank Smith, "the best man," had been combined with the Second District of "the next best man," Whitten, although there was smaller population in the First District than in either of these. Smith supported Kennedy; Whitten supported the unpledged electors, but was not happy over it. He said he knew both Congressmen well.

I asked about the Pascagoula Chronicle, from which the well-known liberal, Paston King, had resigned over a year ago. He said King's successor, Ira Harkey, just as liberal as King, was continuing the paper's liberal policy.

Saturday afternoon my wife and I drove to Ackerman, in the hope of paying a call upon Governor and Mrs. J. P. Coleman. The Colemans were away. W. D. Coleman, a brother of the former governor, walked over from his home next door to explain that J. P. and his lady were attending a wedding in Gulfport.

W. D. Coleman was in a conversational mood and our 20-minute talk was an amazing revelation. I said that I was traveling through the South discussing the race problem with influential leaders, and remarked that in Virginia we were steadily desegregating schools and not having any trouble.

Coleman did nearly all of the talking from that point on. He was incredibly calm and matter-of-fact and friendly about it, but he said:

"We aren't going to have any integration in Mississippi. We just aren't going to take it -- not any of it.

"If I saw a Negro sit down in a white restaurant I would kill him. I would just kill him.-- and take the consequences.

"I hear this wherever I go. We just aren't going to have it in Mississippi...

"Up in West Point the other day a factory took down the 'White' and 'Colored' signs in the lunch room and restaurant. They had to, because they had a Government contract. Of course the niggers knew better than to take advantage of it. They just went on as they always had done. But what do you think of pressure like that? The mixers won't stop at anything. But they aren't going to mix our folks...

"How would President Kennedy like to see Caroline marry a nigger?... Etc. Etc." He added that he was trying to teach his children the evil of integration.

I asked friends later about W. D., and was told that he is a rather mediocre fellow practicing law in Ackerman. In the present Mississippi climate, it may be a political asset to J. P. Coleman (the liberal hope) to have a brother talking like that.

My remaining conversations produced little new information and can be dealt with briefly.

At the University of Mississippi I joined a small after-dinner group at the Fortenberrys' Sunday evening, April 8, and lunched with the Silvers Monday. Monday morning was spent in a long bullfest over coffee with several faculty friends who came to see me at the Alumni House.

I learned, incidentally, that thorough preparations had been made last February to preserve order in the event of court-ordered admission of James Meredith, which was then anticipated. Several representatives of the Department of Justice were on hand.

We proceeded next to Holly Springs, where Mr. and Mrs. John Kennedy lunched with us, Tuesday, April 9. Kennedy, an ardently liberal ex-legislator and warm friend, was helpful, as usual, in suggestions for my travels.

We missed the Fareses at Ashland but, following another Kennedy lead, I called Wednesday morning upon Dave Guyton, a somewhat famous blind prodigy, at Blue Mountain. Guyton, now in his 80's, has had a remarkable career as professor of

history at Blue Mountain College, poet, newspaper columnist, bank director, etc., in spite of having been blind since his youth. He attracted considerable attention, and aroused controversy, in 1960 by a widely-published letter supporting President Kennedy's candidacy. Retired, Guyton is feeble now, but mentally alert. I found him liberal to the extent of deploring present attitudes in Mississippi. Nevertheless, he and his wife seemed basically racist -- although I argued the latter point apparently with temporary success. When I took my leave these two devout Baptists promised to pray for success in my work!

I called incidentally on Dr. William C. Tyler, president of Blue Mountain College, a Baptist school for girls. We were mutually suspicious, but Dr. Tyler, lonesome in his big office, seemed glad to see a visitor of any kind and I found it hard to get away from him. He was evasive on the race issue but interminable on the disadvantages of coeducational institutions, materialistic trends, etc.

At Booneville I visited Jack M. Dubard, an able and influential lawyer, who is deeply concerned over the race situation in Mississippi -- wishes someone of stature who is financially secure would speak out boldly from the housetops.

At "Drewry's Steak House" on the highway south of Corinth I called on an ex-legislator named Barron Drewry. The restaurant being closed for Wednesday afternoon, Drewry seemed eager to talk about the race problem. I found this rugged, gregarious politician very liberal and very well-informed. He thought the campaign for Negro voting could do a great deal of good, but hoped it could be given local leadership in every county, with a minimum of visible outside participation.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Box 312, Manassas, Va.

File
S.L.P.
Ben Muse's field Reports 1964

February 6, 1964

WB
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CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Attorney Kennedy and the Barton Case

Mississippi, January, 1964

Attorney John L. Kennedy (Court House Square --Phone 887-- Holly Springs, Miss.) is still struggling with the Billy Barton case, and would like to have advice and help. He would like above all to have some lawyer of stature and greater experience join him in the case.

Billy Clyde Barton -- then 20 years of age, a journalism student at the University of Mississippi and managing editor of the student newspaper, The Mississippian -- spent the summer of 1960 on the staff of the Atlanta Journal. Seizing upon this alleged association with the hated Ralph McGill (whom Barton never met), the Citizens' Council and Governor Barnett set out to ruin Barton with charges and innuendos to the effect that he was a subversive planted on the university campus and specifically that he was an active member of the NAACP. (He never had any connection with the NAACP.) The affair received much publicity and Barton suffered as expected. (He is now in the Navy, U.S.S. Vermillion, Norfolk, Va.)

Kennedy on Barton's behalf filed suit in May, 1962, against Barnett in state circuit court, asking $50,000 damages. He later filed a suit in federal district court against Barnett, Citizens' Council leader William J. Simmons and others, asking $250,000.

Kennedy, about 35-40, is a liberal attorney and business man, who tells me 80 per cent of his law practice is among Negroes. He served in the legislature until 1960, distinguished by his successful statewide campaign in 1956 for marriage law reform. He believes the Barton case is a good one from a financial point of view, and that it offers attractive opportunities for exposure of Citizens' Council finances and practices and of intimidation through character assassination in Mississippi. He would like to find a "better lawyer" than he is who would be interested in this chance to strike a blow for freedom.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Copies sent to Clarke Marshall, Bill Doyle & Harold Fleming

Benjamin Muse, Southern Regional Council, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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Report on Mississippi

January, 1964

Business and financial leaders in Mississippi are showing increased concern over the state's racial problem. There has been some increase in moderate sentiment among the public since President Kennedy's assassination. The belligerency and the ferociously anti-Kennedy tone of the recent contest for governor represented an egregious exercise in insincerity on the part of each of the principal candidates. The new governor is a great improvement over Barnett. There is reason to believe that Johnson will follow the example of Almond, Vandiver and other Southern governors who preached reckless resistance in winning the office and later shifted to moderate policy; his inaugural address was remarkably temperate and constructive. On the other hand the Citizens' Council is still active and the elements of bitterness in Mississippi are moving steadily toward collision: thousands of Red Necks are prepared to attack Negroes on any provocation, and repressed Negroes are impatient with nonviolence.

(Almost without exception the people with whom I talked favored a continued drive to increase Negro voting. The least sympathetic with the broad Negro movement were the most emphatic on this point -- by way of suggesting that the Negroes should suspend other agitation for the present. This is the Negro advance which the largest number of Mississippians regard as logical and proper.)

In Mississippi January 3 through January 15, I talked with about 30 generally knowledgeable and influential persons, including the Democratic candidate for governor defeated in the second primary, the unsuccessful Republican candidate in the general election and a promising future gubernatorial possibility. The following is an indication of those with whom I conferred.

Dr. James W. Silver, University of Mississippi. After dinner, Dr. Silver assembled a group of liberal faculty members for a long evening's discussion. Joining us also were two Episcopal ministers, Rev. Duncan Gray and Rev. Woffard Smith. Among the professors were two department chairmen: Dr. Julien R. Tatum, sociology; and Dr. Charles N. Fortenberry, political science.

Mrs. J. P. Coleman. On our first visit to Ackerman the former governor was away; my wife and I had a pleasant visit with Mrs. Coleman.

Hodding Carter, III, Greenville. Managing editor, The Delta Democrat Times. (His father is now residing in New Orleans as a resident author at Tulane.)

Ex-Representative Joseph E. Wroten, Greenville. Defeated last November after serving since 1952.

Hal C. Decell, Rolling Fork, editor, Deer Creek Pilot.

Ex-State Senator James R. Christenberry, Rolling Fork. Did not run for reelection to the Senate in 1963, but was elected state attorney.

Ex-Representative George Rogers, Vicksburg. Some observed that the last three moderates of courage in the legislature were eliminated last November when Weisenburg and J. P. Coleman failed to run for reelection and Wroten and Rogers were defeated. Christenberry, less emphatically is also in this group.

Claude Ramsey, Jackson, chairman, Mississippi Labor Council, AFL-CIO -- tough and irrepressible fighter for both racial justice and organized labor.

Wilson ("Bill") Minor, Jackson, correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune for the past 16 years, and one of the best-informed men in Mississippi. Minor called at our motel on our first day in Jackson, and Mr. and Mrs. Minor dined with us on the evening before our departure.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, president, Tougaloo Christian College. Several others of the Tougaloo faculty joined us at lunch.

Francis Stevens, Jackson. Attorney -- Butler, Shaw, O'Mara, Stevens and Canada; Petroleum Bldg., 210 S. Lamar St.: Phone FL 5-9710.

Rubel L. Philipps, Jackson. Recent unsuccessful Republican candidate for governor.

Rev. Bernard Law, Jackson. Editor, the Catholic Register, a close student of the Negro community.

Bishop Joseph B. Brunini, Jackson, Catholic coadjutor. The bishop invited us to dinner, as on a previous visit, but I picked up the check.

Jackson McWhirter Tubb, Jackson. State Superintendent of Public Education.

Charles Evers, Jackson. Executive secretary, NAACP.

William H. Mounger, Jackson. President, Lamar Life Insurance Co. Promoter of the business men's gesture during the Ole Miss crisis. (Lamar Life Bldg. Phone: 354-548.)

William Forrest Winter, Jackson. State Treasurer. I called at his office and my wife and I lunched in the Winter home.

James P. Coleman, Ackerman. Governor 1956-1960, unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1963.

Since most of the individuals mentioned pass for "segregationists," their cordial or even eager welcome to a Southern Regional Council representative and their hospitality to me and my wife may have some significance. We were invited out to meals half a dozen times and several times -- in the smaller towns -- to spend the night. Some of our talks lasted several hours, or up to five hours; the long, relaxed conversations were particularly conducive to frankness and intimacy.

Except with clergymen and members of the Human Relations Council family, there was little or no reference to the moral issue. I stressed the inevitability of compliance with federal court orders, the tragic folly of resistance to the movement for racial justice, the danger of grave convulsions in Mississippi and the reassuring examples of adjustment in other states.

The list of persons seen on this trip does not give a full picture of moderate leadership in Mississippi. Other individuals were suggested to me whom I did not have time to see, and some old friends from previous trips were not revisited. Among the latter should be mentioned Oliver Emmerich of the McComb Enterprise Journal, George McLean of the Tupelo Daily Journal and Curtis Mullen of the Madison County Herald -- editors of whose constructive efforts I heard continuing echoes. On the debit side, I heard many expressions of regret at the passing of the Pascagoula Chronicle-Star into extreme segregationist hands, liberal publisher Ira Harkey having sold out and left the state.

I shall not report each of my conversations, which were often repetitious, but shall outline some of them and draw on others in attempting to cast light on some aspects of the Mississippi problem.

Dr. Silver and His Friends

University of Mississippi

I found Jim Silver happy over the reactions to his sensational address to the Southern Historical association -- happiest perhaps at having gotten it off his chest -- and full of determination to keep up the fight. He showed me some of the 600 letters received, nearly all laudatory and including several invitations to write for magazines or appear on television. He had received 50 letters from Mississippians, about 40 of them favorable, and he had been surprised at the number of prominent individuals who expressed approval orally when he had occasion to meet them. He is working now on an expansion of the theme for book publication.

On the other hand, the owner of the Mansion Restaurant, Oxford's best eating place, which is frequented by University people, has asked Silver not to come into the restaurant again! He said, however, that the members of his classes were loyal or unconcerned and that he had no trouble on the campus. He sent a copy of the address to Chancellor Williams three days before its delivery; the chancellor has never commented. He said Vice Chancellor W. Alton Bryant had privately expressed approval. A substantial number from the Medical Center faculty had sent a message to the chancellor reminding him that half of them had offers from other universities -- in case anything should happen to Silver. (Mrs J. P. Coleman remarked to me later that her son Tommy, a student at Ole Miss, "is an admirer of Dr. Silver.")

The Mississippi opposition had expressed itself only in personal abuse. No one had attempted to answer his charges.

Faculty members who gathered at the Silver's said that a statement that Ole Miss student enrollment declined 10 per cent this year evaded the real blow that the university suffered: they estimated that freshman enrollment had fallen off 25 or 30 per cent. Several jokingly suggested the advertising slogan: "two rooms for every student!" In replacing the professors who left Ole Miss, the proportion of segregationists had been somewhat increased, but the moderates who remained were much bolder than before.

The group of liberals who came for the evening included several who had gathered for similar sessions on my visits in 1961 and 1962 and several new faces. They were far more outspoken than before -- eager, in fact, "to do something." Specifically all of this group were planning to attend a meeting January 28 to launch a reinvigorated Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Politicians with whom I talked later noted that the attitude of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary schools had emboldened liberal professors at Ole Miss. They also expressed fears that the latter might still bring down some form of reprisal on the university.

Some Delta Moderates

Some of the strongest moderate leaders are to be found in the Delta region. The five with whom I conferred in Vicksburg, Rolling Fork and Greenville were notably pessimistic. From their perspective they seemed more conscious of the danger of violence in Jackson than many residents of that city. All five agreed that some convulsion closer to the public than Ole Miss would be necessary to make the moderate elements assert themselves.

Greenville is generally considered one of the more moderate cities. Several small concessions have been made there: the library has been integrated and "White" and "Colored" signs have been removed from municipal facilities. A mayor's biracial committee was appointed, though it has disintegrated without accomplishing anything. Sit-ins are prohibited, but street demonstrations are permitted. Hodding Carter said Negroes have no trouble voting in Greenville; white registrars sometimes take pains to help them when they seem likely to vote "right." The power structure is moderately disposed, but suffers from the general paralysis when it comes to any bold move. Carter thinks it will take an appearance of something like anarchy to arouse Mississippi moderates. (Speaking before Governor Johnson's inaugural address), he predicted that if Johnson yields it will be more in the manner of Jimmy Davis than that of Vandiver.

Carter was little impressed by the business men's gesture during the Ole Miss crisis, said 30 walked out of the meeting when the statement was read, and the group has done nothing since.

Ex-Representative Wroten, unseated last year by a 2-to-1 vote "because I failed to go along with Barnett" --was a picture of gloomy pessimism. He had hoped for a revulsion of feeling after the Ole Miss affair, but the reverse had occurred. He saw no chance of averting disorder and bloodshed in Mississippi. Jackson was the "blindest" community of all. Jackson would probably

be the scene of the decisive explosion and the moderate elements there were supine or helpless. He said he "knew Jackson well."

At Rolling Fork I spent most of a day with Hal Decell, liberal editor of the Deer Creek Pilot. With an avid interest in politics, he was alert and eager to talk. He also saw grave trouble ahead, but he seemed almost to enjoy the fight.

Ex-State Senator Christenberry said he disagreed with Wroten and Rogers on a principle of representative government: he did not think a legislator should get out of line with the people he represents. He had not run for reelection to the senate, but had been elected state attorney. He was alarmed at the trend in Mississippi and criticized Barnett and company, though he said: "I'm prejudiced myself." He said half the Republican vote was a Democratic protest. He had a high regard for Carroll Gartin, the newly-elected lieutenant governor. Predicted violence and bloodshed. Any school integration, he said, would set off an anti-Negro vendetta. In Rolling Fork now, he said, whites would kill 20 Negroes for every Negro child placed in a white school.

Ex-Representative Rogers was a quiet, thoughtful man, liberally inclined, but grimly conscious of the realities of the present situation in Mississippi. "The Women for Constitutional Government beat me. The Citizen's Council doesn't amount to much in Vicksburg, but these women are worse than the men." He said the Negroes had published a recommended list of candidates, which included him; all were defeated.

He thought more Negro demonstrations in Jackson might set white hoodlums on a rampage. Mayor Thompson was prepared to prevent it by locking up Negroes -- he could accommodate 2,000 in the Coliseum. However, he thought Thompson was a relatively reasonable man -- just a realist.

A school integration attempt, he thought, would be less climactic. The affected schools would close and a prolonged legal tangle or boycott would follow. Many people, he said, have not yet been disillusioned about the private school possibility.

He saw grave trouble ahead, but not anarchy, even in Jackson.

He had an engagement for the afternoon, but asked me to advise him in advance of my next visit so he could "get a few people together" -- mentioning Mayor John Holland and Frank Everett, attorney, past president of the Mississippi Economic Council.

William H. Mounger

President, Lamar Life Insurance Co.

Mounger drew national attention when on the morning after the battle of Ole Miss, October 1, 1962, he voiced an appeal for sanity over television station WLBT-TV, which his company owns. Over 100 business leaders met the following day and issued a statement calling for law and order.

The subservience of Mississippi business men to the Citizens' Council and its allies has seemed lamentable and their gesture during the Ole Miss crisis was considered feeble by many. But Mounger gives a different picture. Apparently the business men were more active during the Ole Miss crisis than is generally known. "We did some phoning during the week before," Mounger said, "and got almost invariably favorable responses. Many said they were glad we were doing something. People were asked to write the governor urging (1) him to prevent any violence and (2) to do nothing that would affect the accreditation of Ole Miss. The governor got a pile of such letters -- which did something to offset the other stuff. Barnett was glad we were doing something -- he wanted some pressure from our side."

This dynamic executive is enthusiastic about the power and present homogeneity on this issue of the leading business men in Mississippi and their potentially stabilizing influence. "We have better communication than the business communities of most states," he said. "In a crisis I could pick up the telephone and get the cooperation of the best men in every section."

Sentiment among the business men for an orderly solution of the problem, he said was stronger now than ever before. He foresaw trouble -- probably a school-closing crisis -- but the business community would be a guarantee against chaos. Mayor Thompson of Jackson, he said, was particularly susceptible to influence by the business group; some bankers were very close to the mayor.

He said Attorney General Joe Patterson is the most helpful of the key figures in the new administration. His triumph over extremist opposition was "the best thing that happened in the last election."

He said that attorney Ed Brunini, a brother of the Catholic bishop, was the "greatest help" to him during the Ole Miss crisis, that he was the author of the statement which the business men issued. (Hodding Carter attributed the drafting to Charles S. Tindall, a Greenville attorney.) Mounger recommended that I call also on: N.S. Rogers, president of the

Deposit Guaranty Trust Co. ("fine"); George Latham, a 65-year-old former vice president with an office in the Deposit Guaranty; R. L. Herring, president of the First National Bank; and Owen Cooper, president of the Mississippi Chemical Corporation and also of the Mississippi Baptist Association, Clarksdale.

James McWhirter Tubb

Superintendent of Public Education

Tubb, 64, who has presided over the school system for 19 years, likes to talk about recent progress in Mississippi public schools -- "We're making more progress than any other state in the Union."

In his sensitive position, where he has to discuss school problems every day, often with implacable segregationists, he is skilled in avoiding the vital issue. But I believe he would like to see orderly compliance with court-ordered desegregation. He gave the impression of a man struggling with apprehensions which he was unwilling to unburden.

He recalled with pride his 1961 address to the Mississippi Education Association, when he said if the segregated system "is challenged, the solution must be found through the efforts of dedicated leaders who put the welfare of the children and the future of our state and nation above everything else... Our people must know that to abolish public schools would be to close the door of hope, etc."

He said his address was quoted "all over the country and in some foreign countries." He said that many who criticized him then agree with him now. The school-closing idea is not popular.

He feared embarrassment in a campaign appearance last year, when the candidates were asked: "Would you close public schools to avoid integration?" His opponent said he would close schools in the affected locality. Tubb told me he was able to go almost that far: he told the audience that it might benecessary to close some schools. He could see the possibility on account of a riot or a boycott.

Tubb was not very well informed on the progress of school desegregation elsewhere in the South -- did not know that any schools had been desegregated in South Carolina.

He reiterated his strong opposition to closing schools and his belief in compliance with the law, but he seemed anxious to turn the conversation to Panama and other subjects.

William Forest Winter

State Treasurer

I reported a favorable impression of this quiet, thoughtful man after I visited him in September, 1961. Winter was then State Tax Collector, an office which has now been abolished, and he was elected in 1963 -- by a comfortable majority -- to the newly expanded office of State Treasurer.

Whenever Winter's name was mentioned among the people with whom I talked on this trip an extraordinarily high opinion was expressed of him. The moderate editors and ex-legislators, liberal professors, business leader Mounger, labor leader Ramsey and reporter Minor talked about Winter with wistful admiration: "There's the man who could save this state! If we could get him elected! In 1967 maybe?" Etc.

Winter, a lawyer, who will be 41 in February, served as a member of the state House of Representatives from Grenada County, from 1948 to 1956. He was appointed State Tax Collector by Governor Coleman in 1956, to succeed an official who died two months after election. He was elected in 1959 for his own first full term.

Winter has an almost miraculous faculty for winning popular elections and keeping a high prestige without sacrificing his convictions on the race issue (or getting into the controversy). His character and intelligence inspire universal respect -- and he has been able thus far to keep to the subject of state finances.

When he campaigned unsuccessfully for Speaker of the House in 1955, the opposition was a bit rough. If, and when, he runs for the Big Job his friends realize that his opponents will throw everything in their arsenal at him. But in the meantime few want unnecessarily to attack William Winter. Mounger said he advised Winter against running for lieutenant governor in 1963; it would have gotten him into the mud too soon; better "save his ammunition."

Ex-Representative Rogers said Winter has a group of reliable friends in every county. His greatest political liability perhaps was "being too much a gentleman."

Winter received me almost eagerly. "I heard you were in the state (from Rogers) and was afraid I would miss you." After a talk in his office, he invited my wife and me to lunch.

He came for us at our motel and drove us to his home. As we passed Millsaps College he remarked: "There's a liberal group there. You should see President Ellis Finger." When we passed Murrah High School, which serves the best residential

district, he said: "That would be the safest place to begin integration." He pointed out the home of former Governor Hugh L. White when we passed it. "He's gravely concerned -- about 83 now," he said.

Winter has a beautiful and charming wife. Mrs. Winter had just been elected president of the Mississippi Official Women's Club (made up of the wives of state officials) to succeed Mrs. Ross Barnett. The papers the day before had carried photos of the two ladies in the changeover. Mrs. Winter shared the opinion of many that Mrs. Barnett is a very gracious and likeable person.

Mrs. Winter told me of a women's save-the-public schools group in Jackson in which she had been quietly active. It had successfully escaped publicity, but it had met a number of times in the first part of 1963. The members were crowding the private homes in which they met and had a problem of finding a suitable meeting place. They had been addressed on one occasion by a representative of HOPE from Atlanta. Some of the members were broadly liberal on the race question. Meetings were suspended during the political campaign but would probably be resumed later.

In the course of several hours of conversation, Winter observed that most of the state officials reelected last November are relatively moderate on the race question. He mentioned Attorney General Joseph T. Patterson; Superintendent of Public Education Tubb; Silas Edward Corley, commissioner of agriculture; and Walter Dell Davis, commissioner of insurance. The new Lieutenant Governor Carroll Gartin, he said would be a moderate influence if he had the courage to assert himself.

We discussed at length the question of when, and under what circumstances, it would be possible for a liberal to be elected governor of Mississippi. He was interested in the experiences of governors of other state, especially interested in Governor Sanders of Georgia, whose career he had followed closely.

Rubel L. Phillips

Republican Candidate for Governor 1963

I established a prompt rapport with this big, jovial extrovert by confessing that I had been a Republican candidate for governor in Virginia in 1941. We engaged in a little GOP chat, mainly retrospective. (I have rarely voted Republican in recent years). Phillips remarked that he had always wanted to hear more about the Wendell Willkie campaign. Having

had a small part in that, I was able to accommodate him. His admiration for Willkie suggested a natural leaning toward liberalism, which friends who knew him in the past confirm. However, Phillips' whole concern in 1963 was to get votes -- from any quarter.

Nevertheless, the 1963 voting pattern was significant. Stanley Morse, the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor opposed the moderate Democratic candidate Gartin and received only approximately 90,000 votes. Phillips opposing the Johnson-Barnett faction drew 138,000. The result appeared to point to 48,000 voters who crossed the party line to protest against prevailing reckless policies. Gartin received 33,000 votes more than Johnson. Hodding Carter III cited the record in Greenville as typical of moderate voting behavior. Greenville gave majorities to Frank Smith for Congress, to Coleman in each primary and to Phillips in the general election.

(Coleman said to me -- though without great conviction -- that Republican votes in the Democratic primary caused his defeat, the Republicans believing that Coleman would be the harder to beat in the general election).

Phillips appeared to have a number of moderate friends, notably editor Oliver Emmerich. He said the demise of the Jackson State Times was a major catastrophe. (In his opinion, that paper's failure was due not to its moderate editorial policy, but to bad management.) He said the remaining Jackson newspapers were "the worst in the United States"; he read the Memphis Commercial Appeal. Among well-known names, he was not sure which Democrats supported him, though he estimated that a score of the smaller newspapers were on his side.

During the campaign he made endless use of the transcript of the Barnett-Kennedy dialog in the Ole Miss crisis, but he said many people did not believe it was bona fide; the Justice Department's minimal acknowledgment was not strong enough.

Phillips enjoyed deriding the Democratic politicians on any account, but he did not appear well-informed or gravely concerned on the race issue. Johnson was "a smarter man than Barnett" and would change at the showdown. Mayor Thompson, he said, wants to be moderate and would behave better with Barnett removed. Thompson would accept court-ordered integration in Jackson and his police would keep order. For his part, Phillips intended to consolidate Republican gains "with a nucleus in every county."

J. P. Coleman

Former Governor, Defeated for Reelection

Many moderates and liberals were shocked at Coleman's fierce segregationist stand and his turning against Kennedy in his effort to win the 1963 election.

To me he was most cordial and voluble -- though a little embarrassed in reviewing the recent campaign. "All the moderate candidates for state office were reelected," he said, "except me. The Citizens' Council took it out on me." He said he realized that the race was pretty hopeless from the beginning, but his friends would have been disappointed if he had not run. Who would want to be governor with an empty treasury and this race business? Well, they would have to solve their own problems now, there was nothing he could do about them. He was already busy practicing law. -- Yet they had a way of coming to him for advice. Mayor Thompson had often called him; he was on the phone many times during the Freedom Rides.

He talked about the people who still gathered around him when he visited court houses. "After all, 196,000 voted for me." He said rather emotionally: "The Mississippi Red Neck has good impulses -- if only he were not misled!"

The former governor said it was Meredith and the Freedom Rides that had entrenched the Citizens' Council and Barnett in power. They had set back race relations in Mississippi. (Many moderates seemed to hold this view.)

President Kennedy's death, I gathered from Mrs. Coleman, had greatly saddened J. P.; I believe he was a sincere admirer of Kennedy. However, he criticized the late President to me for his handling of the Ole Miss crisis. Merely by way of justifying Kennedy's action I remarked that even Goldwater -- had he been President -- would have sent troops to Ole Miss. "Of course," Coleman replied with some feeling: " -- and quicker. Nixon would have sent them the day before! Kennedy was too anxious to keep from doing anything -- that caused all the trouble."

Mrs. Coleman on my visit a week before had spoken of their friendship for the Lyndon Johnsons; they had been guests at the LBJ Ranch. Coleman expressed his admiration of the President. "He'll probably give Eastland some straight talk."

He talked as if he were trying to restore my faith in his liberalism. He pointed to two copies of my Virginia's Massive Resistance on a conspicuous shelf in his living room. When he saw us to our car, he said, as if pronouncing a message for me to carry away: "Mississippi is pretty sick, but I am certain it will eventually recover."

The New Administration

The people with whom I talked without exception regarded Paul Bourney Johnson, the newly elected governor, as an improvement over Barnett. All thought that Johnson was more intelligent and more flexible.

Johnson's recent Democratic and Republican opponents, Coleman and Phillips, were strongly of this opinion. Coleman felt that "a great load was being lifted off the back of Mississippi" with the expiration of Barnett's term of office.

Coleman remarked that Johnson had not the temperament to make a bold resistance stand. He got into the act at Ole Miss only by way of seconding Barnett. He said Johnson is physically "shy," doesn't like mingling with Red Necks. During the campaign, he recalled, Johnson would say his piece and hurry away; while he, Coleman, on the other hand, always lingered to shake hands among the crowd.

Coleman also told me that he had it from a source which he generally found reliable that Johnson has returned the Citizens' Council contribution to his campaign fund.

Some consider the Hederman brothers, who own the two daily newspapers and one radio-TV station in Jackson, the greatest contributors to Mississippi's blindness and tension on the race issue -- Bob, Tom and Zach; Arnold died last year. They supported Barnett vigorously and enjoyed the feeling of power which their hold on the governor gave them. Mounger and others told me that their personal relationship with Johnson is even closer and of much longer standing -- an intimate Hederman family friendship with the new governor and his father before him. Their influence upon the new governor will not be healthy; but, on the other hand the circumstance might conceivably give Johnson a cooperative press if he should pursue a moderate course.

Several of my informants detected increasing coldness between Johnson and Barnett. The latter, going out of office on a wave of ovations, was cultivating more and more the Great Man image, ringing up "achievements" in the capture of new industries every day and taking steps such as the appointment of board members, etc., which are normally left to the incoming governor. Having reduced the state's surplus of $34 million to about $4 million in four years, Barnett declared in his farewell address to the legislature that all the state's needs now can be met without any increase in taxes, adding in effect: "If you don't know how to do it, come to me and I'll tell you." This was widely regarded as a reflection on Johnson.

Governor Johnson's inaugural address January 21 exceeded the hopes of the most optimistic moderates. It was in sharp contrast, for instance to the inaugural address of Governor

Wallace of Alabama a year ago. Johnson said "Mississippi economy is not divisible by political party or faction, or even by race, color or creed." And this: "I will say that you and I are part of this world, whether we like it or not, ... and as a practical matter we are at this moment in the mainstream of national life."

Governor George Wallace, Jimmie Davis and Orval Faubus, present at the inauguration, avoided comment on the speech. The Jackson Clarion Ledger, of January 26, published a round-up of state comment, under an AP byline and the heading "GOVERNOR'S SPEECH BRINGS MUCH PRAISE." All of the comment quoted was favorable, though generally with reference to its discussion of economic matters. The Mississippi Economic Council (state chamber of commerce) said "never before have Mississippians had so much reason to forget much of the recent past and pull together for the future."

If the new governor perseveres in an attempt to turn Mississippi from its reckless course to a constructive one he will have the encouragement and cooperation of other elected state officers. The three most directly concerned -- Lieutenant Governor Gartin, Attorney General Patterson and Superintendent of Public Education Tubb would all welcome such a change.

Effect of the Death of President Kennedy

I was anxious to learn if the assassination of President Kennedy and the wave of eulogies which swept the world had had a softening effect upon Mississippi attitudes toward the principles for which he stood.

Labor leader Ramsey said indeed -- including Mississippi in the reference: "He may have accomplished more in his death than he could have accomplished had he lived." Others -- though I think these were chronic pessimists -- said Kennedy's death hadn't made any difference. My own conclusion is that it did make a difference in the attitude of many Mississippians. The improvement would no doubt fade under the inflammatory blustering of a governor like Barnett, but it offers a somewhat more favorable atmosphere for the launching of a moderate administration.

Governor Barnett had contemplated opposing Senator Stennis this year in his bid for reelection and was working with that in view. Barnett has definitely given that up now and Stennis is not expected to have serious opposition. (The senator visited the Colemans the day before my visit and appeared much relieved.) Coleman attributed the abandonment of plans to oppose Stennis in part to the death of President Kennedy.

The stories of applauding school children were true, and this occurred in many localities. It was a natural result of last year's crescendo of Kennedy vilification. The extraordinary efforts to hide this fact was another interesting phenomenon. It was considered shameful -- in some quarters just bad taste and "un-Southern"; in other quarters there was genuine compunction at the degree to which the anti-Kennedy fever had been allowed to rise.

Mrs. Winter said three women came weeping to her home to visit with her. Some of the Ole Miss group told me of individuals who said they "might have been wrong about this business."

Photos of President Kennedy were prominently displayed in Mississippi stores. The Look memorial issue was on sale. Some newspapers, including those of Jackson, advertised the AP and UPI memorial issues, though not very conspicuously. I gathered from Hodding Carter that the orders for these were coming in slowly; his paper had received less than 1,000. Some of the Outdoor Advertising Co. memorial signs -- a black-bordered "November 22, 1963" -- were to be seen on Mississippi highways.

Over 1200 attended the memorial service at Ole Miss. At the cathedral service in Jackson, 2,000 attended and up to 1,000 are said to have been turned away. Bishop Brunini talked a good deal about the latter service and the inter-faith consultations and planning for it. Barnett said at first that he would attend, but he sent a representative instead. The press reported that he attended a Baptist service. However, the governor-elect and nearly all other state and city officials were conspicuously present. Incidentally, it was one of the most integrated gatherings that Mississippi has seen in modern times. According to the bishop "Negroes were all over the place and at the communion rail."

Describing the service the next day, Dick Sanders, a local TV commentator, asked: "Why can't Mississippians get together like this?"

The Possibilities of Violence

The foregoing has dealt almost entirely with encouraging aspects of the Mississippi situation. I would not like to give an unduly optimistic impression. The forces of resistance and hate are still dominant among the Mississippi public, and the machinery of oppression is far from grinding to a halt.

In Jackson, where the decisive "battle" is expected to be fought, restive Negroes are still waiting for the first significant concession. Mounger, Phillips, Rogers and others who know Mayor Allen Thompson say that he is essentially a "reasonable" man,

but he continues to rely almost entirely on his police force -- tank, dogs and 350 men.

The Clarion Ledger of January 30 quoted from a speech of Mayor Thompson to the Downtown Jackson Association in which he referred to the refusal of NASA's James Webb to speak to a segregated meeting in Jackson -- due, he indicated, to a fear of picket lines. The paper reported Thompson as saying he assured Webb: "If somebody so much as raised an eyebrow we would arrest them and put them in our hoosegow." He continued: "Do you know that this is the only city in the world where you can guarantee that there won't be any pickets?" He pledged protection "by the finest police force in the world" for merchants to do "anything you want to do in your business."

Thompson's ruthless repression of Negroes is due in part to fear that a retaliatory outbreak of whites would be harder to control. The speed with which 1,000 gathered around the governor's mansion during the Ole Miss crisis is recalled as an indication of how quickly a mob could form after an interracial incident.

A school desegregation operation this year would require unhesitating cooperation by both the Mayor and the Governor, with the possible use of the National Guard. The safest school for the breakthrough would be Murrah High School, in an outlying "blue stocking" district. (Several, including Minor, had heard from friends of Mayor Thompson that he has said when school integration is ordered by the courts he will accept it and his famous police force will preserve order.)

A greater danger of violence would appear to lie in a renewal of Negro demonstrations.

Charlie Evers, the local NAACP executive, says there will be none. Evers expressed himself somewhat fiercely to me on this subject. "Whatever Martin Luther King, CORE or SNICK or Roy Wilkins says, we are not going to have any demonstrations here." (When I questioned his inclusion of Roy Wilkins among the advocates of demonstrations, he eliminated Wilkins.) "Demonstrations may be all right for some places, but here they only get a lot of Negroes beaten up, fill the jails and cost a lot of bail -- without getting you anywhere. They arrest you as soon as you stick your head out of the door."

In the same fierce manner Evers described his insistence upon selective buying; the other two items on his program were voter registration and school desegregation. "Get the vote and pinch his pocketbook," he said. "That's the only way we can win in Mississippi." He said the selective buying campaign is "95 per cent effective." A One Price Only store and a jewelry store had gone out of business; the bus company had asked permission to curtail service to the affected area, but had been refused by the city. The Negro demands: (1) equal courtesy, (2) equal use of facilities (3) equal jobs and (4) pressure on the city for the desegregation of facilities and employment of Negroes at higher levels.

The boycott applies to Capitol St. stores in the main business section. Most of the Negro trading is done on Farish St., a long typically ghetto thoroughfare, where the stores are almost entirely dependent on Negro trade and, if not owned by Negroes, employ mainly Negro personnel.

The boycott may offer the most promising means of bringing relief and interracial adjustment without violence. Several Capitol St. stores have closed lunch counters and some have gone out of business. I heard varying reports that I did not verify. My informants agreed, however, that the pinch was being felt. Some merchants told friends that the boycott had caused them to end the year in the red. There is some furtive talk among merchants of concerted action to "get together with the Negroes" and bring pressure to bear on the city administration.

Bishop Brunini, Minor, Beittel and others told me of the almost desperate mood of Jackson Negroes, and of dissension and a lack of leadership among them. ("Uncle Tom" Percy Greene in his Jackson Advocate is denouncing the boycott.) Minor, who is a professional newsman, said: "The things that go on here are unbelievable. It is not merely segregation, but subjugation of the Negro." My best informant was Rev. Bernard Law, a white Catholic priest at the diocesan offices who makes a special study of the Negro community. Father Law said Jackson is "sitting on top of a volcano." The Negroes were seething with resentment of a long series of outrages. They had been disappointed again and again. They were disappointed at seeing no change for the better after the Freedom Rides, after the Ole Miss battle and after the Evers slaying. (They fully expected that Byron de la Beckwith would be acquitted.) They were disappointed with the NAACP and even with the Justice Department. Many were disappointed with ~~the inhibitions of~~ nonviolence. Many would like to see an explosion that would bring federal troops to Jackson.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

FROM: Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Virginia

RE : The Problem of Law Enforcement in Mississippi

(Enlargement of remarks to Mr. Dulles in Jackson, June 25, 1964)

The deteriorating situation with respect to the public peace in Mississippi makes it necessary to examine realistically the law-enforcement capability of that state in conditions of racial turmoil.

What are the possibilities of halting the burnings, bombings, floggings and occasional killings? In the event of a massive interracial clash, what reliance could be placed upon Mississippi police to restrain a white mob?

We need first to consider the Mississippi theory of law enforcement in the area of race relations. In Mississippi, "law enforcement" means control of Negroes. Protection of Negroes and restraint of their white attackers are not included in the concept.

Public tranquility is expected to be preserved by intimidating -- if not terrorizing -- Negroes. The state attorney general expressed the aim quite naturally when he said to me: "The Negroes have to be restrained so they won't provoke irresponsible whites." White outrages are deplored and the danger of anti-Negro mobs is feared -- at least at the highest official levels -- but they are to be prevented by keeping the Negroes from giving "provocation." The rigorous surveillance of Negroes by the Jackson police, for instance, is born of a deep fear, not of Negro excesses, but of a

possible rampage by white fanatics whom Negroes might "provoke." Police brutality is condoned by much of the public if it is directed toward keeping the Negroes "restrained." When the Negro is subdued, there is peace. That is the philosophy of a large element of the state's political leadership; it is deeply ingrained in the law-enforcement personnel.

An even more vicious sentiment is present among the now numerous members of the Ku Klux Klan and Americans for the Preservation of the White Race and other extremists. These feel that it is salutary to make an example of the few Negroes, or "nigger-lovers" now and then. They are not shocked at the beatings, even the killings, of a Negro somewhere in the woods. Rather this is regarded as a contribution to a good cause -- that of keeping the Negro reminded that the white man is in control.

This one-sided system had kept a kind of peace in Mississippi for many decades past; the Negro minority was successfully intimidated. But it will not work in the 1960's. Apart from moral considerations, Mississippi has not yet grasped the fact that the old system will no longer work. White Mississippians do not understand the new Negro. They do not realize that he will not submit, will never submit again.

We have thus a deadly collision of an obsolete concept of "law enforcement" with an irrepressible upsurge on the part of the people against whom it is directed.

To reinforce the official machinery for repression of the Negro minority, two secret vigilante organizations have recently grown to ominous proportions. The revived Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi claims a membership of 91,000, and it probably has more than half that number in fact. Estimates of the membership of the new Americans for the Preservation of the White Race are not available, but it is substantial and growing. (At the rally in the Jackson Coliseum June 25, when Governor Wallace spoke, introduced by Governor Johnson, the programs were distributed by young people wearing APWR badges.)

The state administration is plainly disturbed over the burgeoning vigilante movement, though the numbers involved induce caution from a political point of view. The governors has given the KKK and the APWR no encouragement; he has said that he believes their strength to have been exaggerated. But he avoids condemning them by name. He denounces "extremists on both sides." (When extremists are denounced in Mississippi, it is politically necessary to refer to "both sides," although the Negroes initiate no violence.)

The Jackson ~~Alarm~~ Clarion Ledger, which is close to the administration, reports: "Many state officials have privately expressed alarm at the formation of 'vigilante' groups of whites in some parts of Mississippi."

Somewhat ironically the most outspoken attack upon the racist vigilantes -- and some of the healthiest advice to the public in the matter of public order -- has come from the State

Sovereignty Commission. The SSC, which is headed by the governor, is usually devoted to defending state rights and the "Mississippi way of life."

Erle Johnston, Jr., State Sovereignty Commission director, addressed a white civic club in Canton, a center of race tension, on May 13, saying:

"I would like to suggest to you and to all other Mississippians that you can do a greater service to your state and be more effective in helping to meet this challenge by co-operating with your county, municipal and state law-enforcement agencies, rather than joining any secret organization which might have well-meaning motives, but could get out of hand under emotional leadership."

The reference to the KKK and the APWR was transparent. It was so interpreted in the press. The sensitive APWR issued a blast in reply.

Erle Johnson has incurred the wrath of extremists by his whole attitude of "softness" toward the civil rights "invaders." In his conversation with me Johnston displayed anger at several instances where police "got out of line" in harassing the visitors, though he quickly explained that these were "exceptional" cases. The arrest of civil rights workers for traffic violations, etc., he said had been in the regular line of duty. He was himself arrested for speeding last week! In spite

of his defensive attitude in talking to me, it was evident that he is gravely concerned and is exerting some pressure to improve the attitude of police -- also that he reflects the personal concern of the governor. Johnston said repeatedly: "We are only voicing the views of the governor. We are doing what he tells us to do."

The generally inflammatory Hederman newspapers have been surprisingly conciliatory in editorials about the Summer Freedom Project. The Mississippi Economic Council includes the state's leading corporation executives and, though over-cautious, this is the most powerful moderate influence in the state. Following a meeting of the MEC executive committee, June 18, its president issued the following statement

> Within the next few weeks the patience and self-control of Mississippians will, no doubt, be taxed to an extreme degree by the unfriendly activities of many outside students and adults coming into our state.
>
> It is imperative that we conduct ourselves with dignity, poise, forbearance, and, if possible, even good humor. We should not gather into curious crowds or allow ourselves to be provoked into impulsive acts that would reflect discredit on our state. We should support the governor in his declarations that law and order will be maintained and leave law enforcement duties in the hands of those trained to handle these matters.

We have great confidence that the sound judgement, self-control and good sense of all our people of all races will prevail so the goodwill and good feelings which have always existed will continue among the races.

We urge the citizenship in every community to be alerted to the importance of these matters.

The Jackson Daily News quoted the MEA statement on its editorial page, terming it "a timely and common-sense appeal," which "makes an excellent editorial in itself."

Governor Johnson, addressing a grocers' convention in Biloxi on the 19th, warned that all must obey Mississippi's laws whether they are "black, white or spotted."

But all this is very little and very late.

In addition to the prevailing concept of law-enforcement we have to consider the prevailing concept of wrong-doing -- in the area of race relations. A suggestion that a prominent white man favors racial integration, for instance, is matter-of-factly referred to in the press as an "indictment." From time immemorial, "stirring up the niggers" has been regarded as one of the most heinous of all crimes. Today the crime which arouses white indignation more than all others is that of "racial agitation." Physical assault, even murder, if committed by whites against Negroes, are relatively minor offenses. They are

considered excessable by many -- even desirable by some -- as a contribution to the general effort to keep the Negro under control. Any Negro, or white, civil-rights worker who is engaged in activity classed as "agitators" is a public enemy who can be harassed with a large measure of impunity. Police officers arrest such persons on a veriety of frivolous charges; they look the other way when white hoodlums belabor them.

The Summer Freedom Project has aroused fears in some quarters comparable to the ancient terror of a slave uprising. It is regarded by a majority of Mississippians as an "invasion" by a wicked scheming band -- "agents of Satan," communists, etc. -- who from a variety of evil motives are seeking to foment strife in this state.

What reliance can be placed on the individuals and organizations responsible for law enforcement to protect these civil- rights workers and Mississippi Negroes generally? How strong is the bulwark against interracial anarchy in Mississippi?

The most reliable -- or the only reliable -- force is the Mississippi National Guard. The National Guard met the test of combat with white fanatics in the insurrenction at "Ole Miss" and behaved admirably. The Guardsmen who participated in the action have suffered some odium and abuse from their neighbors since; on the other hand, some of these Guardsmen conceived a lasting disgust for racist fanatics. At any rate the discipline and

integrity of the Mississippi National Guard are a safeguard in the type of situation in which the Guard might be used.

The State Highway Patrol has been made available for police functions, and its authorized strength has been increased from 275 to 475 men. Legislation was also enacted last spring to enable localities to merge their law-enforcement resources in time of crisis. In the argument for these measures the need was related to the racial tensions and the impressionswas given that they were aimed at containing the civil rights movement. I am told, however, that the governor had very much in mind the danger from white vigilantes and said as much privately to some leaders of the legislature.

The danger of Negro aggression in Mississippi being insignificant, the criterion of the effectiveness of any law-enforcement agency must be the degree to which it can be relied upon to restrain whites. In this respect the performance of the Highway Patrol at "Ole Miss," of course was lamentable. Would these troopers again turn away from white rioters or fraternize with them?

State Treasurer William Winter is deeply apprehensive over the outlook in Mississippi, and he speaks frankly to me. He thinks under clearer political direction the Patrol would have done better at "Ole Miss." He said that a nucleous of veteran Patrolmen is well-disciplined and reliable. Some of these had told him they were ashamed of what happened at "Ole Miss." He said

their commander, Col. T. B. Birdsong, is a capable officer, with a National Guard background and an instinctive sense of discipline and duty.

Former Governor J. P. Coleman, with whom I discussed the whole matter of law enforcement, also spoke well of Birdsong, although the latter was a political opponent. Disregard Coleman is a warm personal friend, but his remarks have to be judged in the light of his habitual propensity to depend all Mississippi institutions. I remarked that I had heard from various sources that dubious characters had gotten into the Patrol in recent years. He said no, the Patrol's "high standard" had been maintained. He added that applicants complete a six-weeks course of training, after which recruits are selected on the basis of competition examination. I asked the former governor flatly: "Would the Highway Patrol do its duty in the event of a massive white attack upon Negroes?" After some hesitation, he answered that it would if the governor's wishes were clearly expressed and if his orders were firm.

The Jackson city police force is notorious for its brutality in handling Negroes, and in many instances -- some of them well publicized -- policemen have stood idly by while Negroes were beaten and kicked by white hoodlums. The police forces is, however, efficient, and it should have learned some discipline in the course of its intensive training. Major Allen Thompson has sought to reassure the public with many boastful statements about the invincibility of his police force, but these are

generally couched in slurs on the civil rights movement and they include no word of caution for white trouble-makers. Some Jackson financial magnates who feel that they are close to the mayor, say that, "when the time comes," he intends to use the police with all vigor against any white mob. But the Jackson police have had no psychological preparationsfor such a duty. Moreover, Thompson is an ambitious politician with thoughts of running for governor; he would be extremely loath to give the impression of being a protector of Negroes and civil-rights "agitators."

In some of the smaller cities local community leadership has brought about a relatively stable law-enforcement situation, as in Tupelo and Greenville. Other cities like McComb, Greenwood, Canton, etc., are festering sores. Incidentally, I am told that the "auxiliary police" in many of these cities is a liability and a menace in case of interracial turmoil.

Of all areas of law enforcement, it is in the rural counties that protection for Negroes is most alarmingly lacking. Some sheriffs and deputy sheriffs are said to be members of extremist organizations; none would like to affront them or offend their racist constituents. The anti-Negro ruffian here is protected by the concealment of woods and swamps, by the sympathy of many of his neighbors and by a paralysis of law enforcement.

The desperate need in Mississippi is not for more policemen, but for something far more difficult to secure -- a

reorientation of law enforcement. One distinguished observer (Marquis Childs) said the state's whole law-enforcement apparatus would have to be "reorganized from top to bottom."

I find it the opinion of all who speak fraknly that the worst is yet to come. Ultimate federal military intervention is foreseen by many (non-Mississippi) newspaper men as inevitable.

Robert Ezelle, president-elect of the Jackson chamber of commerce, believes that outrages against Negroes will continue and get worse, but that at some point the public will be shocked into a revulsion of feeling. He says that odium will descend upon the extremists as it did upon the Ku Klux Klan of old, and that stability and decency will return to Mississippi by this route.

Governor Coleman was very serious when we came, at the end of our talk, to the outlook for this state. He thinks the change will come dramatically. "Mississippi will have to have a catharsis," he said. It will be a massive convulsion which will shake the entire state. After that Mississippi will come to itself and go forward to its great future. (This is a widely-held view.)

Many thoughtful people here can see no ray of light. My own pessimism is tempered by several hopeful considerations.

The FBI is popular in Mississippi as a symbol of anti-Communism. FBI agents are more acceptable than any other element

of federal authority. Whatever their tangible accomplishment, their presence is a stimulus to proper police activity and a reminder of the meaning of even-handed law enforcement.

There is no element of clash between the state administration and the federal government in the present situation. Notwithstanding Paul Johnson's seconding of Barnette in the "Ole Miss" crisis in 1962, the posture of defiance of the federal government is foreign to Johnson's temperament and it has been absent from his performance as governor. There is no talk of resistance in the manner attempted on occasion by Barnette, Faubus and Wallace. For all the fulminations and lamentations over civil rights agitation, the ~~precise~~ spirit precisely of defiance of the federal government has faded in this state. It has not been significantly present in this year's legislature. ~~All~~ The planning of the governor and legislators for evasion of school desegregation has contemplated compliance with the letter of federal court orders.

I believe there is a possibility of developing a cooperative federal state relationship in the area of law enforcement.

BENJAMIN MUSE

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

Rec'd 7/14/64

PAV
PWV
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MLV
VJV
MJ-file

July 11,1964

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

File — B.L.P. Ben Muse 1964

In Mississippi June 18-29, 1964

(Typed by me with apologies)

I have already submitted a comprehensive report enlarging upon my talk with Mr.Allen Dulles in Jackson June 25 about law enforcement in Mississippi. Information on the fast-moving situation in that state has been coming to the SRC from many sources. This is to give an account of myself during my eleven days in Mississippi, together with some items and observations that my still be of interest.

It took me an entire afternoon, June 18, to catch Jack Reed for a short interview in Tupelo. Reed is one of the laborers for sanity in Mississippi of whom I had often heard, but whom I had never met. A past president of the Mississippi Economic Council, he had taken an active part in the recent meetings of the MEC executive committee which reiterated an earlier plea for the preservation of public schools and issued a very fine statement on the summer visit of civil-rights crusaders. He surprised me by saying: "The Southern Regional Council is performing a useful service. I am glad to get your publications."

Though his public position is one of cautious moderation, in private conversation he was definitely liberal on the race issue. He said:"Silver's book gave the true picture."

A recent state convention of law-enforcement officers in Tupelo had shown a good spirit on the whole, he said, though some of them sounded off on state rights, etc. --"which did not help." With reference to public order in the state generally, he said: "I guess we'll pull through." But he said it without much conviction. The situation in Tupelo was relatively good. Mayor James J. Ballard had recently drawn up a plan against possible racial turmoil in Tupelo. In an emergency the mayor proposed to deputize city employees and firemen, but he would avoid using the auxiliary police. He was afraid of the auxiliary police--as many Mississippi mayors are.

Tupelo had gone for Coleman in the governor race, but Johnson was proving much better than had been feared. "Paul Johnson will not cause any school to close." The problem would be to keep white pupils attending integrated schools. He said:"Mississippi business men are away ahead of the politicians on this thing. But the politicians are going crazy and we can't do much about it."

The Citizens' Council in Tupelo was feeble, mustering only eight or ten at its meetings. Reed gave much of the credit for the relatively good situation in Tupelo to the Tupelo Daily Journal. (I have reported on its editor, George McClean before.) McClean, he said, was "controversial" (a loyal Kennedy-Johnson Democrat), but he

did a great deal of good. Local newspapers were a tremendous factor in the whole situation in Mississippi. Greenville was blessed like Tupelo. On the other hand, the Jackson papers were the greatest single cause of Mississippi's agony. Reed hinted that some pressure was being brought to bear on the Hedermans, and their papers have indeed shown some slight improvement in recent weeks.

Driving south June 19, my wife and I called upon Mrs.J.P. Coleman. The former governor was away.

At Canton I called at the Madison County Herald to see my liberal friend, editor Curtis Mullen. But Mullen was no longer there. He had sold out a month before and left to take over a small paper in Texas. I visited with his successor, W.C. Taylor, Jr. This aging comrade of linotypes and obsolete presses had more or less the opposite of Mullen's approach to the great problem. He said he paid $40,000 for the paper.

(I learned afterward that Mullen had yielded at last to Citizens' Council pressure, as have other liberal editors before him. It is rumored that segregationist capitalists, possibly the Hedermans, put up the $40,000.)

We engaged in some friendly newspaper shop talk. I made no attempt to save the old man's soul, while I drew him out on what is probably the prevailing white attitude in places like Canton. He said: " We don't trust niggers now--can't tell what's going on in their heads. Look at New York--5,000 men added to the polce force. Nobody's life is safe. A lady told me yesterday she's given up going to the World's Fair. It was a sight to see "niggers" lined up for registration; it took hours to sort them out because they are so ignorant! Etc. Etc.

Significantly Taylor said that folks should stay away from the Ku Klux Klan and the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race and stand by the Citizens' Council. The CC was "orderly."

Saturday morning, June 20, I spent at the home of Mrs. Emanuel Crystal in Jackson with leaders of an embryonic organization to preserve public schools. Others present were: Mrs.Paul Derian, Mrs.George Butler (a cousin of Jack Reed, of Tupelo) and Mrs. T.L.Falls. They appeared to be ladies of the "best society," and I was impressed with their dedication and enthusiasm. They explained that, while their movement's official objective is limited to public schools, they were deeply concerned personally over the whole race situation in Mississippi. They said they were still unorganized and "off the record." They expected to hold a formal organization meeting shortly and elect officers. Though the public would not be invited to this meeting, a public announcement would be made afterward.

They said affiliated groups were active in Meridian, Tupelo, Oxford and Biloxi, and that groups were being formed in Greenville and Vicksburg. They gave me a reprint of two excellent editorials

from the Tupelo Daily Journal of June 9 and 10, to which they were giving some circulation and which they hoped to get into the hands of members of the legislature. They said the Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers had taken a position in favor of public schools and against tuition grants June 10, but that the press generally had ignored this action. The P-TA resolution read:

"In keeping with the traditions and policies of the Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers we pledge our support to the administration of the public schools at the state and local level in their effort to keep public schools open and educational opportunity available to all children.

"We are opposed to any proposal that state minimum program funds be diverted in order to finance a private school system. We believe any support for a private school system should come from other sources."

Mr. and Mrs. Wilson ("Bill") Minor dined with us Sunday evening and we visited in their home after dinner. Bill is the veteran Jackson reported for the New Orleans Times Picayune about whom I have written before. Odds and ends of information: Among the disturbing acts of Governor Johnson, State Senator George Yarborough, the racist"who pulled the Highway Patrol out of 'Ole Miss'," had been appointed to the college board. The Americans for the Preservation of the White Race--now flourishing in Mississippi-- are making quiet plans to promote a boycott of desegregated public schools by whites. Minor thought it would be hard for me to see Governor Johnson, especially during the session of the legislature. Frank Barber, the governor's administrative assistant, by the way, he said, is a Kennedy-Johnson Democrat. Minor saw litte hope of avoiding racial war in Mississippi without drastic federal action.

Monday I called at the Roman Catholic diocesan chancery for long talks, separately, with Bishop Richard O. Gerow and Rev. Bernard F. Law. Bishop Brunini was away. Bishop Gerow, 79, and young Father Law are closely associated in the many problems of the diocese related to the race crisis. They have widely different approaches. It was not so much a difference in their convictions on the moral question, but the venerable bishop is painfully cautious, Father Law, one of the boldest of crusaders.

There will be no desegregation of parochial schools this year. Bishop Gerow said the public schools will have to get through the "tangle" first. The church schools will, of course, be desegregated, but not yet. Moreover, the bishop has caused two priests to retire from the Freedom Project and has written Catholic authorities in the North asking them to discourage the participation by Catholic clergy. He said:"They accomplish absolutely nothing, and they make it harder for us to do what we're doing."

Then he went on to outline the steady progress which the diocese is making toward interracial brotherhood. Bishop Gerow is a gentle, priestly, deeply conscientious old man . The goings-on in Mississippi

caused him much sorrow and he appeared to be undergoing a constant inner struggle to determine the right course to follow in a variety of delicate situations.

The bishop and his church are indeed offering considerable leadership in the human relations field. Next to Tougaloo, the Catholic chancery and high school are the chief meeting places for interracial groups. The interracial ministerial association (Catholic, Protestant and Jewish) meets once a month at the chancery. (Mr.Dulles met with a mixed group of the clergy there.) Bishop Gerow said that in recent months two policemen had been posted outside the chancery during meetings. He was conscious of danger from racist extremists, from the police and from an irresponsible press. When a Catholic parish building was burned in Hattiesburg, the papers said a"civil-rights rally" had been held in the meeting the night before. Actually, it was a meeting of a committee of local Negroes (all from Hattiesburg) to plan quietly for a meeting with the mayor. The mayor had agreed to meet with them the following night. In the meantime the hall was burned to the ground.

Every Catholic church in Mississippi is desegregated, he said. When an usher in the cathedral in Jackson suggested to a Negro lady that she attend " her own" church next time, he was reprimanded and the pastor called upon the lady to insist that she continue to worship at the cathedral if it was convenient for her. Catholic organizations for men, women, youth, etc. are being integrated one by one. When I started to make a note of the next integration step in the schedule, the bishop stopped me: he did not want it on the record--even <u>my</u> record. He was greatly encouraged by the way Catholics were accepting integration in this gradual way.

(After passage of the civil-rights bill, Bishop Gerow issued a public statement calling for compliance with the new law.)

I called twice on Father Law and he lunched with us Tuesday. Civil rights are a passionate obsession with him, although he finds time to edit the diocesan newspaper, <u>The Mississippi Register</u>. The paper carries much material helpful to the cause. Father Law is constantly pushing the bishop on. He is working on two pastoral letters, which he hopes the bishop will issue, preparing Catholics for parochial school integration. His weekly TV sermons often stress interracial brotherhood. His Thursday evening message was picked up in part by NBC.

Dr. and Mrs. A.D.Beittel dined with us Monday evening. A long out-pouring over his virtual dismissal from Tougaloo, and a blow-by-blow account. He is deeply hurt. Mississippi segregationists consider it a victory for them--one remark retailed to Dr.Beittel:" It was the best thing that's happened since we got rid of Medgar Evers!" Although a replacement has not yet been found, Dr.Beittel was not permitted to continue on an interim basis. He must leave in September. The college business manager will carry on.

Two crises were converging in Mississippi--the fight over the tuition-grant bill and the tragedy of the three missing civil-rights

crusaders. The latter by mid-week overshadowed all else. The Capitol, and the Sun-n-Sand, swarmed with newspaper men. Marquis Childs was a frequent table companion, also on one occasion Dave Halbertsam. Halbertsam, ~~remarked~~ just back from Vietnam, remarked that he had"left one hopeless situation for another."

I visited the Capitol daily, saw much of Bill Minor and William Winter. Winter, still a public figure, has been making commencement ~~x~~ speeches and the like. On Tuesday he delivered the keynote address at the Jackson City Democratic Convention--a lofty appeal to high endeavor, which I read, with no reference to segregation or state rights. I was waiting in his office when he returned to the ~~x~~ Capitol, very depressed. He had been coldly received--they had wanted a "fighting speech." Furthermore, the convention had removed its chairman and secretary, who were merely segregationist, and elected ultra, ultra segregationists to succeed them.

A long friendly talk with State Attorney General Joel T. Patterson, referred to in my law-enforcement report. Patterson was long-winded in denunciation of the Supreme Court, etc., but Winter told me this was merely his usual speech to a stranger. He said Patterson is relatively moderate and full of anxiety now.

Called on Jackson McWhirter Tubb, the superintendent of public education. Tubb is distressed and apprehensive over the tuition-grant business, but he is no fighter. By way of pointing up the absurdity of the tuition grant plan I asked him for an estimate of ~~xxxxxx~~ the number of first-grade pupils in Jackson, Biloxi and Leake County--the number who would be affected in September if desegregation took place in the first grade as expected. The figures ~~x~~ were: Biloxi, 1,380; Leake, 547; and Jackson (only 1962-1963 being at hand) 4,144--a total of 6,071, white and Negro. To"protect " these--or the whites among them--from integration it was proposed to offer tuition grants to 19,000 private school pupils!

I have already reported on my talk with Erle Johnston, director of the State Sovereignty Commission.

I did not meet Governor Johnson, but I attended the press conference Tuesday when he announced the discovery of the burning station wagon--"still burning," as he reported it and the police had not gotten near enough to know if there were any bodies. The governor looked harassed. Incidentally , when asked if the search would be pursued "with vigor," he replied with a faint smile: "That's not my type of expression, but you can say it will be pursued ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ unrelentingly."

I spent 40 minues with Mr.Dulles Thursday morning before his breakfast dishes had been cleared away. We talked along the lines of my memorandum in which I discussed law enforcement somewhat in detail. Asked if I thought his visit would do any good, I expressed the opinion that, ~~xx~~ while any ~~xxx~~ real investigation was impossible in a few hours (he spent 28 hours in Jackson), he might accomplish two things: (1) emphasize the President's concern and (2) establish friendly communication with the governor. I noted that statements of Governor Johnson indicated that he was having some success in the latter. Before his arrival, the governor's comment was to the effect

that his visit was unnecessary, that he would find no law-enforcement problem except as created by visiting "agitators." After an afternoon and evening with Dulles, the governor had said:"...We always welcome anyone like Mr.Dulles. I am sure he would be welcomed by all Mississippians."

Attended the Wallace rally in the Coliseum Thursday evening. There were not 10,000 in the audience,as reported; about 10 per cent of the seats were empty. But it was festive and tumultuous. Only one possible reference to the law-and-order crisis in Mississippi: the introducer of Governor Johnson described him, among other things, as a "valiant fighter for law and order." The occasion was embarassing, however, for Johnson, who was completely overshadowed by Wallace..... Jars and other receptacles for contributions to the Wallace campaign fund are to be seen on store counters throughout Mississippi. The Holiday Inn, where we stopped in Columbus, was conspicuously soliciting contributions .

The Winters invited my wife and me for dinner Friday evening, and with great kindness William offered to invite anyone that I particularly wanted to talk to. I suggested Robert L.Ezelle, the president-elect of the Jackson chamber of commerce. Winter suggested Dr. William A. Bryant, vice-chancellor of the University of Mississippi, and the Rev. Dr.J. Moody McDill, pastor of the fashionable Fondren Presbyterian Church. (The wives of all except the last also came.) A long evening's discussion yielded much information and rumor which would add nothing important to the flood of Mississippi lore now pouring forth. It is significant, however, that I found this representative group completely congenial and that we all reacted in more or less the same way to the insanities current in Mississippi. All were gravely concerned. Listening to stories of bitter wrangling among business men over a question of which customers should use which toilets, or of Christian church elders torn with contention over the admission of two or three Negro worshippers, one seemed to be in an evil sort of Alice in Wonderland. Dr.McDill had been a promoter of the ill-fated manifesto for law and order. Many business men said at first:"This is fine! I'm glad to see this"--then later asked that their names be withheld.

Jim Silver's "Mississippi, the Closed Society" is on sale in Jackson. Dr.Bryant, who asked for a copy at a book store, was told the first consignment was sold within a few hours, but that a fresh supply was expected within a couple of days.

Saturday afternoon I called upon J.P.Coleman at Ackerman. The salient points of our conversation are given in my earlier report. The former governor is traveling a great deal and busily pursuing a lucrative law practice. He said frankly:"I'm making a lot of money." Aloof from politics, Minor and others say he is"dead politically," but I sensed that Coleman's political death is not without hope of resurrection.

My remaining time in Mississippi and part of the time while enroute to Atlanta were spent in drafting my report on law enforcement.

BENJAMIN MUSE

January 12, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Governor Luther Hodges and

Director of Administration Paul A. Johnston,

Raleigh, N. C., January 7, 1960

I called at 10:10 A.M. for an appointment with Governor Hodges at 10:30. Seeing me waiting, the Governor brought out and introduced Paul A. Johnston, Director of Administration, with whom he suggested that I talk until he finished with an earlier caller. He said Mr. Johnston was one of those chiefly responsible for working out the North Carolina school policy. Mr. Johnston took me into an adjoining office, asking the lady secretary there to retire, while we had 20 minutes of "confidential" conversation. Then the Governor came in and invited us both into his office, where the three of us talked for an hour.

Johnston asked only a few questions about the situation in Virginia, and then in a rapid monologue reviewed the North Carolina school policy and told how it came about.

Governor Hodges, he said, was one of the first (before Judge Parker's pronouncement) to fasten on the point that the Supreme Court did not order integration, but merely forbade discrimination. On that basis Governor Hodges conceived a policy for North Carolina of "moving only when pushed, but moving when pushed." The emotional climate made it impossible for the Governor to lead the people toward integration, but he made sure that when they moved in that direction, there would be no obstacles in the path. All he could do was keep a clear road toward orderly compliance, and stimulate enthusiasm under all circumstances for public schools.

Yancey County? They were gravely concerned about the trouble there. Johnston knew the affair was getting a lot of publicity, and was embarrassing to the Governor and to North Carolina. It was deplorable from any point of view. But it was one of the penalties of local option, and local option is the basis of the North Carolina plan. "Local option," he said, "is the only sensible approach, but local option has liabilities as well as assets."

Governor Hodges was most friendly and he is a man of considerable charm. He expressed appreciation for my coming and asked a number of questions about developments around

the South. Interested in the Louisiana governor race, which I was able to tell him something about, also in Governor Collins and the Florida legislature -- Atlanta, Little Rock and, of course, Virginia.

Some of his comments: Virginia's trouble was "political-- Byrd." He had talked with Stanley (in his moderate phase). Stuart Saunders of N & W and others. Faubus was "insincere" all the time. His natural leaning was toward "integration." He just wanted to hang on to his job as long as possible and ton get a job with a power company. However, Faubus had sobered considerably in recent months. Brooks Hays had been thrown with him at a recent meeting in Little Rock and confirmed this. No use for Eisenhower -- made his decision "between the last hole of golf and the first cocktail."

I asked about Governor Hodges' industry program in 1959. It was really a better year than 1958. $25 million under the quarter-of-a-billion investment in that year, but giving employment to 63 per cent more people. A good deal of talk about this.

Yancey County. I pointed out again and again that the trouble there threatened his own fine record. North Carolina's good name and the industry program itself. Very true. He was conscious of all that and gravely concerned. But local option tied his hands. If he intervened to promote integration anywhere, he would be under heavy pressure to intervene elsewhere on the other side.

"You know about that man Lake,(Beverly Lake, segregationist leader)" he said. "He would run for Governor with the least encouragement."

I suggested that some friend of the Governor talk to the Yancey School Board informally. "They don't realize," I said, "how much damage they're doing to North Carolina."

"They don't give a damn!" the Governor said. "Just a lot of Democrats and Republicans fighting each other in a little rural county, and none of them know what they're doing."

However, Governor Hodges said that he had an intermediary at work, and he was in close touch. "Judge Warlick is very considerate." They might be able to straighten things out with a new school. Turning to Johnston, he said:

"By the way, they just told me they cleared the $40,000 for Yancey. I don't know if you heard."

I said I believed it was too late to solve the Yancey County problem that way. The Governor said, however, he thought that it would, for the present. He said: "The Negroes in Yancey are not anxious for integration."

I think, however, the Governor was not quite confident that that would settle the matter, and I again expressed fear that there would be trouble and embarrassment in Yancey County until they got over the desegregation hurdle.

Interestingly, in view of the incipient gubernatorial race, Governor Hodges suggested that I talk with Attorney Generall Sewall. "He's straight-forward; you'll like him."

The Governor was extremely cordial throughout, and in no hurry to terminate the interview.

Benjamin Muse

January 14, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversations in Raleigh, January 7, 1960,
with Malcomb Seawell, Attorney General
Jonathan Daniels, Editor, News & Observer

Mr. Seawell was very cordial, particularly when I referred to our mutual friend, Virginia Attorney General Harrison. Seawell has emphasized the State's detachment from the Yancey County affair. However, he thought the situation there very bad and had little patience with the Yancey County School Board. "If they asked my advice, I would tell them they haven't a leg to stand on." He said nothing about the construction of a school for the Negroes, and I think he would like to see desegregation effected the sooner the better.

Seawell is mentioned as a possible candidate for Governor and is one of those believed to be favored by Hodges.

Mr. Daniels is engrossed in writing a book about the Natchez trial, and his daughter is writing a piece about Prince Edward County, Virginia. A little hard to bring down to specifics otherwise. We covered a wide range, from Arnold Toynbee to Jimmy Davis.

Yancey County? He couldn't identify the place at first. Wasn't there a "Yanceyville," or something? Maybe it was "Burnsville." However, he became interested in the Yancey story, and seemed to be concerned. He said he would write something about it if I would send him some material. (I have sent him material in two communications since.)

Benjamin Muse

January 14, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Durham, N.C., January 8-9, 1960

In general among people in Raleigh and Durham I was impressed with the lack of information on the Yancey County affair and with the relative lack of interest in the whole matter of school desegregation. Race prejudice is soon revealed when you get onto the subject and most people want to delay and minimize integration as far as possible, but there is little talk about it and it doesn't seem to figure as a major public issue.

There is almost no concern anywhere over the seven Negro children in formerly white schools in Durham. One Negro boy got into some trouble. On the other hand a Negro girl is leading her class. (A grand niece of mine was runner-up in the same class last semester.) Val. 1st. second only protecting atty - not from Raleigh

Most of the people whom I saw in Durham had about the average attitude toward the problem: condidence in Governor Hodges, "don't like it, but it has to come." I talked with only one dedicated worker in our cause, Mrs. James H. Semans, 1415 Bevins St. 49-5779

Mrs. Semans is one of the Duke heiresses -- daughter of Mary Duke Biddle and General Biddle. She is also a very busy, public-spirited and attractive lady. She has been several times a member of the city council and for a considerable period mayor pro tem, and she is now a member of the mayor's Committee on Human Relations. I paid Mrs. Semans a morning visit, Friday, January 8, along with my niece, Mrs. Arthur Bradsher, who knows her very well.

Mrs. Semans is completely liberal on the race question, and has fought for tolerance and desegregatin at every point. She complained of the difficulty in making the influence of the Human Relations Committee felt, especially with the school board. School board chairman Frank Fuller was especially difficult. However, there were many evidences of friendly interracial relations in Durham. The nurses' associations, Girl Scouts, etc., were happily integrated. There were frequent interracial dinners (in private dining rooms) in Durham hotels.

At Duke University, Mrs. Semans believed a majority of the students favored integration. Only the board of trustees prevented it. Actually there was much amicable mingling of white students and visiting colored students in laboratories and libraries and among technicians employed.

Mrs. Semans suggested that I visit the new Civil Rights Commission member Rankin at Duke, also Rev. Warren Carr, chairman, and other members of the Durham Committee on Human Relations. Mrs. Semans and my relatives were friendly with Mayor "Mutt" Evans, and I would have no trouble seeing him on a future visit.

Friday afternoon I spent with John Wheeler and Asa Spaulding.

My niece and nephew entertained my wife and me at a dinner party Friday evening, at which were a naval captain (from Mississippi), Durham Sun city editor Webb, Jesse Harper Erwin -- and wives. I was able to get across some wholesome truths on the race question even to Captain Mississippi, who agreed the Supreme Court could not have ruled otherwise.

Most of my conversation was with Jesse Harper, a member of the Erwin cotton mill family, himself a stockbroker -- a boyhood friend seen again after 40 years. He seemed to remember what had become of each member of the Durham High School class of 1914. An ingratiating aristocrat, it is impossible not to like him, but, about desegregation, he says, "I don't like it."

Saturday, I lunched with another boyhood friend, Judge Oscar Barker, of the Civil Court. Barker, a devoted admirer of Governor Hodges, recognizes the Supreme Court decision as the law of the land, but thinks "it will take time," etc., thinks gradual desegregation will make no trouble in Durham -- a very common North Carolina attitude. He is very friendly with Wheeler and other Negroes.

Negro members — C & Stewart, city council
RN Harris, sch bd

Benjamin Muse

March 23, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation

Preliminary Report

Visit to North Carolina,

Monday, March 14 through Monday, March 21, 1960

I am submitting the following brief observations before preparing a comprehensive report.

These three aspects of the situation impressed Governor Hodges and should have weight with the chain store management:

1) The city managers in Durham, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem are unmistakably anxious to see the lunch counters desegregated. (Presumably the mayors are of the same mind, although I talked only with the mayor of Greensboro.)

In other words, that is the course which concern for public order dictates. The officials chiefly responsible for the preservation of public order would rather cope with whatever disturbance might attend desegregation than deal with the disorders which might result from prolonged agitation. Apart from everything else, the objective of stability and peace would be better served by desegregation.

2) If the stores are afraid of the effect upon their business, what about the press? No enterprise is more sensitive to community sentiment and community pressures than the local newspaper. A community which would react violently against stores with desegregated lunch counters would also show hostility toward local newspapers which advocate desegregation. But nothing of the sort has occurred.

The newspapers of Greensboro and Winston-Salem are openly advocating lunch counter desegregation; there has been no noticeable effect upon either circulation or advertising. On Thursday, March 17, the Winston-Salem Sentinel published a bold leading editorial headed: "WHEN LUNCH COUNTERS REOPEN, THEY SHOULD SERVE ALL CUSTOMERS." The editor informed me Saturday afternoon that he had not received a single letter in regard to this editorial and that all the comment which had come to his attention had been favorable.

3) The Negro student groups are prepared to cooperate loyally in any reasonable plan to make the initial lunch counter desegregation gradual and inconspicuous. Only 3-4 Negroes might visit the lunch counter the first day; they might stay away entirely for a couple of days and then go back with 3-4 more on the fourth day. Any plan of this sort would be acceptable to them. The first visits to the lunch counters would be without previous announcement, and the press would cooperate in this.

I spent over two hours talking with the Governor's advisers, and briefly with Governor Hodges, on Monday. They have had considerable contact with the management of Woolworth and other chain stores. (They said "we" talked to Woolworth, etc. I don't know to what extent the Governor himself took part in these talks. The brief statement of the chain stores published in the N. Y. Times, March 15, followed a conference in which "we" participated.) Their objectives were not the same as ours, but they were impatient with Woolworth, and the Governor expressed himself quite strongly in this regard.

They told me definitely that the policy, or lack of policy on the part of chain stores emanates entirely from their New York and Chicago offices. Purdy's views have some weight, but he is not the Woolworth authority in this matter. Any change will have to come from the New York office.

Governor Hodges was out of the state when I made my appointment with Paul Johnston, Director of the Department of Administration. Monday was the Governor's first day back at his desk, and I had no appointment with him. However, he came in for a brief talk with me, and the others retired, including the stenographer, so that we could talk alone.

I felt that the Governor had been badly advised from one quarter, (Administrative Assistant Giles) and I tried delicately to convey that thought to him. Governor Hodges is deeply concerned and very earnest about all this. He listened with close attention to my rapid review of the situation and asked a few questions. I believe he is moving toward a conviction that the problem cannot be solved by anything short of lunch counter desegregation. On my departure, he said: "I appreciate your coming to see me. Good luck in the work you are doing."

I spent most of Saturday with three of the original student leaders at A. T. in Greensboro and lunched with them along with the dean. They are amazingly fine and intelligent boys. Dean Gamble asked me to emphasize the importance of the passive posture, as I did at every opportunity anyway. These three boys themselves are thoroughly imbued with this and preach it to the other students.

Nevertheless, I was acutely conscious of the dangers lurking in this situation. The three leaders said they were increasingly unpopular among some of the students who wanted to be more aggressive. On the second day of the sitdown the leaders noticed that one of their companions was intoxicated. They called the dean and he sent a group to escort the boy back to college. The boy had not misbehaved, and few knew about this. Unknown to the police, the college had found it necessary to confine all students to the campus one night. This was because a boy -- not a very reliable fellow -- had spread a story that he had been beaten and his girl friend insulted. The dean doubted if the story was actually true. However, there were rumors that at least one carload of students was preparing to go out after some white boys.

Benjamin Muse

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March 24, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation, Visit to North Carolina

Monday, March 14 through Monday, March 21, 1960

People Seen

My plan was to work intensively in Greensboro, where the recent wave of sitdowns began and where the prospects of a breakthrough seemed particularly encouraging.

However, I called on John Wheeler in Durham Monday for a rundown on the situation in both Durham and Greensboro, and I conferred with him again on my return Sunday afternoon.

I spent Thursday in Winston-Salem, where I called on Robert F. Campbell, (head of the editorial board of the two papers there), lunched with Irving Carlysle (attorney, Wachovia director, and member of SRC) and called on City Manager John Gold.

Before leaving North Carolina Monday, March 21, I called at the Capitol in Raleigh and talked with Paul Johnston, director of Department Administration, Robert Giles, administrative assistant to the Governor and Governor Hodges.

On the evening of my arrival in Greensboro, William Bagwell (A.F.S.C.) came over from High Point for dinner and three hours of talk about the situation in that section of North Carolina.

I spent more time in Greensboro with H. W. Kendall, editor of the Daily News, than with anyone else. Kendall lunched with me on Tuesday and we talked for most of the afternoon. I spent Thursday evening at his home and we were in touch over the telephone nearly every day. He is an allout ally in our objective.

I also saw Mayor George H. Roach and Bland W. Worley, president of the chamber of commerce. (I had seen the city manager on my earlier visit.) Waldo C. Falkener, the Negro member of the city council, came to my room for a three-hour (!) conversation. I called at the Labor Union Building and talked with the two officials there. I also visited D. H. Gamble, dean of men, at A & T and by arrangement with him, I had a long talk Saturday with three of the four young leaders of the protest movement, lunching with the group.

The Mayor's Committee

Mayor Roach was most cordial and, I believe frank with me. He was proud of the fact that not one of those chosen had refused to serve on his committee -- and they were among the ablest and most influential people in town. He said that they were working "most earnestly." He believed they would "find a solution." There was every reason to believe that the solution he has in mind is desegregation of the lunch counters.

The Mayor was very proud of Greensboro's progress thus far in eliminating race discrimination. His conversation was very similar to that of the city manager, which I reported on March 12. Editor Kendall says Roach "leans heavily on the city manager." The Mayor also pointed to the city's happy experience with integration at the municipal colosseum and skating rink. At the latter both dressing rooms and (stand-up) snack bar are visited by many Negroes, along with whites, with no trouble at all.

The Mayor said there was good communication between the races in the lunch counter controversy. The Negro student representatives were polite and intelligent. They had made an excellent impression.

I emphasized in my earlier report the high prestige of the Mayor's Committee. It includes: Bland W. Worley, Wachovia vice-president and president of the chamber of commerce; O. L. Fryman, National Cash Register Co. executive and president of the Merchant's Association; Howard Holderness, a top executive of Jefferson Standard Life; and Edward R. Zane, top executive of Burlington Mills.

I gather from various sources that nearly all members of the committee leaned toward lunch counter desegregation as the only solution. There is one member (whose name was not disclosed) who might refuse to sign the committee's report, but every effort will be made to make it unanimous.

Zane was cordial to me over the phone, and said he would be glad to see me. But he thought it would serve no useful purpose. He said he could have nothing to say. He had read our Special Report. It was the understanding that no member of the committee would talk outside of the group. He said that they were being criticized for this policy, especially by newspaper men. I remarked that the local newspaper men had expressed a high opinion of him to me. However, I said I thought his policy was sound and I would not call.

(Kendall and my Negro friends had assured me that Zane was liberal on the issue, as also Holderness and others).

Rev Anderson (Negro) is president of ministerial association

Negro Dorden.

Geo. Neill Smith & Mrs. Smith among leading liberals in dist

Cott. Frazier, prominent business man, member of com. AFSC

J. Kenneth Lee, Negro attorney, aided in school cases

Donald Scott, city planner; Unitarian Scott Hagaman, Pastor

Ed Loewenstein, architect, liberal Workers Council, AFSC

Chamber of Commerce President Worley

I had already talked with Bland Worley. Worley probably represents the committee's lowest common denominator of liberalism, and its present attitude toward the public.

Worley said he had one position on the question as president of the chamber of commerce, vice-president of Wachovia and a member of the mayor's committee; he had another position in his own mind. No one else knew what the latter was and no one was going to know. He was skillful in concealing his personal feeling.

He agreed that the lunch counter protest was something big which would not peter out. "They're going right on," he said, "until they get complete integration."

He didn't think any official, or member of a mayor's committee had a right to tell a store manager what to do. The store managers had orders to act in accordance with the "customs of the community." Maybe, however, the community was prepared to change its "customs." The mayor's committee was trying to find out whether or not this was so.

The committee was trying to get the feeling of the community by letters. It was inviting these letters by press, radio, etc. Some letters were for, some against desegregating lunch counters. He didn't know what the letters would ultimately reflect. And the course of action which the mayor's committee would suggest would not depend entirely on these expressions.

He didn't approve of extreme public statements on either side. This included a statement of a clergymen's group expressing approval of what he termed "unlawful action" on the part of the Negroes to gain their ends.

I remarked that from a chamber of commerce point of view it was important to get over this hurdle smoothly and as soon as possible. "Yes" he said, "I have to consider it from that angle." The chamber certainly didn't want any bad publicity.

I said that I had heard in many quarters that Greensboro was the most likely Southern city to take the lead in this progressive step. He seemed to agree. He said, in a tone of confidence, "We hope to find a solution to this thing which will be satisfactory to all concerned."

The Committee's Poll

The committee has invited expressions of opinion from the public, and is receiving letters daily. It places much emphasis on this "poll," although I understand from various people,

besides Worley, that it will not appraise the community attitude strictly on the basis of the number of letters for and against desegregation.

I can't find how the letters are running in number or content. The Mayor remarked that some are "very bitter," but that a considerable number urged opening the lunch counters to Negroes. (He said letters had also been received from Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, etc.)

Two committee members, white Councilman David Shenck and Negro Councilman Waldo C. Falkener, have been appointed to tabulate the letters in due course.

A radio-TV-conducted poll in Winston-Salem is running about 3 to 1 against desegregation. Letters to the Editor in Greensboro have run about 50-50. All agree that a very large element of the public who do not write letters either way are prepared to accept lunch counter desegregation without serious complaint. The fanatic segregationists are far more inclined to write letters on the subject.

Best guess as to when the committee will make its report is "about the end of the month."

Councilman Falkener

When I asked for an appointment with the Negro councilman, he offered instead to come immediately to my room at the O. Henry. He stayed nearly all the afternoon. He talked a great deal about his personal activities and the general race problem, but I got a very useful picture of the lunch counter crisis from him. He was conscious about the agreed privacy of Mayor's Committee activities, but considerable information in this regard inevitably came out in the long talk.

Sidney Stern, a white attorney, had filed a "brief" with the committee recommending desegregation. The Negro student leaders had made a remarkable impression when they met with the committee. Members had remarked: "I didn't know they had such boys at A. & T.," "I never met Negro boys like them before," etc.

Falkener said he had had the political support of organized labor and I suggested that effort be made to get the labor boys to pull for desegregation with the Mayor's Committee -- which he thought a good idea. I also suggested getting help from the League of Women Voters, which has Negro members.

Falkener said there had been some talk in the committee -- as there has been in Raleigh, Durham and Winston-Salem -- of a plan of dividing the lunch counter into three sections: white, white and colored, and colored. He had no opinion on the merit of this proposal.

(Interesting note: George Evans, Negro member of the Greensboro school board is a brother of James C. Evans, integration specialist in the Department of Defense.)

The Woolworth Attitude

All comments agreed that Woolworth is the chief obstacle. Kress and others sometimes say: "It's up to Woolworth." Wake Forest faculty members showed their statement to all the Winston-Salem store managers affected before publishing it. All were friendly and took it in good part, except one of the two Woolworth managers, who was disagreeable.

C. E. Harris, the Woolworth manager in Greensboro is particularly difficult. Kendall advised against calling upon him at this stage. He has returned some of the letters to him, urging lunch counter desegregation, with something like this scribbled on them: "Why don't you talk to S. & W.?"

City officials give the impression of being impatient with Woolworth. Milburn Purdy, Woolworth district manager was here early in February. Mayor Roach found it "hard to do anything with him." He asked if we had talked to Purdy.

Purdy met with the student leaders on February 4 and again on February 6. Also present at these meetings were: Dr. Blackwell and Miss Anne Dearsley (student) from the Greensboro Women's College; Dr. Bennett and Miss Brown (student) from Bennett College, Dean Gamble, President Gibbs, and Student Council Charles DuBose, from A. & T. The local managers of Woolworth and Kress were also present, but no city officials.

Purdy impressed my Negro informants as a segregationist Southerner whose personal views on the subject it would be hard to change. He offerred little hope, but he asked for a two weeks "truce." He said Woolworth could not deal with them while they were "holding a gun at our head."

Organized Labor

When I called at the Greensboro Labor Union Building Friday afternoon, most of the officers were absent attending a state AFL-CIO convention in Raleigh. I found only Gerrit van Wyk, "Business Manager", and R. E. Brown, Carpenter's Union "District Representative." (Interminable titles on their cards.) They were only casually interested in the lunch counter problem. Thought Negroes ought to be served, but didn't like all this "pressure."

"Pressure?" "Pressure" from a labor leader! It was a wonderful opening for a speech about labor's long struggle with the use of pressures of every kind to obtain fair treatment. The Negroes were in a similar struggle, and the great Meany and Reuther were in the forefront of the fight against discrimination. We ended on a note of high enthusiasm for labor's glorious role as a champion of human rights.

Happily the convention in Raleigh adopted a resolution endorsing the Negroes' protest movement.

The Negro Student Leaders

I called on D. H. Gamble, dean of men at A. & T., Friday and arranged for a conference with the student leaders Saturday morning in the dean's conference room. Dean Gamble has been a big brother to the boys since the demonstrations started. I talked with the boys from 10 to 11:30. They invited me timidly to lunch with them. I asked if my wife (who was with me on this trip) could come, as I thought it would please them. It developed into a luncheon in the faculty dining room, at which we were joined by Dean Gamble and the dean of women, Mrs. Holmes.

It could almost be said that Ezzell Blair is "the little boy that started this great movement." He is the smallest of the original four leaders, all freshmen, and the unchallenged director and "master mind." He is a bright, plucky and most ingratiating little fellow. David Richmond was home for the week-end. The other two, Joseph McNeil and Franklin ~~McNeil~~, are also very attractive boys. McLaurin

All four are good students, gentlemanly -- and religious -- boys. They began planning this among themselves last September. Only a handful knew about it until the first sitdown at Woolworth's. It was a complete surprise to Dean Gamble, as it was, of course, to the NAACP, etc. The boys shun publicity. They have refused to be televised. They don't want it to be said that they are in this for publicity.

Charles DuBose (senior), president of the Student Council (whom I did not meet) is a prominent figure now, and there is a committee of 17, but these boys are still the central nucleus.

Although unwavering in their objective, these four are now an element of restraint among the 3,000 students at A. & T. They feel that they are getting "unpopular" on that account. A first mass meeting of about 1,300 students rejected the "truce" proposal. About 800 attended the second meeting at which the "truce" was approved.

As noted in my Preliminary Report, care and vigilance on the part of the college authorities have been necessary to curb

aggressive students. I emphasized the tremendous importance of the peaceful and orderly attitude. The dean preaches the same thing all the time, and these three boys preach it. "If you can't take insult and injury," would-be demonstrators are told -- "stay away." A great human problem, nevertheless, exists, and it is fraught with the utmost danger.

There is impatience now at the delay in action by the Mayor's Committee. The boys asked my advice. I suggested waiting another two weeks. In any case I pointed out that, from the standpoint of honorable negotiation, demonstrations should not be renewed without talking first with the Mayor's Committee.

The boys are a little afraid that some compromise plan will be offered. A "separate but equal" solution -- white and colored lunch counters -- they feel sure would be rejected by the students. The three-section counter plan might possibly be considered. They would submit it to the student body.

In any reasonable arrangement to make lunch counter integration gradual and inconspicuous -- only 3 or 4 asking for service the first day, etc. -- they would be glad to cooperate.

Winston-Salem

Carlysle and Editor Campbell were optimistic over the situation in Winston-Salem, thought that city was as ready as Greensboro to accept lunch counter desegregation. City Manager Gold's attitude was similar to that of the Durham and Greensboro city managers.

There was no Mayor's Committee. They thought an informal group might do just as well. The Urban League, with which the wealthy Hanes family is associated, has high prestige and is influential in Winston-Salem. Sam Harvey, Urban League executive secretary, and Dr. C. H. Patrick, professor of sociology at Wake Forest, are taking the lead in organizing a movement for lunch counter desegregation. Other Wake Forest professors have been active.

Thalhimers had a small (10 seat) integrated lunch counter in the basement. It was closed when the agitation started. On the other hand, Brown, Rogers, Dixon Co. (hardware) removed the stools from its lunch counter and is offering desegregated service.

Durham

In Durham I gather that a number of prominent citizens are annoyed over the protest movement, and there is little white

leadership. An interracial meeting held privately in the N.C. Mutual Building on the 16th. was not very encouraging.

John Wheeler also talked about the constant insistence of Negro leaders upon polite and orderly behavior. The Negro pickets in Durham begin each day with a prayer.

Mr. Dowd is segregationist member of Mayor's Committee
Lewis Hollingsworth. James Carmichael. Mayor's Com.
Alfonso Elder, pres. Civic Coords.

Governor Hodges and His Advisors

I called on Paul Johnston, director, Department of Administration Monday morning. Gov. Hodges was out of the state when I made the appointment with him.

Johnston has been the Governor's closest advisor on the school problem, but my guess is that Administrative Assistant Robert W. Giles has been closer to the Governor in this lunch counter matter.

Personally transferred from Ella to N.C. definitely on assignment of [illegible]

Johnston was exceedingly cordial -- ordered coffee at once, etc. He said he was regarded as the "Negroes' friend;" they generally came to see him. His views on the lunch counter problem seemed to be the same as my own.

Incidentally, he said closing lunch counters entirely would be a last, reluctant resort as far as the chain stores are concerned. Woolworth said the lunch counter was its most profitable department. He also said that the problem was being handled directly and with great concern by the New York office -- not the Atlanta office.

Attendants did not "sell" food at other lunch counters

I think Johnston was definitely anxious for me to get my views before the Governor. His office is in the Revenue Building. He walked with me across the street to the Capitol and went in to see the Governor, after leaving me with Administrative Assistant Giles.

I talked with Giles for about one hour. The difference between Johnston and Giles was like the difference between Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

Giles had no sympathy at all with the Negroes. He referred to the demonstrations as "attacks" -- "attacks" on this store or that.

He said we had a growing movement on the part of Negroes to force their way into white eating places and a growing movement on the part of whites to stop them. I objected that, although there was certainly white opposition, I hadn't noticed anything like a "movement" of that sort in North Carolina.

Giles did nearly all the talking. I tried to keep an attitude of friendly dissent. He greatly exaggerated the picture of white opposition in Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro and Winston-Salem. I said the newspaper editors had given me a very different picture.

"You don't know the North Carolina press," he said smiling, "-- run by a crowd of liberals. Nobody takes them seriously. Guess wrong on every election."

(He said incidentally that there is a small restaurant on Blunt St. in Raleigh which serves white and colored, but uses separate entrances.)

Giles appeared to think he had all the information at his fingertips, and he had a 1-2-3-4 formula for dealing with the problem: Just enforce the law. Put the Negroes "on the defensive." Let them see they're going to be punished, and they'll get enough.

The question of the legality of sitdowns would go on up to the Supreme Court. It might take two years to get a final decision. Then, if the Supreme Court orders lunch counter desegregation, the whites would accept it!

They had had trouble with Woolworth, he said. Woolworth wanted protection, yet Woolworth managers wouldn't swear out warrants. It would be fairly simple to jail the trouble-makers if Woolworth would swear out warrants against trespassers one by one, but handling a mob in the streets would be a far different matter.

On some word from the Governor, Giles took me into his small office and withdrew. The stenographer also vanished and Gov. Hodges came in for a talk with me alone.

I remarked that I had heard two very different views of the situation from his two advisors. The Governor was a little shocked at this. He said that if I talked with them longer he was sure that I would find them not far apart.

I said Mr. Johnston was of the opinion that lunch counter desegregation was inevitable and the sooner we can bring it about the better it will be for all concerned. The Governor nodded a mild assent.

"Mr. Giles," I said, "seems to think that we can settle the matter and cause the whole trouble to blow away by simply enforcing anti-trespass laws."

Governor Hodges shook his head and said, "No, No," to this. "I don't think Giles meant that," he said.

An indication of my further conversation with Gov. Hodges was given in my Preliminary Report. He stressed the confidential nature of our talk. There were remarks in regard to Gov. Collins and F. W. Woolworth and Co. which were interesting but which it is not important to repeat.

Benjamin Muse

June 21, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The Laurinburg Phenomenon

Visit, June 12-13, 1960

Laurinburg interested me greatly because 1) it is just 6 miles from the South Carolina border and because 2) of the eager letter (5-23-60) from the Laurinburg Chamber of Commerce asking for various reports and for "advice and counsel." I phoned chamber of commerce manager Glenn F. Webb and found him most anxious for a visit from me.

I arrived Sunday night and spent a full day Monday with Webb. The latter took me to see a number of people and arranged a luncheon for six and a meeting of seven at 4 P.M. at the chamber. Among the leaders with whom I talked at length were: E. H. Evans, Jr. (farm manager of the McNabb Seed Co. and former chamber president,) K. J. Shaw (president, Southern National Bank and present chamber president) and R. F. McCoy (general manager, J. T. McNair, Inc.) -- all well-to-do and representing to a large extent the local power structure. I had most conversation, apart from Webb, with Dr. A. N. Wells, pastor of the Laurinburg Presbyterian Church and chairman of the committee on Community Betterment. Talked briefly with O. L. Moore, editor of the Laurinburg Exchange, and Rev. Henry Ruark, Methodist minister. The latter is stated to be the next president of the N. C. Council on Human Relations. Among the Negro leaders with whom I talked were: C. H. Morris, Rev. W. F. Carlson, Clinton McGill and Mrs. Willie J. Lea -- all members of the Committee on Community Betterment.

The physical pattern of race relations in Laurinburg is pathetically backward, or obsolete. Segregation is still completely intact. Steps now being taken in the name of "progress" are only things which should have been done long ago. But the spirit of the community leadership is refreshing -- in fact, phenomenal -- and interracial communication has been established in a splendid way.

This liberal, or enterprising, approach to the race problem is a part of the enthusiastically progressive spirit of the business community. Laurinburg -- as the sign board on the highway tells you -- was an "All-American City of 1956." My ambition is to keep the little city (10,000 pop.) conscious of the fact that enlightened race relations are inseparable from Southern progress. That was the theme of most of my talk there and I want to follow through as I have opportunity. (That is my thought

in sending a generous number of copies of Gov. Collins' address to the Laurinburg chamber).

The Southern Regional Council is little, but favorably known in Laurinburg. (I hope we can keep that prestige too). Webb took me to a coffee shop where the business men go for the morning coffee break and introduced me right and left without the slightest embarrassment.--"He's from the Southern Regional Council, come here to help us with our Community Betterment Committee. The Southern Regional Council is something like our Community Betterment on a large scale."

The CBC was set up first in November, 1958; its by-laws were adopted last September. As will be seen from the copy of the by-laws, enclosed herewith, the CBC is an agency of the chamber of commerce, which "shall seek to relate its objectives" to those of the chamber. Its members are nominated, 10 white members by the white ministerial association and 10 Negro members by the Negro ministerial association. Actual appointment is by the chamber, although the wishes of the ministerial associations have been followed thus far. Only five committee members are ministers, three white and two colored.

Both the committee and the chamber concern themselves with Scotland County as well as Laurinburg.

The committee's chief work thus far has been in the field of employment for Negroes. It has also cooperated with the chamber in warning the Negro community against dubious and unscrupulous salesmen and promoters. Recently, through the committee's efforts, Negro school police were organized and given uniforms. It is now trying to get a Negro social worker employed by the Welfare Department.

All of this, of course, is elementary, but at this stage in Laurinburg it is regarded as "accomplishing things." The committee's greatest accomplishment from the chamber's point of view is in the fact that it has prevented "agitation."

But the situation is not stationery. Ultimate desegregation is not ruled out, but is definitely foreseen. The Committee on Community Betterment is popular. There has been practically no criticism. It has met regularly once a month, excepting one night when the blizzard prevented. Discussions are animated -- "the liveliest meetings in town" -- but both Negro and white members assured me that they have always ended in a warmly friendly atmosphere.

A busy day, in which I did more talking than questioning, left me with much still to learn about the local situation. I doubt if the segregation issue is met head-on, though a Negro member has a jovial, but disturbing way of remarking, "In time of peace we prepare for war." But it was evident that white leaders were learning much about Negroes and the Negro problem.

The business leaders with whom I lunched, including the president and the manager of the chamber, were not bigoted. In fact, they joined congenially in the more liberal conversation of Dr. Wells and myself. They want to postpone desegregation until it can be accomplished with a minimum of disturbance, and they want the community to be thoroughly prepared in advance. Though they have accomplished nothing concrete in this matter, they seemed to be -- for leaders of what is virtually a Deep South community -- to an extraordinary degree on the right track.

Webb remarked that he had been criticized at times by other chamber members. I think a part of the value of the Laurinburg exhibit is that it might conceivably spread the idea to other chambers of commerce. Its ultimate success may also have a good effect in neighboring South Carolina communities.

Benjamin Muse

June 22, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Fayetteville

June 14, 1960

The situation in Fayetteville is in depressing contrast to that in Laurinburg, 50 miles farther south. There is difference of opinion as to whether there ever was, or now is, a bi-racial committee in Fayetteville. At any rate, whatever there was has bogged down. A few ministers (VA Hospital chaplain C. R. Jenkins, Presbyterian Rev. T. B. McKethan, etc.) are "deeply concerned" and still have hopes. They get little help from either the city administration or the press. I had, nevertheless, long and cordial talks with the city manager and with the editor of the Fayetteville Observer.

Gilbert Ray, city manager for the past 11 years, said that municipal services and facilities were extended to white and colored citizens "exactly alike." There were a Negro member of the board of adjustment and two Negro members of the recreation commission. A number of Negroes were employed by the city, some in a minor supervisory capacity -- "heads of trucking crews." Ray personally had been active in the launching 9 years ago of a Negro housing project, of which he was very proud. If he hadn't a meeting scheduled for the afternoon, he would like to take me to see it -- Negro homes ranging from $9,000 to $40,000. He said there was no bi-racial committee in Fayetteville, though he understood some preachers were "agitating."

We talked for half an hour about Virginia, North Carolina and the race problem in general. Ray was far from being averse to liberal conversation, and warmed to a positively friendly mood -- was "glad I came by."

Ray, and Editor Bob Gray later, used an expression which is a widespread stumbling block in the South -- "social equality." The editor of the Laurinburg Exchange used it too, although the Committee on Community Betterment found him "cooperative." I didn't argue with the octogenarian Laurinburg editor, but to the others I remarked that I had never heard of a Negro using the expression. They didn't like to see Negroes "pushing for social equality." I tried to explain what the Negro was pushing for -- with, I think, some effect.

Bob Gray is a man of about my own age, who had lived in both Virginia and North Carolina. We recalled many common memories and associations in the journalism and politics of the two states, and got into a mood of something like mutual affection. He followed me down the corridor and out the front door to say a warm "Goodbye," after an hour's talk.

Gray started off with some talk about Negroes trying to "crowd in" to everything and "force social equality." But his bigotry was not deeply rooted; it sounded more like an echo of Fayetteville country club conversation. He yielded on point after point. I think we would both like to meet again and continue the discussion.

Benjamin Muse

July 15, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Raleigh, N. C.

July 11-12, 1960

Arriving Tuesday evening, July 11, I visited the News and Observer and obtained some interesting factual information.

Following some demonstrations, arrests, etc., the "Mayor's Advisory Committee on Lunch Counter Demonstrations" was appointed on March 11. There were 15 members, 10 white and 5 colored (whose names I have in my file). The committee held six meetings of approximately two hours each and reported on April 14:

"We regret that we have been unable to agree on any recommendations which we believe will lead to a solution of the lunch counter situation..."

It is of passing interest that the biracial committees of Charlotte, Laurinburg and Raleigh, Fayetteville (which never got off the ground) were all led by Presbyterian ministers. In Raleigh the chairman was Dr. Harold J. Dudley, general secretary of the North Carolina synod (who is now in Europe) and apparently the next most active leader was Dr. W. C. Pressley, president of (Presbyterian) Peace College.

The Raleigh mayor's committee "gave up" and dissolved -- the first instance of this that I know of after regular meetings had been held. It did, however, formally recommend that the mayor appoint a permanent committee on human relations (which he has not done).

There are several reasons for the failure of the mayor's committee in Raleigh. The mayor himself was embarrassed by the fact that he is the district manager for a chain of moving picture theatres, where, of course, segregation is practiced. I think further there was no single white leader on the committee with determination and pertinacity to labor on to a solution. Patrick had mentioned to me Rev. W. W. Finletter, pastor of Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, as probably the ablest crusader for lunch counter desegregation in Raleigh. He was recommended to the mayor, but was not appointed.

There were six ministers on the committee, five white and one colored. The committee also included two college presidents (one white and one colored), two bankers (one white and one colored), a white lawyer and three white business men.

I had no introduction to Mayor William T. Enloe, but I described my errand to his secretary. The latter replied later that the mayor had "engagements for the entire afternoon." Maybe he did, but I doubt it. I talked with J. J. Sanson, Jr., Negro bank manager and former committee member. Dr. Pressley was only mildly interested when we talked over the phone. I might have visited him later, but I found my afternoon taken up. I spent it with Dr. Grady D. Davis, dean of religious education at Shaw U., recent unsuccessful candidate for the legislature and executive secretary of the Raleigh Citizens Association.

It was a crucial moment for this vigorous Negro organization, which was in the midst of planning and decisions as to its next move. A meeting of the executive committee had been held the night before and a full membership meeting was scheduled for the following day. Dr. Davis was eager for information and advice and did not want me to leave. He finally drove me to the airport, and said: "The Lord must have sent you."

I do not feel it my main job to advise the Negro protest leaders, though they are badly in need of advice, and on the several occasions when I have been drawn into the role my effort has been to channel existing unrest into orderly procedures.

The Negroes were prepared to resume picketing in full force and intensify boycotts. The gist of my advice follows.

Belk's had removed its lunch counter entirely, but Negroes were still angry and boycotting the store. Dr. Davis showed me a very courteous letter from Belk's manager (June 24) advising the Association that its lunch counter had been closed -- as the space was needed for other purposes.

I advised unhesitatingly that the Association reply to Belk's with equal courtesy, noting that the store no longer appeared to be operating a discriminatory facility. Negroes should resume patronage of Belk's at once. He should remind Negroes insistently that the objective is not coffee or hot dogs but <u>an end to discrimination</u>. Elimination of Belk's would make it easier to focus attention on the discriminating merchants.

If the mayor's committee should be revived, I said, the Association should deal with it, but for the present I advised

direct negotiation with the merchants. There should be no haphazard and meaningless demonstrations. A committee from the Association should call at each store with a segregated lunch counter and ask politely once more for desegregation. The manager should be advised that unless this happened, the protest activities would proceed.

Should the merchants show a desire to solve the problem and begin meeting for this purpose (as they did in Knoxville and elsewhere) demonstrations should be suspended for a reasonable time. "On and off" demonstrations are especially effective.

The stores should be notified in each case before picketing begins. The mayor should also be notified and kept regularly informed.

The Negroes should keep a disciplined organization, including the students and one individual, or a committee, should always be able to speak for the group.

I suggested that Dr. Davis send to the SRC a list of addresses of merchants to whom lunch counter reports might helpfully be sent.

I enclose for the file a copy of the constitution of the Association together with a copy of its financial reports. From this it will be seen that over $7,000 has been raised by the Association -- and disbursed in interesting ways.

Benjamin Muse

December 13, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Laurinburg, N.C., November 3-6, 1960

In two full days Friday and Saturday in Laurinburg, I found the community still faithful to its policy of inter-racial cooperation, though Negro elements were restive in some respects.

I again had the sensation, strange in a Southern city, of finding tolerance, inter-racial cooperation the fashionable thing. The suppressed element -- which presumably exists -- was the bigotted.

I dropped into a place proclaiming "Doughnuts for Democrats" -- without political motivation, but because I saw no other handy place to get a cup of coffee. Asked what my business was, I said that I was studying the race problem.

"You've come to the right town," exclaimed the hostess, and she went on to describe enthusiastically the work of the bi-racial Laurinburg Community Betterment Committee. She said, incidentally: "We have an integrated hospital. I was in there myself yesterday, and they had some Negro patients right along side of white patients!" She said all this in a spirit of pride.

One fellow doughnut-eater was not so enthusiastic. He didn't like Negroes himself. But he thought the bi-racial committee was doing a great job.

Glenn Webb, the chamber of commerce manager, told me first about two newspaper editorials which had given the town much pleasure. The Charlotte Observer had advocated a permanent bi-racial committee for Charlotte. The Laurinburg Express replied patronizingly: "The Charlotte Observer need go no farther than Laurinburg to see one in successful operation and learn how it is done, etc."

Webb also said that some members of the Committee were working cautiously on a plan to bring about restaurant desegregation in Laurinburg. (There are no department store lunch counters.) The hope was that, without agitation or announcement, restaurants would simply begin to serve Negroes -- only two or three respected Negroes coming in at first by previous arrangement.

He told me about many matters under discussion by the Community Betterment Committee, but particularly the drive to secure two Negro policemen. The chamber of commerce itself was pushing this and had canvassed half a dozen cities with Negro policemen. All the replies were favorable to the idea.

Because of this and other important matters on the agenda, the mayor, city manager and city council had accepted invitations to attend the next meeting of the bi-racial committee November 11.

Webb planned a luncheon for me, but Saturdays most of the town's celebrities left at noon for fishing or golf. However, he arranged for the following group to meet with me from 10 A. M. to noon in the board room of the Southern National Bank:

Bank President K. J. Shaw, also president, chamber of commerce
A. W. Hampton, manager of Belk's
Mayor W. D. Lytch
Rev. Henry Huark, Methodist minister
Glen F. Webb
(City Manager Guy Smith was unable to attend)

I found much to praise in Laurinburg, apart from race relations, especially the generally progressive spirit -- and the beautiful trees. The Mayor remarked that the city made a small appropriation for tree care and ordinances prohibited the cutting of any tree without permission.

Then we had a fine discussion of the race problem. If there was any foot-dragging in the matter of inter-racial cooperation it was on the part of the mayor, who was holding out against the appointment of Negro policemen, "for lack of funds." But he did not close the door. Hampton also expressed the view that, while the desegregation of department store lunch counters was right and proper, private restaurants should have the right to limit their clientele.

C. H. Morris, the NAACP leader and past president, gathered a group of Negro leaders to meet with me in his undertaking establishment Saturday afternoon. They included: Rev. W. F. Carlson and Rev. C. B. Gilchrist, Sr. Baptist ministers, president and vice-president respectively of the local NAACP unit; Rev. R. T. Gilchrist, son of the above and a member of the NAACP; and Rev. G. D. Nelson, chairman of the North Carolina Committee on Church and Society of the United Presbyterian Church.

All were respectful and cooperative, except one Rev. Roseborough, who asked suspiciously what the meeting was for, what I was trying to do. He was almost obstreperous at one point, which made the others apologetic to me.

There was evidence among about half of them of a feeling that the Community Betterment Committee wasn't moving fast enough, especially in the matter of the Negro policemen. Morris himself felt strongly about this. He had a set of "unanswerable" arguments and was prepared to fight to the limit on this one.

Incidentally, in my private conversation with Morris he mentioned several prominent Negroes "who didn't stand up for Negro rights." On the other hand there were apparently Negroes more belligerent than Morris.

I had an opportunity of calling upon Terry Sanford's father, a gas company manager, whom I found rather colorless.

Webb later sent me a copy of the minutes of the November 11 meeting of the Community Betterment Committee. The long document reported discussion of the newspaper editorials, my visit, truancy, misuse of public welfare funds, a project for a nursery for non-school age children, overcrowded Negro school buses, the financial status of the Negro recreation building

and the employment of two Negro policemen.

The following is ~~also~~ quoted from those minutes:

"There was general agreement by those present that employment of Negro officers would be beneficial. C. H. Morris suggested that a survey of Negro officers in other communities be made. City Manager Smith was in accord with having Negro policemen and explained the operation of the Laurinburg Police Department.

.....

"Dr. Wells assured the city fathers that the committee's aim was to provide a channel of communications affording frank discussion of problems affecting the races and no pressure was to be exerted on anyone. He asked for the continued cooperation of city officials and urged use of the committee on matters of community betterment between the races.

"Mayor Lytch spoke highly of the existence of the committee and its accomplishments and the city would continue to give its cooperation and support.

"City Manager Smith asked those present to let him know of problems which he has jurisdiction as he is a servant of all the citizens of the city.

"Rev. Gilchrist commended the city fathers on good government and administration."

Benjamin Muse

March 8, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Governor Terry Sanford, of North Carolina

Thursday, January 26, 1961

A compensating aspect of the blizzard which caught me in Raleigh was the opportunity for a very fine talk with Governor Terry Sanford. On my arrival the afternoon before, Administrative Assistant Tom Lambeth had suggested (in a very friendly way) that I postpone my visit until Monday as the Governor was trying to give "every possible minute" for the next two days to legislators working on his program for the coming session. It disrupted my schedule, but I said, of course, that it would be fine.

However, Thursday morning the television reported an amazing sleet storm, which promised to paralyze most North Carolina activities; it announced that state offices and nearly everything else in Raleigh would be closed for the day.

I suspected that something would be going on at the Governor's office, nevertheless, and had no trouble making my way to it from the Carolina Hotel. The members of the Governor's staff were on the job, and they received me with great cordiality, (including a cup of coffee). The first word was that the Governor would not come to his office at all, as none of his callers would be able to get to the Capitol. However, Lambeth who was in frequent contact with the Governor by phone, presently told me the Governor would come to his office sooner or later and suggested that I make myself at home until he should come. He thought it was ideal to get over my visit while the traffic was slack. A few minutes later Lambeth said the Governor was sorry I had to wait and would see me in half an hour.

Governor Sanford arrived almost on the dot and led me immediately into his office. I began with a description of the Southern Regional Council and its work, also my own assignment.

The Governor launched into a review of his campaign for election -- first and second primaries and general election --with related commentaries on the political approach to race relations.

"Public opinion," he said, "public opinion is a terrific thing. You have to handle it with care, watch it all the time. The race problem is something you can't meet head-on. The best way to advance is in ways that are little noticed."

In the campaign, he recalled," Scawell set out to meet the segregation problem head-on, and look what it did, -- Beverly Lake. I had to shape my whole campaign to beat Beverly Lake (the fanatic segregationist). Lake said I would have the NAACP moving in and taking an office in the Capitol. You remember his stuff...

"You've got to be careful not to stir things up. You've got to be careful your liberalism doesn't bring out fiercer agitation on the other side. Take the Graham-Smith campaign. I worked for Graham, but Willis Smith didn't mean to get into that extreme position. He was not a bigot. He was a fine Christian gentleman. This business killed him."

"My sending my children to the integrated school in Raleigh was nothing -- it was the only thing to do."

I said I thought his comment to the press on this was just right.

He said they had made a lot of that incident in the North. He had been congratulated on all sides up there. He had received laudatory messages from many quarters, including some from Europe.

I asked if he had received any messages to the contrary. He said, "only two -- or possibly three."

I said I didn't just go around saying "integrate, integrate." I came to discuss a very real problem. Too many Northern liberals failed to see that school desegregation posed a stupendous problem for public men. The trouble wasn't just a matter of "meanness" on the part of Southerners.

This got hearty response. "God preserve us from crusaders," he said --"on both sides. They'll never get anywhere on this by throwing things at Southerners. Most of them have no idea what we're up against."

He asked how things were going in Virginia. I said a gubernatorial contest was shaping up between Harrison and Stephens, with Harrison favored to win. The Byrd machine was backing a moderate.

"That's a good sign."

Sanford suggested that it might be a good idea for the two candidates to sign a pledge not to discuss the race issue.

I said there was little likelihood that the race issue would get into the campaign anyway. Massive resistance was dead. A public pledge like that might call attention to it.

"I meant a pledge which wouldn't be revealed until after the election," Sanford said. I had planned to make an agreement like that with John Larkin before the others got into the race!"

I went on to describe the steady and orderly progress of school desegregation in Virginia. I said in a "quiet" way it was moving faster in Virginia than anywhere else in the South.

"Quiet," Sanford repeated with emphasis. "Quiet --" that is the key to it...

"I reckon you heard about John Baker --" John Baker is the Negro former Los Angeles Rams football star, whom Sanford had appointed assistant director of recreation in the state prisons. "He's getting along fine, and there's been no complaint whatever. They phoned to ask me about his eating at the cafeteria with white officials. I said, 'Just go on and take him in there.' There was no trouble at all." (A Raleigh Times reporter later phoned the director of prisons, at my request. The latter said that Baker is at present occupied in planning, but that he will eventually have some supervision of both white and colored prisoners.)

Asked how President Kennedy should handle the desegregation problem in the South, he said off-hand that the President should approach Southern leaders "on moral grounds." But in further conversation he discussed the problem more realistically and agreed that a great obstacle would be removed if governors and legislatures in the Deep South would stay out of it. New Orleans, he said would have been only a mild problem, if Jimmy Davis had stayed out of it. He commented similarly on Faubus' intervention in Little Rock.

He expressed the opinion that Vandiver had "seen it coming all the time -- like Almond." I reviewed briefly the developments in Virginia and Georgia.

With reference to Gov. Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, Sanford said, "I would hate to have to live with that man's thoughts. It must be a miserable existence."

Sanford agreed that the administration should push the matter of Negro voting rights. There was no interference

with Negro voting in North Carolina, but, he observed, "We don't encourage them to vote in some of our Eastern North Carolina counties. Where they are not fit to vote, and not interested, they are not denied the vote, but we don't encourage them. I realize that, if they are not fit to vote, it is our fault and we are going to remedy that. But we don't encourage them to vote now."

I urged that efforts be made to increase opportunities for Negro employment in North Carolina. The Governor said he had in mind getting more of them into state jobs. With regard to the campaign to bring industry into North Carolina, Sanford said: "We want industry. We offer every inducement we can. We can't lay down any conditions about employment." I suggested that he could get in a word privately here and there to encourage the employment of Negroes in private industry. He said he would do this.

Governor Sanford impressed me as a vigorous and liberal statesman with a determination to "carry North Carolina forward" on all fronts, though with caution in the matter of race relations.

Benjamin Muse

December 13, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Henry F. Cauthen, Editor, Columbia Record
Columbia, S. C., November 7, 1960

Both S. L. Latimer, Jr., editor of the Columbia State and Henry Cauthen received me courteously. Latimer mentioned in a friendly way Dr. Dabbs and Marion Wright, both of whom he knew. However, he was on his way out to an urgent conference (apparently of a pro-Nixon nature) and asked me to come another time. Cauthen invited me in to his office, where we had a long talk.

I commented on the handsome new State-Record Building, and remarked that in visiting newspaper buildings throughout the South I had been impressed with the "marble halls" in which the press is now housed. Cauthen said: "But they turned out better copy in the dirty old city rooms we used to know." We talked about newspaper consolidations, the peculiar fascination of journalism, in spite of its poor financial returns, etc. Cauthen said he wouldn't be in any other business. I sensed a spark of something like friendship between us.

I am reporting this Cauthen interview somewhat fully, because I believe there is a possibility of reasoning with a strong segregationist who is still a gentleman. Some of my further unorthodox remarks, I submit, might suggest an approach which officials of the Kennedy Administration would find it effective to use in private conversation with Southerners.

I said that I was working on the segregation problem, gathering information and trying also to shed a little light. He asked if the Southern Regional Council was "just pushing integration or trying to solve the problem." I said emphatically that we were trying to solve the problem.

It was a difficult problem, I said, stupendously difficult -- far more difficult than many liberals in the North imagined. "It would be a good thing," I said, "if some of those people could come down here and live for a year or two in a Black Belt county. People who put all the trouble down to Southern 'meanness' don't know what they are talking about. I used to live in a Virginia Black Belt county, represented a county of 65 per cent Negro population in the legislature. I know what you're up against."

But, I said, the Supreme Court decision is there and no American wants to see a Supreme Court decision flouted. Also, great changes are going on in the world and we all know that race discrimination has

got to go. He did not disagree with any of this.

We each leaned backwards to find points of agreement. My apparent concessions to his view brought concessions in return. Something would have to be done about desegregation. He agreed that school-closing was no answer. In fact, he suspected that South Carolina's school-closing law had already been invalidated in effect.

He thought the NAACP was pretty hard to do business with, but he didn't think the NAACP had anything to do with Communism. That was nonsense.

He said if they could have moved first in some county of western South Carolina, where there were only a few Negroes, things might have been different. That was the only way it could ever be done -- starting in the easiest counties.

In the Black Belt, he said, hardly any Negroes had the least desire to go to white schools. I suggested that this offered a possible way out. The Supreme Court didn't order sweeping integration. We are not required to integrate any Negro against his will. I believed that in the best atmosphere very few Black Belt Negroes would request admission to white schools in the foreseeable future.

Cauthen asked questions about Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, etc. What plan would I suggest for South Carolina -- the grade-a-year plan, beginning at the bottom?

I told him what I knew about Nashville and the success of the grade-a-year plan there.

Cauthen was in no hurry to end the conversation, but he was struggling with an editorial when I came in, and I left him to finish it.

Benjamin Muse

March 14, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Henry F. Cauthen, Editor, Columbia State

February 24, 1961

My February visit confirmed my impressions of last November that this man and I would be friends. It is a satisfaction apart from the objectives of my project, and yet I believe it may be of value in furthering them.

I try to place myself in the supremely difficult position of a man near the center of opinion and policy in one of the most fiercely segregationist states who earnestly wants to do the right thing. Since my previous visit Cauthen had moved up from the editorial chair of the Record to that of the much larger and more influential State. He is also a friend and adviser of Governor Ernest F. Hollings, --"Governor Hollings was sitting right there in the chair you're sitting in yesterday."

Cauthen was struggling now with the problem of how Hollings could get the Negro vote in a prospective contest for Olin Johnson's Senate seat. The Negroes didn't like either of them, and the Negro vote could be decisive.

Cauthen began the conversation more or less facetiously by saying: "I could do something in the matter in which your organization is interested if our revenue came from somewhere other than readers and advertisers," and philosophised briefly on the problems of operating a newspaper.

His seed of liberalism has not germinated to the extent of giving him much sympathy with Negro sitters-in, and he feels that for Negroes to come from Ohio, Michigan, etc. to sit in at South Carolina lunch counters is an "outrage." Yet I think he has a growing feeling that segregation must end.

South Carolina, he said, is doing very well in getting new industries, but he was conscious of the danger of school trouble to the industrial program. School-closing he considers unthinkable.

But how is one to begin? How can one approach the subject? Where can you put your hands on it without getting them burned?

I suggested that one might safely begin to point to the inevitability of the thing and insist on open public schools.

"I might say integration is an evil thing, but --"

I did not comment on this possible approach.

He was glad to get copies of the recent Georgia "retreat" laws, which I gave him, and would like to have more of this sort of thing.

Cauthen said he would tell Governor Hollings about me and he was sure the Governor would be glad to see me on a later visit.

It may be preferable not to make all of my conversation with this confiding gentleman a matter of record.

Benjamin Muse

March 14, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Governor Buford Ellington, of Tennessee

Nashville, February 20, 1961

Governor Ellington, who ran for governor in 1958 as an "old-fashioned segregationist" and alarmed many moderates during the campaign, took a quietly moderate course after election and now appears to want to join the liberal club. I applauded his moderate moves and sought to encourage the latter impulse.

Anxious to keep the conversation on a cordial note, I did not argue with him about the tent village of Fayette County evictees, beyond observing that this affair had done a lot of damage to Tennessee. Governor Ellington felt strongly about this. It had done a lot of damage, and unjustly, he thought. He had plain clothes men around there all the time and he knew something of how much inaccuracy and exaggeration there was in the reports.

I remarked that I had read that a Negro church organization was going to take care of these people. The governor did not think much would come of this. "They don't want jobs," he said. "They don't want homes. They want publicity." He discussed at some length the trend toward farm mechanization and the displacement of Negro agricultural labor. He said that eviction went on all the time -- as an inevitable economic development.

He said that he had interested himself in Haywood and Fayette Counties last June. It was not generally known that it was on his initiative, but he had sent a friend to call on the registrars and told them to register Negroes without any monkey business.

Apart from the tent village affair I found many gratifying evidences of desegregation progress in Tennessee. With regard to the desegregation at the University of Tennessee, he said, confidentially, that the trustees were at first divided six and six on the question; he had a talk with some of them and they voted unanimously to accept the Negro applicants.

Governor Ellington was another apostle of "quiet" progress. He had done a few things in this area that were not generally known. He had had Negroes employed as guards over Negro prisoners and as revenue inspectors. The former were twice as rough as the white guards and the latter collected more taxes -- from Negroes!

Immediately after his inauguration he had all the members of the legislature come to his office, in groups, and he told them he wanted them to "lay off" the race issue -- and to a large extent they did.

I remarked that the publicity attending the desegregation moves in Nashville, Knoxville and elsewhere had been good for Tennessee. He agreed and said that industry was coming in right along, especially in Nashville.

I said that Tennessee was setting an example for other Southern states in many respects. The Governor was pleased at this, but said: "I tell my Negro friends: 'We've gone so far here, why don't you relax a little in Tennessee and let the other states catch up?'"

I made my little speech about the upsurge of colored races throughout the world and the necessity for adjustment to Negro progress. Every advance in desegregation was a hurdle cleared. "The Negro will not stop," I said, "until he has all the rights and status of full citizenship."

Governor Ellington replied emphatically -- and that was the best part of the interview -- "He should not stop."

Benjamin Muse

November 13, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

November 30 - December 10, 1961

Mainly in South Carolina

I spoke to the Charlottesville, Va., Council on Human Relations Thursday evening, November 30, and proceeded over the week-end to Atlanta. Conferred with Mayor Hartsfield at City Hall Monday morning and with various of our SRC staff Monday afternoon and Tuesday. The remainder of the week was devoted to a reconnaissance in South Carolina.

My contacts in South Carolina are still few, and I am unable to make a balanced comment yet on that state as a whole beyond noting that the interracial situation there is generally described for the moment as "quiet."

Henry F. Cauthen, editor of the Columbia State, whom I had visited frequently before in passing through South Carolina, observed "no change" in the South Carolina racial situation, although he obligingly called my attention to several minor incidents. One was a letter to the State from Rev. Jas. M. Copeland, Methodist minister, of Woodruff, urging desegregation of churches and church-supported colleges. He said that, unlike the reaction to such letters in the past, this had not called forth letters of opposition except one from an ignorant person. He also mentioned a recent statement calling for a more constructive approach to the race problem from State Senator Francis B. Nicholson, of Greenwood. "I don't know what it will do to him politically," he said.

I called Cauthen's attention to an article in his afternoon partner, the Record, reporting the adoption by the South Carolina Baptist Student Union by a vote of 117 to 25 of a resolution suggesting that "the trustees of our convention give careful study to their responsibilities and opportunities to open doors of knowledge and service to qualified students regardless of race or creed."

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Cauthen took me to the cafeteria for coffee and showed his usual cordiality. (Managing editor Lloyd L. Huntingdon, who joined us for a few minutes, was not similarly cordial.)

A. L. M. Wiggins, Jr., editor of the Hartsville Messenger, is a thoughtful, personable man whose discussion of various angles of the race problem reflected a liberal point of view. He recalled having visited a convention of the Virginia Press Association at Lexington about five years ago at the high tide of massive resistance. Pete McNight was being hard-pressed in argument by the segregationist journalists and he tried to reinforce McNight. Wiggins said he never referred to the race problem editorially, but his paper tried to handle news on the subject in a helpful manner. The Messenger had aroused some criticism for its practice of referring to Negroes as "Mr.," "Mrs.," and "Miss." He said Negro schools in South Carolina had greatly improved -- a new Negro elementary school had opened this year in Hartsville -- but no jobs were open to educated Negroes except teaching school and the ambitious ones were moving north. He had heard vaguely of plans to launch a garment factory with Negro capital -- which he thought would be a good thing.

He felt that a grave danger to law and order in Hartsville lay in the racist and anti-Negro attitude of the white police. He went to a fire recently in the best residential section and overheard a policeman talking to Negroes in the crowd. "You all go on home," he said. "You know you got no business around here."

The editor's father, A. L. M. Wiggins, Sr., is a bank president, a director in various corporations, a former Undersecretary of the U. S. Treasury and chairman of the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education.

Learning of a hearing by the S. C. advisory committee to the Commission on Civil Rights scheduled for Thursday, December 7 at Bennettsville, I drove there primarily to see Andrew M. Secrest and Courtney Siceloff, secretary of the committee.

The hearing, which I attended during the closing hour, was on charges of Bennettsville police brutality and apparently resulted in clearing the police. Secret, Siceloff and Peter M. Sussman, of the CCR staff, dined with me afterward.

Andrew Secrest, an enthusiastic liberal, is happy over his election to membership on the SRC board. He said it would enable him to meet some interesting people and was a little disappointed when I told him the board would not meet again before next November. I invited him to visit our office in Atlanta, which he indicated that he would do when he had an opportunity.

R. Powell Black, city manager of Florence, proved a promising contact. A friend and former fellow-townsman (Aiken, S. C.) of George Montgomery, he is unmistakably liberal within the limitations of his job. He has distributed copies of our Racial Violence and Law Enforcement among his police officials. Four of his officers also toured scenes of interracial violence in Alabama and elsewhere for first-hand study. (Florence has two Negro policemen.) There is a progressive, industry-seeking atmosphere in Florence and Black is anxious to be fully prepared for orderly solution of race problems. He said Mayor David H. McLeod is of the same mind and urged me to return for a scheduled conference with the mayor and himself. I told him I would do so in January, writing in advance.

Benjamin Muse

Copy to Fleming

Benjamin Muse, Box 311, Kingsport, Va.

June 8, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

South Carolina

May 27—June 2, 1962

Everywhere in the South there are those who say in effect: "The South was moving fast toward better treatment of Negroes -- even desegregation -- until the Supreme Court and the NAACP spoiled it all and reversed the trend." I hear this remark particularly often in South Carolina, probably because of Gov. Byrnes' pre-1954 school equalization program. Entertained by both extremists and moderates, the notion has been exaggerated and repeated until it is regarded as gospel.

Two prominent citizens who were active in the movement for tolerance and interracial cooperation in South Carolina before have become conspicuous leaders of resistance to desegregation. D. W. Robinson, a former president of the S. C. Council on Human Relations is now chairman of the legal counsel of the segregation-preserving Gressette Committee, (though I have reason to believe that he is not as uncompromising as that role might imply). A more shocking example is that of R. Beverly Herbert, Sr., another former president of the SCCHR. The Beverly Herberts, father and son, are partners in the Columbia law firm of Sheppard, Herbert and Dial. I exchanged only "Good morning" with Herbert, Sr., but had a long, painful talk with Herbert, Jr.

"My father" the latter said, "is an illustration of what this thing has done to us in South Carolina. Before 1954 our firm handled the legal work for the Negro university, my father was on the board of the Negro hospital, he was president of the Human Relations Council, he was working all the time to help Negroes. Now he is out of all this. He'll do anything he can to stop what's going on now."

The rest of Herbert, Jr.'s speech was an interesting review of the thinking of the segregationist hard core in South Carolina -- familiar stuff about the Supreme Court, the NAACP, the "daily lies about the South in the Northern press" etc. It was essentially a monologue; I got in only a hopeless demurrer now and then. When I suggested that wholesale overnight school integration was not in the offing and pointed to the gradual pace of desegregation in other states, he said:

"We don't want to see one Negro in a white school. We kn[illegible] what it would lead to. If we could be guaranteed that the pr[illegible] would never go over 3 per cent colored in a white school, we [illegible]

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take it, but that is impossible. The flood of integration will go on and on until it is like Washington, D.C. We'll close schools first. We'll close our schools before we will integrate the first Negro."

He said the South had treated the Negroes "better than any nation ever treated a minority race in all history," and quoted Senator Borah (!) to that effect. I came back several times to the question of closing public schools. He was adamant. They would close them all, if necessary, to prevent the first Negro from entering a white school. He agreed also that a court order to desegregate would ultimately come. I said the prospect of closed schools must be a dismal one for South Carolina. He said, "Yes, but that's the way it has to be; that's the way it's going to be. We'll just close the schools."

It is well to keep in mind the fact that there are many Herberts in South Carolina, though I believe there are considerably fewer than there were two years ago. The incident also may help to balance the optimism which is reflected in the rest of my report.

All my other contacts agreed that there is a very general recognition now of the fact that ultimate desegregation is inevitable and that school-closing is "out". These contacts included a brother of the chief legal counsel to the Gressette Committee, an ex-legislator and brother of an incumbent state senator, a member of the State Development Board, the director of extension at the University of South Carolina, an important business man and a well-informed editor. Dr. Nicholas P. Mitchell, the extension director, remarked that his work brings him in contact "with people in many parts of the state." E. Craig Wall said, "Everybody I know sees it coming" -- which should include at least his fourteen colleagues on the State Development Commission.

Mr. Wall said: "It'll probably come at the college level. They've got to keep on talking segregation, but some of them would like to have a court order and get it over. There's something working up at Clemson. Edwards (president of Clemson) is ready for it. He's not going to allow any nonsense when it comes. Trouble-makers will be sent right home."

In Conway I saw E. R. McIver, chairman of the South Carolina advisory committee to the Commission on Civil Rights; Mr. Wall and Ervin Dargan. All three of these are in the lumber business in separate companies.

McIver seems the least liberal of these three. I understand that he is fair, efficient, and conscientious in his CCR duties (I have seen him conducting a hearing), but he talks like a racist --

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"the Negroes are definitely a primitive race, etc." He says he is "no integrationist," but believes token integration can be accomplished in some sections. Race relations, he said, were fine in the Conway-Myrtle Beach area, but school integration would be dangerous. The northern section of the county (Horry) contains some of the worst white characters in the state -- descendants of deserters, fugitives, etc. who settled in the swamps. Much talk with McIver and Wall about the local situation. Local white civic clubs had recently raised $1,500 to equip a Negro school band.

Well-informed, especially on the race problem, Wall seemed completely liberal in principle, aware of the necessity for eliminating race discrimination in employment, voting, education and all down the line. But he was conservative on the questions of method and timing. "We are pushing forward, but it will take a very long time." He told me of plans to launch an all-Negro textile factory in Conway to employ several hundred. It would be owned and managed by Negroes, but nearly all of the capital would be put up by public-spirited white men. They would lend the money on easy terms to the Negro group. The plan was not to advance integration, but to give employment and -- under Negro management -- dignity. Ervin Bargan, who appears to be a man of considerable wealth, is aggressively liberal and very attractive. He was most cordial and anxious to talk. We spent an afternoon and evening together, which included lunch and dinner and a drive to Charleston and back. He is active in efforts to liberalize the Episcopal Church, and his appointment in Charleston was for a conference with Bishop Temple in this connection. Bargan was chairman of the local school board and president of the state association of school boards until defeated in an election for the former because of his liberal attitude on race.

In Columbia, Gressette committee counsel D. W. Robinson was out of town but I had a most friendly talk with his brother, Hoke Robinson, of the same law firm, who is a very attractive gentleman. Hoke Robinson expressed himself in the sense of the opening paragraph of this memorandum, but was mildly constructive in his approach to the present situation. Though he insisted that he was not speaking for his brother or the Gressette Committee, I believe he reflected the feeling among a substantial element in that committee. He would delay desegregation as long as possible, but not close schools when it comes. He remarked that the influence of the Gressette committee had tended to keep down irresponsible legislative proposals, that it definitely caused the defeat of a bill for blood bank separation by race.

My best talk on this trip was with Dr. Mitchell, U.S.C. director of extension. Dr. Mitchell wished the Supreme Court decision could have been postponed for 10-15 years, but was altogether constructive with respect to the present problem and he found a considerably improved atmosphere in South Carolina.

He said the desegregation of Wake Forest and Davidson Colleges Duke University, representing religious denominations, with 's membership in South Carolina and with numerous actual alumni state, had had a marked effect on South Carolina thinking.

He said Furman was very close to Wake Forest and generally inclined to follow the latter's example. The Furman student body had voted 5-4 in favor of integration.

He said South Carolinians were taking special pride in the way public order had been preserved in this state. The demonstration at the state capitol last year was actually very orderly, and no white trouble-makers appeared. He did not expect a serious explosion when desegregation should come to the University. He said, "I believe a majority of the students are liberal on this thing."

He thought neither of the two leading candidates for governor was a wild man; he knew them both very well. However, he preferred Russell, who had more experience, closer relations with the business community and greater attachment to the University. Incidentally, he said "very confidentially" that delay in desegregating will cost his department money. The Ford and Kellogg Foundations have given notice that no more money will be coming from them until U.S.C. gets over the desegregation hurdle.

Greenwood is a progressive city of about 25,000, and it has, perhaps, the most liberal daily paper and the most liberal state senator in South Carolina. The day before my arrival the Greenwood Index Journal had said editorially:

> People have come to a slow recognition that no politician, no matter how loudly he shouts and how much fire and brimstone he breathes, can successfully defy the federal courts. No state has yet done it and nobody has yet come up with a sure-fire plan to accomplish that purpose, although many have claimed to have the answer.

I had a fine talk with editor J. E. Chaffin, a rugged, hard-working, courageous man, who seemed glad to discuss local and state problems as well as some of his journalistic problems and personal troubles with me.

One or the other of two Nicholson brothers in Greenwood has held a seat in the state legislature for a number of years. State Senator Francis Nicholson wrote a sensationally sensible article for the U.S.C. Law Journal following the Supreme Court decision in 1954 and is still heard from from time to time in appeals to common sense. He was absent when I called, but I talked to his brother, William Nicholson, who served several terms in the House of Representatives but is now out (not because of his liberal views). William told me with some pride that he was one of only four representatives who voted against the school-closing bill in 1952.

The political campaigns in South Carolina this year have been remarkably free from appeals to race prejudice. This is particularly true of the race between Donald Russel and Lt. Gov. Burnet Maybank for governor. There are other candidates for governor, and one of them, A. W. Bethea, is making the race issue his principle theme. He chides the others and says he is "the only real segregationist in the race." The Bethea vote will be interesting to watch on this account.

Mr. Browbaker, our public school consultant, visited Spartanburg and Greenville earlier in May. It is pertinent to include these excerpts from his report here.

On Wednesday evening, after dinner on the way to my room at the Cabana Inn Motor Hotel, I had the pleasure of running into a group of Spartanburg educators who had just finished a meeting in a small private dining room almost next door to my room. Superintendent Joe McCracken of Spartanburg was in the group and stopped me and introduced the dozen or more who were with him.

Spartanburg County, a very large County, is divided into seven school districts with seven superintendents. Spartanburg City and some of the County compose the largest district of about 13,500 pupils. The smallest has approximately 3,500 pupils. Two other superintendents, in addition to McCracken, were present at the conference along with about ten principals and supervisors. They had met to do some preliminary planning for next year. I felt fortunate to meet this large number of them, very favorably, so unexpectedly.

I spent three hours the next morning in conference with Superintendent McCracken who told me everything, I'm sure, about his school system and conditions generally. He says there has been considerable change in the climate during the past year, and he is quite encouraged. I feel that Spartanburg has one of the best school systems, not only in the South, but in the nation, and Superintendent McCracken feels sure that the people there would not allow the schools to be damaged by closing or in any other way.

.....

Greenville County, including the City of Greenville, has one school district which appears quite a contrast to Spartanburg County which has seven. However, in Greenville County, there are several area superintendents working under Superintendent Tom Anderson, which helps to make the two county systems somewhat similar.

Anderson's impression of the situation is about the same as Superintendent McCracken's. Superintendent Anderson told me that in Greenville, Negroes had attended several of the white churches without incident. He also asked me if I would be available to come to counsel with him and his board of 17 members when they really faced the problem. This pleased me very much. There have been no applications for transfer of Negroes to white schools in either of these places. I may be too optimistic, but I feel both superintendents are hopeful that they can make the change without a Court order. This is difficult probably to believe, but it certainly could happen.

I am sincerely trying to impress all with whom I confer that the time has passed for "court orders", and point out that all sound thinking people realize the change is inevitable and Court orders add only to the expense and difficulty of making the change. I emphasize the transfers should be made in the natural normal manner like all other transfers.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, P.O. Box 312, Manassas, Va.

COPY

March 7, 1962

MEMORANDUM

South Carolina Notes
(From February Visits)

I visited the town of Cheraw February 6 in the hope of seeing A. M. Secrest, editor of the Cheraw Chronicle and a member of the SRC board. Mr. Secrest was away, but I spent some time in the Chronicle office, glancing through files of the paper and talking to Edward M. Sweatt, managing editor.

I noted that the Chronicle published an editorial liberal on race every few weeks. The current issue contained a magnum opus of several thousand words, discussing racial injustice generally, entitled "Negroes DO Pay Their Own Way." The editorial included this one brief concession to segregationists:

"We have no argument with those who defend segregation in the classrooms of the public secondary schools. Such a system at a given time and place, on a voluntary basis, may be the only way to maintain the schools..."

The editorial was otherwise a frank and cogent attack upon discrimination and segregation. I asked Mr. Sweatt how such liberal stuff reacted upon the business of a paper serving a South Carolina community. He said it did little, if any, harm in Cheraw. Many readers disapproved, and some letters of protest were received, but it did not seem to affect either circulation or advertising. The atmosphere in Cheraw was helped by the fact that the most widely read daily paper was the relatively liberal Charlotte (N.C.) Observer. The Cheraw Chronicle was doing all right.

Tom Waring

I had a very cordial interview February 9 with Thomas R. Waring, the somewhat famous editor of the Charleston News and Courier.

The conversation began on a somewhat friendly note when I referred to him as a distinguished exponent of a point of view on the race problem which I did not share. It became not so much a debate as an effort to find opinions which we did more or less share.

We came nearest to arguing over the Washington situation. Waring said: "When white people get up and move -- when they run away from the thing -- well, that's the real answer, that's something you can't explain away."

I came back with some facts about the national trend -- the migration from city to suburbs everywhere, with or without substantial Negro population or integration. I asked if there was not a heavy movement of white people out of Charleston to the suburbs.

He was definitely embarrassed. He said something about "special reasons," and changed the subject.

I think this was significant as a reminder of the fact that the so-called "Washington mess" still plays a large part in the talking and thinking of Southern segregationists, and also that the argument can be effectively combatted. It counsels a continued hammering away on our part with the pertinent facts.

Waring said that he eats with educated Negroes sometimes, fraternizes with them on airplane flights and elsewhere -- and doesn't "mind at all." He has a Negro friend in Charleston, a prosperous contractor, employing white sub-contractors, a favorite of "people of quality." This man suffers hardship, he said, when he is denied service at the best restaurants. On the other hand, if a good restaurant should serve him, it would lose its white customers and also suffer hardship.

"There is a big, hard problem there," he said. "In time we shall probably solve it, but it will not be easy."

He thought Negroes should be given more employment opportunities, but he would not intervene in a specific case. Recently Negroes, led by their most prominent local leader, Esau Jenkins, brought pressure to bear on a local department store serving predominantly Negro customers to employ Negroes. The store manager told Jenkins that if he hired Negroes he would get a blast from the News and Courier. When Jenkins brought the story to Waring, the latter wrote the store manager saying that he would not comment on his employment policies. It was none of his business -- and none of Jenkins'!

Waring seemed to take some pride in the smoothness with which library, bus and golf-course desegregation had been effected. Everybody wanted to preserve the "dignity of Charleston."

I asked if the tradition of dignity and genteelness might not help South Carolina through racial crises ahead, as a similar tradition had helped in Virginia. (I think the current validity of this tradition is questionable but it is helpful to appeal to it nevertheless).

Waring thought there was something in this, though there were "some pretty rough characters in the back country."

He agreed that the South was moving toward desegregation."We may even have to put some Negro children in our white schools." But he said there would have to be "some compromise also from the liberal extremists, who insist on everything right now."

He asked me to be sure to get Sunday's paper. He was going to reprint a large part of Secrest's editorial from the Cheraw Chronicle. On Sunday I was pleased to find this reprint in the News and Courier, together with an entirely friendly editorial note, inviting readers' attention to this "thoughtful discussion of a grave problem."

Employment and Technical Training

I gathered that there is increasing sentiment in South Carolina in favor of opening more job opportunities to Negroes. A number of state figures have spoken out cautiously on this, including recently Charles

Daniels, of Greenville (onetime U.S. Senator) and W. D. Workman, Republican candidate for the Senate. There is a rumor that Gov. Hollings has encouraged this trend in private conferences.

Rev. Gordon Krahe, president of the Greenville Human Relations Council, said that some employers who are anxious to employ Negroes, cannot find qualified applicants. A plant at Anderson had begged him to send some Negroes for white-collar jobs. He placed two clerk-typists and one chemist. He found two more, but they had found better jobs in North Carolina. Many South Carolina Negroes qualified for white-collar jobs were leaving the state.

The launching of a $280,000 technical training project in South Carolina has aroused considerable speculation as to whether or not it will be open to Negroes. The project is a part of the state's drive to attract industry. Nowhere in the plans, regulations or other public papers issued by the project is there any reference to segregation or race. Some of my liberal friends believe that those in charge of the project are leaving the question of segregation open with design in the hope that it may be possible to admit Negroes to the training schools without too great a furor.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, P.O. Box 312, Manassas, Va.

Ad 09

March 8 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

February Itinerary

This report is primarily to give an account of my February travels, observations of general interest having been submitted in two separate memoranda.

February 6: I visited Glen Webb, chamber of commerce manager at Laurinburg, N.C., enroute to Cheraw. No significant change in the cooperative, but unsegregated situation in Laurinburg.

February 7 and 8: In Florence, S.C., I called upon Powell Black, city manager. Black, who was effusively cordial, had invited me in the hope of my being able to make an impression upon the mayor, David H. McLeod, with whom Black arranged a conference for both of us. This was a disappointment.

McLeod, a dynamic, wealthy and well-connected business man, voiced rather typical South Carolina views. He was obviously prejudiced against outsiders, "agitators", reformers and liberals, which, by insinuation, included me. On the favorable side, he was for law and order and was determined to keep Florence attractive to business; he wanted to postpone and minimize desegregation as far as possible, but he did not have a "Never" attitude; he seemed pleased over the "clever" desegregation of the city library and pointed to some increase in job opportunities for Negroes. (Following a demonstration, the library "closed for inventory"; it reopened inconspicuously integrated.)

I also called upon Irving Blanchard, chamber of commerce manager. Though no liberal, Blanchard seemed to favor any adjustment necessary to keep business on even keel.

February 9 and 10: In Charleston, in addition to Bishop Hallinan and Tom Waring, as separately reported, I called on Rev. H. Paul Osborne (8 Archdale Ave.), the Unitarian minister who is one of the few white people active in interracial activity.

There exists a human relations organization, called the Citizens' Committee for Charleston County, which holds monthly meetings. It is headed by Esau Jenkins, an able Negro leader. The white people participating, or cooperating, are mainly: Osborne, Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs (73 King St.), Rev. S. Grayson Clary (142 Church St.), Rabbi Burton Padoll (Beth Elohim Reform Temple, 90 Hazell St.) Thomas J. Tobias (Tobias & Co., 121 Church St.), Mrs. Betty Tobias, Nathan Shulman (6 Nicholson St.) and Dr. de Rosset Myers (53 Broad St.).

February 10: I spent Saturday evening and most of Sunday with the Courtney Siceloffs. Mrs. Helen Burr Christensen, of "South Carolinians Speak" was a dinner guest.

February 11: In Savannah I visited Bishop McDonough and Father Cuddy of the Catholic diocese.

February 13-14: In Macon, Ga., I took a preliminary look at bus boycott situation, which later received intensive attention fr Had a particularly satisfactory talk with Joe Parham, editor of the News.

February 15-20: Conferences at SRC, except week-end.

February 21: I spent in Clemson, S.C., and nearby Central, home of Rev. Fred Reese, president of the South Carolina CHR, with whom I spent most of the time. I went over with him the situation and personalities at Clemson College with a view to a later visit to that institution, which could see the first public education break-through in South Carolina. The formal application of two Negro applicants for admission was postponed until next fall. The president, Dr. R. C. Edwards recently addressed the Greenville Alert. (The "Alerts" are ultra-rightist organizations which are building up in nearly all South Carolina cities.) Clemson history professor, Robert S. Landreth spent an evening with us.

February 22-23: In Greenville my reconnaissance was also preparatory to a later visit. Wayne W. Freeman, editor of the Greenville News was cordial but "on the way out" to an appointment with his doctor, invited me to come back for a talk later. I was much impressed with Edmund A. Ramsour, associate editor, who seemed to lean very far toward the liberal side, and noted "improvement" in the South Carolina climate. Gilbert Roland, the paper's "church editor," is an all-out liberal active in the CHR. Roland said: "I am definitely optimistic."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

April 25, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

South Carolina Notes

March 26-27, April 18, 1962

I was particularly anxious to see Wayne W. Freeman, editor of the Greenville News, who had been very cordial in a brief earlier encounter.

The Greenville News has been relatively moderate in the South Carolina climate -- anti-extreme right, etc. I understand that Roger Peace, publisher, like Freeman, is somewhat short of intransigeant on segregation. Edmund A. Ramsaur, the able and personable associate editor, with whom I had a long talk in February, is the most liberal of the three. Ramsaur, a young man of means himself, is married to a daughter of Peace.

Most significantly as far as Freeman is concerned is his membership, since the early 1950's on the powerful Gressette Committee. The Gressette Committee, or the "Special Segregation Committee," set up by the legislature under the Byrnes Administration and continuing indefinitely, controls South Carolina policy in all aspects of race relations to a rare degree. Its chairman is State Senator L. Marion Gressette and its fifteen members include five senators, five representatives and five laymen appointed by the governor. It enjoys somewhat greater prestige than similar bodies in other Deep South states and is less given to pyrotechnics. I gather from various sources that the committee's private discussions do not quite close the door to ultimate school desegregation. Leon Dure, the advocate of "freedom of choice" was invited to a session of the committee and heard with interest. Wayne Freeman is regarded as one of the committee's more "liberal" members.

When I called on Freeman at 10 a.m., March 26, he was jovially friendly and most anxious to talk -- and even to listen. When he was called to his eleven o'clock editorial conference, he asked if I would be in town long enough for us to talk some more, and I agreed to come back at 4 p.m., when we resumed on a fairly intimate feet-on-the-desk basis.

He repeated many of the familiar segregationist clichés, but without a sound of firm conviction, and was definitely interested in hearing the other side. He said integration would be dangerous now because of the ignorance of so many, both white and colored. The Gressette Committee was trying to buy time, while South Carolina made an earnest effort to improve education for both races. "Our goal," he said, "is to educate the people to a point where integration will be no issue."

Incidentally, he remarked that Clarendon county was the worst conceivable place in which to begin desegregation. He quoted Thurgood Marshall as saying: "I wish I had never heard of Clarendon County!"

Freeman thought liberals generally and the Kennedy Administration were unreasonable and ignorant of actual conditions in South Carolina. I sensed a lack of communication here, as in many Southern situations, not only between whites and Negroes, but between segregationist and liberal whites. I asked if he wouldn't like to talk this thing out in a friendly way with some of the Administration people and mentioned Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall. He thought this a fine idea and said he would go to Washington for the purpose if Mr. Marshall should invite him.

Breakfasting with us on the 27th was Gil Roland, an ebullient and completely liberal reporter on the Greenville News, who is active in the South Carolina CHR and would like to get more fully into human relations work.

Returning through South Carolina from our Southern tour, we invited Rev. Fred Reese and Mrs. Reese to lunch with us at Clemson. Race relations are a burning obsession for this Methodist minister, who is the very energetic president of the S. C. CHR. He is expecting a transfer early in June to another South Carolina pastorate; he hopes it will be more centrally located for the sake of his CHR work.

Reese, who is enthusiastic over the idea of putting a clergyman consultant in the field, recommended Rev. R. Carl Griffith, 279 Nottingham Road, Greenville. He said Griffith, 65, and recently retired, is at the same time an outspoken liberal on race and one of the most popular ministers in the S. C. Methodist Conference, having twice led the South Carolina delegation to the national conference.

In the afternoon I had a long talk with Dr. Ernest McPherr Lander, author of a history of South Carolina and head of the his tory department at Clemson. Dr. Lander is a completely liberal gentleman who is very knowledgeable with respect to South Carolina affairs. He invited me to come for a meal next trip, and our meeting encouraged my hope of establishing a friendly beachhead at Clemson.

There is a complicated situation now respecting the validity of the applications of two Negroes, but there is a possibility that they may be admitted to Clemson next September. President Edwards is an outspoken segregationist and "rightist," who helped found "South Carolina Alert" and brought "Operation Abolition" to Clemson. Nevertheless, Dr. Edwards has informed the faculty that, "if South Carolina law is stricken down" and the college is forced to admit Negroes, order will be sternly enforced. Any student making trouble, he said, will be immediately expelled.

Incidentally former Gov. Byrnes is a member of the board of trustees. Dr. Lander said, Byrnes is an influence for recalcitrance, but added that he is showing signs of senility.

Benjamin Muse

Copy; Mitchell

July 6, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Nashville, June 30-July 1

In what amounted to only half a day in Nashville I saw only Walter Sharp and Coleman Harwell, editor of the Nashville-Tennessean. Sharp accompanied me on the visit to Harwell, who was an old friend of his.

Harwell was discouragingly cold for the first ten minutes, but warmed gradually to the conversation and to the project. At the end he followed us to the outer door and it was difficult to get away. He told me to make myself at home in the Tennessean offices, offered me any facilities and asked me to call on him whenever he could be of help.

A little discussion of Tennessee politics. Governor Ellington not naturally an extremist, but inclined to go as the political wind blows. Nashville Mayor Ben West regarded as a moderate on the segregation issue.

Creed Black from his staff has just gone to Savannah to become executive editor of the two papers there. He will be a good contact for me.

(Incidentally, Harwell asked me to try to find him an editorial writer--a good spot for a young liberal.)

I was particularly impressed by our discussion of the break-down of communication between the races. Harwell reflected that, perhaps, he had been remiss, and made a note to call soon on the new president of Fisk. More significantly, however, he noted a sort of boycott of his office by Negroes.

"As well as I can remember there hasn't been a Negro in here for four years. Formerly I had visits from Negroes every few days."

Yet Harwell is a dedicated liberal, known to be friendly to the Negro cause. He said he missed their visits. Sharp said he would mention this matter to some of his Negro associates.

We concluded that Negroes are overly afraid of embarassing their white friends. In this instance they would certainly have been welcomed by an influential editor. This diffidence accounts for some of the break-down of communication.

Harwell said he also had detected a certain tone of wavering on the part of previously inflexible resistors in the South. When I told him about Ellis Arnall's move, he jotted down notes for possible editorial reference.

In a long talk, including luncheon, with Walter Sharp I was amazed at his acquaintance among the Nashville "power structure", including Mayor West and most of the financial and business magnates. I believe many of these know him socially and through his role in civic activities in the artistic field.

He mentioned Dan May and Macklin Davis as committed liberals. Many leading business men, however, had avoided the issue and never expressed themselves on either side. In this list were: Albert Werthen, Malny Jarman, Victor Johnson, Fred Harvey, John Sloan and Vernon Sharp.

We planned somewhat enthusiastically a future "campaign" in Nashville in which I could meet these people and others under favorable auspices.

Benjamin Muse

July 7, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Knoxville, Wednesday-Friday, July 1-3, 1959

In Knoxville I saw only a few of my intended prospects, due in part to the impending holiday and in part to sheer bad luck--which must be expected from time to time. The mayor was coming in only for one meeting Thursday before taking off for the holiday, a school board member could only be seen a half an hour before my scheduled departure Friday, and the chamber of commerce president could be seen only at the same hour as my appointment already made with another prospect, etc., etc. (Paul Christopher was away all the week.)

However, I had a cordial talk Thursday morning with Charles Herd, manager of the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce.

Herd is a quiet, cautious type, whom Galen Martin and others regard as a moderate. He seemed very much so to me. He said the school segregation question had never been discussed in a meeting of the Knoxville chamber but that it had, of course, been discussed informally among members. He did not believe there was an extremist in the chamber. As far as he knew none of them would favor closing schools to prevent integration. In any crisis, he was sure, the Knoxville chamber would be a force for stability and order.

He was interested in the performance of the Little Rock chamber, said the Knoxville chamber would probably do likewise in similar circumstances.

I visited George R. Dempster (political and business leader, former Knoxville mayor, chairman of the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission, etc.) at the Dempster Bros. plant near Knoxville Thursday afternoon.

We had a long pleasant talk. He is an elderly gentleman with a fondness for reminiscences and funny stories. He appeared to agree with everything I said. He is a reliable liberal and liked the idea of alerting business men. He anticipated little trouble in Knoxville. "No respectable person in Knoxville would favor closing schools."

(A secretary reminded him that he was lunching with Senator Kefauver Friday.)

Mr. Dempster showed me his huge cafeteria, where, he said, white and Negro employees were completely integrated. He gave me a ticket good for 100 meals--a favorite gimmick. (Perhaps I had better hang on to this. One never knows.)

It was at this point that Perry took me aside and made the remarks which I conveyed in confidential notes to Harold Fleming.

On the morning of August 13, I attended a brief press conference, where Gov. Collins greeted me cordially. We then proceeded to St. Petersburg.

In St. Petersburg

Floyd Christian, the Pinellas County superintendent of schools, is definitely a moderate, and I gathered from my conversation with him, August 14, that he would favor admitting a few Negro pupils to mixed schools without waiting for legal action. When I suggested this, he appeared to agree himself and added that some of the school board felt the same way. He expected little trouble in St. Petersburg when desegregation should come. However, he said: "No Negro children have applied for admission yet."

In Miami

I telephoned Friday evening, August 14, and made an appointment with Mrs. Lyle Roberts for Monday morning, August 17. Mrs. Roberts had been described by Perry as the "key" member of the school board and I had spent an evening at her home on my earlier visit to Miami. She had been exceedingly friendly then and was so again when I spoke to her over the phone. She volunteered that she would come to my hotel for our talk Monday at 10 a.m.

Monday at the Columbus Hotel I received a message -- she did not call me directly -- saying: "Mrs. Roberts regrets that she will be unable to meet her appointment."

After a few minutes thought, and recalling my conversation with John Perry, I felt that I saw the picture and understood why Jane Roberts had changed her mind. I know her well enough to appreciate her nervousness at this juncture. People "in the know" with regard to this desegregation move are extremely reluctant to talk about it on the eve of the event.

I also decided not to attempt to see Superintendent Joe Hall. Both Hall and Mrs. Roberts, being prepared for me by the Governor's office, had confided to an extraordinary degree on my previous visit. At this point it would be impossible for them to talk frankly and it would be embarrassing not to do so. Moreover, with plans made and the stage set, I could be of no help.

I sent Mrs. Roberts a card -- "Best Wishes" -- from the airport on my departure.

How I spent the remainder of my day in Miami will be reported in separate memoranda.

Benjamin Muse

September 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Chattanooga, Sept. 23, 1959

Ben Hale Golden, president and publisher, Chattanooga Times: --

"What the school board ought to do is take three or four Negro pupils -- carefully selected -- and go on and integrate them. Once the first Negro pupil is admitted, the crisis is practically over...."

Golden showed less feeling of danger in the Chattanooga situation than the others with whom I talked. He was positive and concise in his opinions. I spent only 20 minutes with him -- after a long talk with Martin S. Ochs, editor, Tuesday morning.

Ochs discussed many angles of the problem in Chattanooga and the South and was most cooperative and helpful. The Times had supported moderate Edmund Orgil, who was narrowly defeated by Buford Ellington in the race for Governor, but Ellington has since shown moderate tendency. From 2:30 P.M. to 4:30 P.M. I spent -- over coffee -- with Johnny Popham, managing editor, who, of course, is a magnificent fellow.

Ochs sent me to Kenneth B. Piper, vice president, Provident Life and Accident Insurance Co. (721 Broad St.) Popham escorted me with an exuberant introduction to Raymond B. Witt, attorney, Volunteer Bldg. (AM 7-3723).

For the record, Ochs suggested two prospects whom I did not see: William E. Brock, son of a former U.S. Senator, chairman of the Board of Trustees, University of Chattanooga; and Joe H. Lane, a liberal of Northern background, president Cavalier Corp. Ochs said that Ed Garland, chamber of commerce manager, was not very wide-awake or likely to interest himself in this problem.

Kenneth Piper is one of those business executives whom I meet now and then who scorn the self-interest approach. He is against segregation because it is "wrong and unchristian."

Piper is anxious to see organized preparation in Chattanooga, and, not merely "communication," but -- as he repeated several times -- "relaxed conversation" among white and colored leaders.

There is, in fact, an organization in existence in Chattanooga. Formed 18 months ago, it musters 25 or more at quiet meetings, held frequently, but not on regular schedule. After some debate on the question, it has recently become interracial. Its official, basic purpose is to assure "that the social change shall be effected in an orderly manner."

The "group," as it is called, appears to include some very substantial people and elements of the power structure. Piper disassociated himself from the group last January when he was appointed a member of the city school board nominating committee, fearing that his prominence in that connection might result in publicity and embarrassment for the group. He returned to the group at its last meeting.

Piper was anxious for me to come to Chattanooga again and arrange to spend an evening with him.

Raymond Witt, attorney, is a school board member apparently with some interest in politics. He is also, according to Popham, a "protege" of Carter Lupton, multi-millionaire power in Chattanooga.

In a cordial, gripping conversation we discussed the problem in Chattanooga and the South. Two interesting points:

(1) Chattanooga is to a rare degree a "private school" city by custom and by tradition. Over 2,000 children go to (non-sectarian) private schools. It is "the thing to do" when parents can afford it. His own children go to private schools. Power structure children would not be directly affected by school-closing.

(2) The business community of Chattanooga is closely related to that of Atlanta and strongly influenced by what Atlanta business men think and do.

Witt appeared ready for further discussion and possible cooperation.

Benjamin Muse

Chronologer. Report of Management Negotiations for

September 30, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Knoxville, Sept. 23 — 25, 1959

Galen Martin met with me after my arrival Wednesday evening, Sept. 23, to discuss plans. He said apologetically that he didn't "know many big wheels," but he succeeded in getting me in touch with some very substantial people.

The Knoxville chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews had recently become aggressive and was the "prestige group" in Knoxville in the human relations field. Its president, Glen Otis Martin, of the Wesley Foundation, U.T., joined us for lunch on Thursday.

Other members who belong more or less to the power structure, mentioned for future reference were: Max Friedman -- (city council), former Senator and TVA attorney Pope and Arnold Cramer, son of Russell Cramer (a politician close to Clement.)

Galen was particularly anxious that I should see George McGee, an official of Rohm & Haas (plastics and chemicals). Galen had heard him speak at a meeting of the Toastmasters Club, and he sounded like a liberal.

I spent about an hour with McGee, who is a "medium management" official in the great corporation, Thursday morning. McGee is an ardent desegregationist on moral and religious grounds. Wished more ministers would speak out. Had formed a little committee in his own church (St. Mark's Methodist) but it didn't amount to much. He had never heard of the Councils on Human Relations, wished there were an organization where people who felt as he did could get together. I told him about the Knoxville CHR, and alerted Galen Martin. (McGee's home address: 1308 Sumac Drive, Knoxville).

A luncheon, arranged by Galen at the UT Faculty Club included: Glen Martin; Arthur Jones, Zoology professor and CHR member; and Charles R. Moffett (residence: 466 Cherokee Blvd., Phone 8-4115). Moffett, able and dynamic, is dean of the evening school and a member of the Knoxville school board. He also has an interest in politics, was unsuccessful candidate for mayor in the last election.

A very stimulating general discussion of the problem, followed by what was largely a dialogue between Moffett and me: I urged the advantages of proceeding with desegregation of the Knoxville schools. The consensus was that the atmosphere in Knoxville is relatively good, though passive.

Moffett sensed a lurking fear in many quarters due to memories of the Clinton experience. Moffett bombarded me with earnest questions, and, at the conclusion, asked me to meet with the Knoxville school board. I said I would get in touch with him in regard to time and arrangements.

One would doubt the authority of one member to extend such an invitation, but I shall no doubt be able to talk with at least some of the school board members.

I also made brief visits to Paul Christopher, of our board, and William E. Cole, head of the sociology dept. and of the planning commission, U.T., and a member of the CHR.

Dinner with three CHR members: Dr. C. Merrill Proudfoot, of Knoxville College; S. Dave Freeman, a TVA attorney; and Rev. Crutcher, Bapt. min.

Friday morning I called upon Loy Miller, elderly editor of the News Sentinel, who was very friendly. He is not sure he approves of democracy, but if we are going to call this a democracy there is no excuse for segregation. He believes in class distinctions, but the division should not be on the basis of color. (Nevertheless, his grandchildren, moving to Washington, will go to segregated private schools.) In the Knoxville situation he would like to see the school board go ahead quietly with gradual desegregation..

The News Sentinel takes no position editorially, believes in the minimum of agitation on either side. However, if the public order — or public schools — were threatened, he would take a positive stand.

Apparently sympathetic with my efforts, he concluded with: "Good luck to you."

Benjamin Muse

Dry Smith, former editor, was JC Pres. chairman
Christopher: Kenneth Neill, exp. [illegible]
from Texas, is liberal

October 15, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Knoxville, October 8 and 9, 1959

Only about 24 hours in Knoxville devoted mainly to an afternoon visit with Dr. Charles R. Moffett, school board member and a morning conference with Brooks Hays at TVA. I dined Thursday evening with F. Woods Beckman, a pleasant old gentleman from the NRC who had invited me through Galen Martin. Lunched Friday, and talked at length with, Galen Martin.

Moffett had not replied to a letter from me, but I learned by phone in Chattanooga that he was expecting me. He asked me to come to U.T. immediately upon my arrival (about 3 p.m.) and talk until he had to leave for a lecturing engagement at 5.

Moffett is impulsive and a little irresponsible, nervously jumping from subjet to subject, but is greatly interested in discussing the many angles of the desegregation problem in Knoxville and elsewhere.

He did not repeat the invitation to me to meet with the school board. It would be entirely possible for me to attend a meeting and talk to the group, but I don't think it would be effective to try to talk with the members in that formal atmosphere. I could visit each of them individually, when time allows, and accomplish more. I discussed the members one by one with Galen Martin, and, at my request, he prepared a list with pertinent information and comment on each. Arranging appointments and calling on the remaining 6 might take some time, but it might be worked in in later visits to Knoxville.

Moffett spoke caustically of Knoxville clergymen, some of whom are aggressive on desegregation, but most of whom were doing nothing. He also noted that they are not desegregating their congregations. (I understand, however, that two white churches in Knoxville are attended by one or more Negroes.) Ministers had made no representations to the school board for several years, although desegregationists had often visited and written it. The school board had no evidence that the churches generally would support them in a desegregation move.

(I am told that the most difficult man in the school picture is Supt. Thomas Johnson, who is volubly critical of the Supreme Court and of the preachers.)

Neither Moffett nor Witt in Chattanooga had ever heard of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation." I sent them each a copy on my return to Manassas.

There is a possibility that a Negro may be elected to the Knoxville school board in November. Rev. Crutcher and Frank Gordon are both candidates, and Crutcher has received AFL-CIO endorsement. Galen thinks that, if Gordon could be induced to withdraw, Crutcher would have a very good chance.

Galen promised to confer with others and send me a list of appropriate Knoxville addresses for L Reports.

When I phoned Brooks Hays Friday morning he said he was just starting to dictate a letter to me! I promptly walked over to TVA to see him. His immediate concern was that I help him suggest a project for the field Foundation in this desegregation field. (I worked on this during the past several days and have sent a copy of my proposal to SRC).

Aside from that, Hays was exceedingly cordial and manifested a desire that we should cooperate closely and that I should keep in touch with him. When I broached the question, he said that he would be glad to provide me with letters of introduction to Southern leaders of his acquaintance whenever I felt they would help.

He was glad to get from me a transcript of the "Face the Nation" program featuring Everett Tucker, also a copy of L6 on the Washington schools. Very much interested when I quoted the high spots of the latter, declared the Davis Report a "fraud."

Conversation about Little Rock, Negro voting -- keenly interested in my story about Charles City County, Virginia -- Southern personalities and highlights of my own travels. He discussed some of his activities in opposition to my third party movement. He talks more and more like an unqualified liberal on the race issue.

Benjamin Muse

October 15, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Chattanooga, October 6, 7 and 8, 1959

All but one of my contacts in Chattanooga were members of the Council on Community Relations, which is the "group" described to me earlier by Kenneth Piper. The exception was Raymond Witt, school board member.

This Council includes some substantial citizens, not far removed from the power structure. Tuesday evening, October 6, I spent at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Seamur Shavin, (334 North Crest Road, Chattanooga 11 -- phone MA 4-8591), a Frank Lloyd Wright house with a fine view overlooking the city. Mr. Shavin is with an engineering firm; Mrs. (Gertrude) Shavin is secretary-treasurer of the Council. The Shavins seem to represent the more liberal or "less practical" wing of the Council. Present also at the informal supper were Mrs. R. D. Albright, and C. B. Robinson, principal of Virginia (Negro) High School.

I gather that Robinson is one of the most respected Negro leaders. I am told at the same time that Chattanooga is lacking in aggressive Negro leadership. Robinson told me that they are having difficulty finding Negroes who are willing to take the risks involved in applying for admission to white schools and following through with litigation, but that "something is shaping up."

Wednesday I was stymied by my cold and kept pretty much to my room until my dinner engagement in the evening, doing considerable telephoning. I planned tentatively to return home Thursday, but I learned that two school board friends were quite anxious to see me Thursday, one in Chattanooga in the morning and the other in Knoxville in the afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Piper had invited me by letter to dine at their home with a small group. Piper, as executive vice-president of the Provident Insurance Co., and chairman of its planning committee, which is erecting a new Chattanooga skyscraper, is a man of some prominence in the business world. He is also an ardent churchman (Presbyterian) and a dedicated liberal on the race question. He believes, however, in the practical approach and considers himself a member of the "moderate" wing of the Council on Community Relations.

Other guests were Miss Leah James and Mr. and Mrs. Neil McDade. Miss James is head of the Chattanooga Family Service Agency (High St. and 4th. -- AM 7-2138). She happens to be a sister of Arthur James, of Richmond, one-time Virginia Commissioner of Public Welfare, with whom I had some association as State Senator.

McDade is a substantial business man with a variety of interests. In spite of his avowed liberalism, he made a good, though unsuccessful, run for the Legislature in the last election. (Both McDade and Shavin are members of the board of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

The Chattanooga Council on Community Relations is a very vigorous organization, which musters from 25 to 40 members at its meetings. (The president is a Mrs. Muhleman, whom I did not meet.) There is difference of opinion among its members as to whether it should take the name of a Human Relations Council, some feeling that its present name is less provocative in the existing atmosphere. However, the group is most anxious to cooperate and to receive literature and other help from us.

Piper and McDade promised to work on a list of addresses to which L Reports should be sent.

From conversation at the Shavins' and at the Pipers', I made the following list of "power structure" individuals upon whom it might be helpful sometime to call:

Dr. Joe Johnson (old family), Interstate Insurance Co. Bldg.
Ralph Shoemaker, attorney.
Joe H. Lane, president, Cavalier Corp., 343 W. 1 St.
William E. Brock, son of former U.S. Senator and chairman of the board of trustees of the University of Tennessee; also his brother Richard -- both, Brock Candy Co., (1113 Chestnut, AM 6-7191).
Rep. Carter Patton.
Ray Evans, Chattanooga Medicine Co., 1715 W. 38 St., AM 5-4521.
De Sales Harrison, Coca Cola Bottling Works, 201 Broad.
Scott N. Brown, past president chamber of commerce, Browy, Pless & Co., real estate, 709 Chestnut.
John A. Chambliss, attorney, Provident Bldg.
Harry Miller, former school board member, Fleetwood Apart., AM 7-1749.
Harry C. Carbough, Tennessee Egg Co., 414 W. 16.
R. E. Bigger, friend of Carbough, former executive, Lookout Oil Co.
William Leber, labor union member of school board; (Described also as a liberal member was Alf Laws -- and, of course, Raymond Witt, who is discussed below.)

(Mentioned especially as liberal members of the Times staff were Mary Reynolds, Alfred Kynders and Norman Bradley. I saw the top editors on my previous visit.)

I postponed my departure for Knoxville a few hours to see Raymond Witt, Volunteer Bldg., AM 7-3723, Thursday morning.

Witt is a leading corporation lawyer, a member of the school board and a very thoughtful and high-minded man. I reported an earlier conversation with him. We had another hour of congenial but rather intense conversation. I am sure that he will be happy to proceed with desegregation "when the time is ripe." In the meantime he rationalizes rather eloquently that the city needs more preparation. He said responsible people (power structure) were moving in that direction. He observed in this connection that the News-Free Press had softened. (It must have been pretty bad before!) Nevertheless, he spoke with an air of great sincerity.

I questioned the value of further delay and submitted that his conception of "deliberate speed" would be hard to defend in a Federal court. He finally conceded that a voluntary beginning of desegregation would be a wise step once there was convincing evidence that Chattanooga Negroes

were going to press for admittance to white schools. I think I am influencing his thinking to some extent.

I have a fine relationship with him. He asked me to "come back soon."

Benjamin Muse

May 24, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The Knoxville Papers

May 18-19, 1960

The two Knoxville daily papers, the Journal and the News Sentinel are extremely conservative, each edited by an old gentleman of reactionary views. When I visited Knoxville last fall, they were regarded with suspicion by our liberal friends, who said no help could be expected from them. Now Galen Martin speaks with some enthusiasm of the helpful attitude of both papers.

Apparently it is a matter of essential decency and integrity not inconsistent with their conservative philosophy.

Guy L. Smith, editor of the Journal, appears to be a man in his seventies. Active in Republican Party councils, he says he is a Republican, not from a partisan point of view, but "because what is left of conservatism in this country is in the Republican Party."

He has little use for human relations councils, bi-racial committees and the like. "They're more likely to stir up trouble than to ease race tensions." Suspicious of the Southern Regional Council, he asked me to send him more information about it (which I shall do). I cleared myself of personal suspicion by recalling my onetime Republican associations and talking about friends whom we had in common.

Consistent with their policy of playing down the race question, the two papers are handling the lunch counter problem discreetly. Smith deplores the movement. "The Negroes should concentrate on the vote and jobs. They shouldn't have started this lunch counter agitation in the midst of a delicate school situation." Yet even the Negroes refer to his paper as "cooperative."

The Journal backed my friend Moffett (a school board member) in his campaign for mayor last year. Moffett was badly beaten -- due, Smith says, to vote-buying and to the fact that the good pepple are moving out of the city and Negroes and "rag-tag-and-bob-nail whites" are moving in.

Now, since public school integration in Knoxville is inevitable, Smith wants it to be as smooth and orderly as possible. The Journal has been running a series of seven feature articles on the Nashville experience. The seventh, which appeared on the 18th., is entitled "Tips Given to Ease School Integration."

At my request he promised to send me clips of the complete series. We may find them useful in New Orleans or elsewhere.

Smith invited me to come to see him again on any return to Knoxville.

I also had a very cordial talk with Loye W. Miller, editor of the News Sentinel, whom I visited last September. Miller thought the Negro students were "foolish" to launch the lunch counter demonstrations in the midst of a delicate school situation and in the midst also of a drive for the Negro College Fund.

Said he knew of one regular $1,000 donor who had refused to contribute this year -- "as of now." However, he thought lunch counter desegregation was a relatively "small matter" which Knoxville should be able to take in its stride. "Anybody that lunches at Woolworth's can't expect to be exclusive."

(I don't think either of the two editors was aware of the intense and crucial negotiations which were going on while we talked.)

Miller said there had been a notable failure of white hoodlums to congregate when the Negroes demonstrated, which he regarded as a hopeful sign.

When I saw him last fall Miller said his paper's policy was to ignore the race question until a situation might arise when he was sure an editorial on the subject would do "more good than harm." He was now strongly urging calm acceptance of school desegregation, and I expressed my admiration.

Benjamin Muse

May 24, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The Lunch Counter Problem in Knoxville

Tuesday, May 17, through Thursday, May 19, 1960

I spent Tuesday afternoon largely with Galen Martin, of the Human Relations Council, who lunched with me. In the evening I attended an HRC executive committee meeting. The latter appeared to be an exceedingly earnest and energetic group, interested in many angles of race relations, but not particularly close to the lunch counter negotiations.

I learned in phone conversations with Dr. Jos. J. Copeland, Presbyterian Minister, Dr. James A. Colston, president of Knoxville College and others that negotiations between the Mayor's Committee and the lunch counter proprietors were in progress Tuesday, and that they had reached a crucial stage. Dr. Copeland said: "It will be decided tomorrow."

Wednesday morning at nine I called on Dr. Charles R. Moffett, a school board member, whom I have visited twice before. It was mainly a visit of friendship, eliciting nothing to justify a separate report. Moffett finds the atmosphere improved in Knoxville and has strong hopes of smooth integration (first grade) in Knoxville next September. He said "Patterns in School Desegregation," which I left with him in October, had been immensely helpful and had been read and re-read by school board members. He asked for any information about school districts recently following the grade-a-year plan or planning to do so. I promised to send him something about Delaware and New Orleans.

The affected merchants met Wednesday at 9 A. M. and the Mayor's Committee met at 1:30 P.M. on the lunch counter problem. Practically all day Wednesday conferences, meetings or huddles of some kind were in progress among merchants, students and Mayor's Committee members, and further informal conferring went on Thursday -- a circumstance which made it difficult, or indelicate, to talk with the principals involved. I had a long talk Wednesday morning, however, with Porterfield Bradby, public relations director of Knoxville College, who is the right-hand man of Dr. Colston in the negotiations. Both are members of the Mayor's Committee. A fine talk also with Charles Herd, chamber of commerce manager.

My conversation with Bradby may have been of some help. We discussed at length various possible plans for the initial lunch counter desegregation. I left with him a copy of the Galveston agreement, which, he told me later, was circulated among members of the Mayor's Committee and read with interest by them.

Herd indicated a keen interest in the whole student Protest movement. The Knoxville Chamber of Commerce is taking an unusual interest in the lunch counter matter. It is careful, he said, to avoid "telling the merchants what to do." Nevertheless it adopted a resolution (unpublicized) endorsing the Mayor's efforts, which was used by him in New York. Both Herd and chamber president Harry W. Brooks are on the Mayor's Committee and are frankly urging desegregation. W. M. Nash, the chamber's liaison man with the Retail Merchants' Association is working with them.

A question asked me by Copeland, Herd and others was: "How can we persuade these merchants that they won't be hurt if they desegregate?"

Essentially, the news from Knoxville is excellent. (It remains confidential, but it is amply confirmed by members of the Mayor's Committee.)

<u>The merchants who are parties to the negotiations agreed in their meeting Wednesday morning to desegregate their lunch counters "within ten days."</u>

The decision was conveyed to the Mayor's Committee Wednesday afternoon and to the students in a long meeting at the college Wednesday night. There were varying opinions Thursday, however, as to whether or not a final solution had been reached.

The problem entered now upon a phase which illustrates how impatience, face-saving impulses, bad blood and other factors not strictly a part of the race issue enter into the problem. The merchants fixed ten days because they didn't want to move immediately after a demonstration. (A demonstration the previous Friday had aroused much criticism. It actually coincided with a meeting of the merchants to consider desegregation!) Some of the merchants now said that they "wouldn't be coerced," they wouldn't act "under pressure." The students would have to "cool off a while."

On the other side the students said they had been too patient. Negotiations had been going on for three months. They had exercised great restraint. They didn't want to wait any longer. Above all Commencement would soon be here. Students would be going home about the time of the promised desegregation. Protest leaders wanted to see their efforts crowned with success before the end of the college year. (They also wanted to be on hand in case the merchants should fall down on their promise. They wanted desegregation now.)

Dr. Colston and others tried to reason with the students in a long meeting Wednesday night. The main objective was to prevent further student demonstrations at this critical time.

Thursday, various mediators tried to prevail on the merchants in private conferences to step up the desegregation date -- possibly five days.

The negotiations remain off the record, and it is earnestly desired that no announcement of desegregation shall be made until after the accomplished fact.

Though the demonstration of Friday, May 13, may have hastened action by the merchants, it was widely regarded as "unfortunate." About 30 Knoxville College students visited Kress', Cole No. 1, McLellan's and Grant's, sitting at lunch counters in each for a few minutes. The lunch counters closed. There were no arrests. There were no crowds, and no significant white harassment. Learning of the scheduled meeting of the merchants for the same afternoon, Dr. Colston and others tried unsuccessfully to prevent the demonstration. Two merchants phoned the meeting group that they were unable to come because of sit-ins at their stores!

By way of background, the Knoxville Mayor's Committee was appointed on February 18 -- believed to have been the first to have been set up to deal with the lunch counter problem. (The Greensboro Mayor's Committee was set up February 25.) The Mayor's Committee members, 9 white and 10 colored members. Its membership is not rigidly fixed, as several persons not originally named have become active in it. Mayor John Duncan presides and has worked earnestly for desegregation. George Dempster has been active and forceful. Dr. Colston, Dr. Copeland and Chamber of Commerce president Brooks have been particularly active.

Others on the list are: Porterfield Bradby, Rev. W. T. Crutcher, Rev. Robert James, Rev. Carroll M. Felton, Rev. Frank Gordon, Otis T. Hogue, Dr. O. D. Taylor, Ralph Martin, Robert Hooker, James Clay and Miss Marion Smith, (three students) Charles Herd, Mack Blackburn, Hugh Sanford, Jr., and Dr. Charles Trenthoy.

I was told that Gov. Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, phoned Mayor Duncan in some anger upon learning of his setting up the committee.

Mayor Duncan and chamber president Brocks went to New York near the end of February and conferred with executives of Kress, Grant and Woolworth at the Kress office -- with the usual response that local managers would have to decide the question. The executives refused to see two Negro students who went up.

Bradby and others appeared to be annoyed at efforts on the part of CORE to intervene in the Knoxville situation. Leonard Hold, a CORE organizer from Norfolk, Va., visited the college a few weeks ago. He refused to call upon Pres. Colston when a conference was set up for him, and had almost no contact with college officials. Hold was coldly received generally, but appears to have enrolled a few students before leaving a few days later. Bradby said he had indirect information that a group had met "in some church across the town" to organize a CORE chapter May 18. It would seem that CORE was a nuisance in a movement which was proceeding admirably under the leadership of Bradby and Dr. Colston.

I dined with Brooks Hays Wednesday evening and visited him again at TVA before leaving Thursday evening. He offerred to help in the lunch counter situation in any way possible, and I passed this on to the Mayor's Committee.

Galen Martin has cooperated actively with the NCCJ in arranging a Police-Community Relations Institute to be held at the University of Tennessee June 14. The Institute will consider especially Student Protest situations.

Benjamin Muse

May 30, 1961

MEMORANDUM

Nashville Visit, May 10-13, and

Subsequent Activities

A variety of activities have prevented my reporting earlier on my Nashville trip, May 10-13, which was mainly devoted to exchange of ideas and information with people associated with us or concerned with our problem. I visited Knoxville and Newport both going and coming, as indicated in my report on equal opportunity of employment, etc.

In Nashville, I spent an evening with George Barrett and another with John Hope and called on Miss Katherine Jones, Rev. John Marion, and Will Campbell. I especially valued my talk with Will Campbell, who is in close touch with developments in Mississippi, and I got useful leads from him for my next trip to that state. I spent an entire afternoon at the Southern School News, where Executive Director Reed Sarratt showed me over his establishment and introduced me to all the personnel. Sarratt, Associate Director Tom Flake, and Assistant Director Jim Leeson and I sat around the board room table for a full two hours of good conversation.

Outside of this "professional" circle, I called upon Greenfield Pitts, vice-president and treasurer (active head) of Harvey's Department Store (Nashville's largest), and Charles Moss, executive editor of the (strongly segregationist) Nashville Banner.

Greenfield Pitts made some interesting points regarding the lunch counter desegregation episode of last year. According to him:

The whole thing was accomplished by "seven store managers and four Negroes." Others who tried to intervene didn't help (although he spoke favorably of George Barrett.)

White demonstrators were a particular provocation to violence. The intervention of white clergymen annoyed the merchants. They felt like saying--and sometimes said: "Why don't you go back and integrate your churches?"

The genius of the episode was (Negro Baptist) Rev. Kelly Miller Smith. Smith was able to speak responsibly for the Negroes and all the merchants had high respect for him. He was a "real guy."

All five restaurants, of various kinds, at Harvey's had now been desegregated. Several Negroes had been added to personnel and he was planning to employ a substantial number. Employment of Negro sales girls offered a special problem, but he expected to break through there. (Incidentally, he noted, that from Nashville's large element of educated Negroes he could get a higher type of help for the same salary!)

When I started to leave, Pitts held me a moment to show me a telegram from Mr. Harvey a short time before the latter's death and while the lunch counter negotiations were in progress. He was traveling in Italy at the time. The telegram read approximately:

"Desegregate everything. This is the modern trend to which we must, and should, conform, etc. etc."

My talk with Moss, of the Banner, was significant mainly as an indication of a spirit of defeatism which, I believe, is spreading among Southern segregationist leaders.

"I'm tired of the whole business," Moss said. He did not mean that he was not disposed to talk to me. On the contrary he was most cordial and in no hurry to terminate the interview. When I left, he thanked me for coming. He was tired of trying to prevent the inevitable.

In the lunch counter desegregation episode Moss had tried to follow the wishes of the negotiators in the matter of publicity and had cooperated at all times in efforts to preserve public order. Now Nashville was leading the South in integration. He did not think it a matter for pride, but it couldn't be helped. He had supported Buford Ellington for governor; now Ellington had joined the integrationists. He didn't think it would help Ellington politically. Anyway, he was tired of it all.

My remarks were to the general effect that desegregation is bound to come, that, when it comes, it is not as bad as many people imagined it would be and that Nashville is fortunate in having cleared a few hurdles which still lie ahead of other Southern cities.

While in Nashville, I engaged Hedrick L. ("Rick") Smith, head of the local VPI bureau, to give us a story of theater desegregation in Nashville which might be helpful in other cities.

In a letter of May 22, Smith expressed discouragement. "The movie managements," he wrote, "are reluctant to say a thing. The Negro leaders feel obligated not to disclose details of the negotiations or intricacies of the control period, vital to the report, until the movie managements are also willing to talk."

I am replying today, asking Smith to keep the undertaking a backlog, and let me know if, after another month, he still finds it unfeasible.

I have kept a running correspondence in this connection with Barry Bingham, president of the Louisville Courier Journal, who requested our help. He wrote me on May 20:

"I can well appreciate the difficulty your correspondent in Nashville is encountering, in getting a report on the situation there in regard to integration of moving picture theaters. We have been going through a similar phase in Louisville, where proprietors of business houses did not want to publicize their immediate integration plans. We have now moved to the point, however, where two downtown theaters have completely desegregated and all the others but one have agreed to do so before June 23, barring any unforeseen circumstances."

I attended an excellent all-day conference of the Southeastern Regional Office, American Friends Service Committee, in Greensboro May 27. After a general discussion of the overall picture, the AFSC wanted advice on the orientation of its school desegregation program--whether to continue to concentrate upon North Carolina and, if so, what approach to the North Carolina situation. It wanted to break down "tokenism." The first proposal discussed was one to promote general desegregation in the western counties. I heartily approved of this and suggested that its main effort should be concentrated here. We discussed at some length plans for inducing the western counties to go ahead with full desegregation. In many instances, the small Negro school population there is sent to out-of-county schools. I stressed the importance, as the first order of business, of a comprehensive and accurate survey which would show both the hardship to Negro children and the economic unwisdom of this cumbersome system. I understand the AFSC intends to concentrate on this western North Carolina plan.

I did a piece entitled, "Violence in the South, Etc.," for the Outlook section of the Washington Post, May 28, a clipping of which is enclosed herewith.

I am scheduled to speak to the annual meeting of the Arlington Council on Human Relations June 1.

Benjamin Muse

April 22, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLEMING:

Conversation with J. J. Brewbaker, Superintendent of Schools, and Harold Anderson, Chief of Police, Norfolk Va., April 15, 1959.

Both of these gentlemen expressed willingness to go to Miami and confer with their opposite numbers there. However, each indicated that the matter should be cleared first with his superiors (i. e. The school board and the mayor.) Each indicated also that he should first receive an invitation from Miami. I said in each case that the SRC would pay travel expenses, plus $30 a day.

Mr. Brewbaker

I spent one hour with Mr. Brewbaker. He said that things were going about as smoothly in the schools now as if nothing had happened. He thought, however, that it would be a good thing if only a few additional Negro children would apply for integration next year. This would help to further community acceptance of gradual integration. He said Negro leaders, including the NAACP, in Norfolk were pretty reasonable and there was reason to hope this plan would be followed.

Mr. Brewbaker seemed definitely interested in going to Miami. He noted that the train connection was very good--leave Norfolk 2 P. M., arrive Miami 10 A. M. next day. In answer to his question, I said that it would probably mean a four-day absence from Norfolk.

He said that he would take it up with his school board and expected no objection. However, though the Miami superintendent was an old personal friend of his, he would like first to receive an invitation from him.

I also mentioned a possible later visit by Mr. Brewbaker to Atlanta.

We talked about Omer Carmichael (a mutual friend) and his various activities in connection with the segregation problem in the South. In the midst of this Mr. Brewbaker remarked that he expected to retire in June, 1960, when he reaches 65 years of age. The conversation changed at this point, but I later brought him back to the matter of his coming retirement. "What are you going to do then?"

Expand his flower garden, put in some more roses, play more golf. I said: "That will not be enough." "No," he said, "that will not be enough." He will want to be doing something worthwhile.

Would he like to help in the solution of the South's Great Problem? He said that he thought he would, but he didn't know what he could do.

Mr. Anderson

A most cordial conversation with the chief of police. Mr. Anderson doesn't think the South will ever "accept" school integration, but it will have to take it because it is the law. Maybe it will got used to it in time. He is a personally tolerant and liberal person and believes that a citizen is a citizen and the law is the law, regardless of race. He remarked that the private school business did not work at all in Norfolk. The makeshift private schools were "pitiful." Some did not even have laboratory facilities.

His obsession is law and order. Very proud of Norfolk's achievement in carrying out school integration with a single incident.

He said, nevertheless, there was a related incident which had received practically no publicity. Two white boys attacked and beat up a Negro boy whom they thought was attending an integrated school. Actually the boy was a pupil at Booker T. Washington school.

Mr. Andersom said that the Negro community was much impressed with the thoroughness and dispatch with which the incident was investigated by the police. The two white boys were brought to trial and given the maxium penalty, as well as a severe dressing down by the trial judge. He said the judge's lecture was a classic and should have been publicized. At any rate the Norfolk Negroes knew of the incident, and he had received many touching letters.

Mr. Anderson was very much interested in going to Miami to talk to police authorities there. In fact he was rather enthusiastic. He thought it would be a feather in Norfolk's hat to be regarded as a model, said: "It would be a good thing for Norfolk." However, he said the matter should be taken up first with the mayor.

(This must be handled delicately in view of Mayor Duckworth's obstructionist tactics in the matter of school integration, but can, I believe, be arranged.)

Benjamin Muse

June 17, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Virginia Situation -- Conversation With Albertis Harrison

As a glance at the attached clippings will suggest, Governor J. Lindsay Almond is becoming more emphatically a moderate leader. I shall try to renew an old friendship with him at the first opportunity. He has been away from his office for several days.

In the meantime, on June 12, I called on Attorney General Albertis Harrison, Almond's staunch ally and closest adviser--who is now widely regarded as his most likely successor as Governor.

The atmosphere seems propitious now for approaching Virginia leaders in various sections somewhat after the manner of my Florida consultations. I shall avoid involvement in current contests for the General Assemoly in my SRC capacity, but the actual contests are limited in number. Otherwise I shall try indirectly to strengthen the Governor's hand by encouraging the moderate view.

I also hope to visit each of the desegregating districts and those where desegregation moves have been initiated, i.e., Lynchburg, Staunton, and Floyd County. Ted Dalton should be able to help in his next-door county of Floyd. Flyd is staunchly Republican.

Albertis Harrison, 52, was elected State Senator in 1948 and Attorney General in 1957. He is from Brunswick County, in the heart of the "Black Belt." I had only a very slight personal acquaintance with him when I called (without appointment) last Friday.

Harrison received me at once and was most cordial. He seemed, in fact, eager to talk about our problem. He recalled that I had formerly represented a county adjoining his own in the State Senate and should know how nearly impossible it would be to desegregate schools now in that area.

He said he and I disagreed about the "wrongness" of the Supreme Court decision, but that it was now the law and had to be obeyed. On the rest of it there appeared to be little difference in our views.

He said the Supreme Court decision had to prevail. In principle no thoughtful person could wish otherwise.

He was emphatic in his belief that no adequate system of private schools could be set up. Public schools were indispensable and in time they would have to be integrated. Pupil placement laws were only a temporary means of evasion and delay. In Southside Virginia, looking ahead, nobody knows how long, to the day of good faith compliance, the only hope lay in "voluntary segregation." Once the principle had been established, he believed nearly all the Negro pupils would prefer to stay together.

Changing the subject, he asked "What is the truth about the Washington schools?" I gave him a brief answer, and I shall send him a copy of our L Report on the subject with a personal letter.

He asked also about "the white people leaving Washington to escape integration." I have in mind an L Report on this also.

We talked longest about the "Four-Track Plan" of the Washington schools. I thought some such plan would help when integration should come to Southside Virginia. Harrison was interested, and he remarked that a kind of "two-track" plan was already very common in Southside Virginia schools.

I feel more and more that a report, or a brochure, on the Four-Track Plan is in order. Such a work should discuss, not only the working of the plan in Washington, but how the principle could be applied in smaller, and poorer, school systems. Dr. Hansen's "A Third Year Evaluation Report on the Four-Track Curriculum," (about 50 mimeographed pages, with charts,) is a comprehensive formal and technical discussion of the plan.

Benjamin Muse

June 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Thomas F. Boushal, President, Bank of Virginia

I had a long and most satisfactory talk June 23 with Tom Boushal, president of the Bank of Virginia, at his office in Richmond.

We covered a great deal of ground, and I got, I think, a valuable insight into what is probably typical thinking on the subject by a moderate and public-spirited business leader.

Not all of his views would pass the SRC test. He said at the beginning that he believes segregation is best for both races. He is annoyed by "slander" of the South in the North. He makes a specialty--in arguments with clergymen--of a theory that this is not a "moral" issue (else "all who died before 1954 would have gone to hell.")

He fell naturally into the old Southern master-servant way of talking about Negroes, and a casual assumption of Negro inferiority. He seemed to have had little contact with cultivated Negroes.

Yet I found upon longer discussion that he was concerned with the moral angle in many ways, and did not seem to believe in segregation as a permanent thing. He said it should be eliminated by "evolutionary" degrees.

I pointed out the fact that there are many white children in the schools who are as backward and uncouth as any Negroes. "In eastern Virginia the poor and dirty ones are generally colored; in western Virginia they are white." I gave him the information that there are twice as many "poor whites" in Virginia as poor Negroes. (This line of argument, I think, is effective, and we might do more with it.)

He agreed that politicians had made an enormous problem out of one that could have been solved by gradual adjustment to the satisfaction of the courts and without great public disturbance. (He said Governor Hodges, of North Carolina, was a close personal friend.)

Of course, school-closing was bad for business. "Industry isn't going to come here unless it knows it's going to have schools for its people." I think he will use his influence in this field.

Before I left he said: "I don't think we disagree on anything!" He asked where I could be reached, and was most cordial.

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Benjamin Muse

July 30, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Del. Joseph H. Poff (R.), Floyd, Va., July 26, 1959

Floyd County, from present indications seems likely to be a center of integration agitation and action next September. It is a small (pop. 11,351, -- 4.2% Negro) heavily Republican County in southwest Virginia.

On May 11, the day after 14 Negro students applied for admission to the county's two white high schools, the county's representative in the House of Delegates, Joseph H. Poff, issued a statement probably unprecedented in the South.

"I think it would be better to admit the 14 than become involved in a suit," Poff said. "We have a high-type Negro here, and I don't think we would have a bit of trouble."

One school board member agreed, another disagreed and the other four remained non-committal.

However, the situation subsequently hardened into the familiar pattern (due largely, Poff told me to School Superintendent James H. Combs.) The school board "unanimously" expressed disapproval and found technical reasons for delaying action. Finally the applications were forwarded to the State Pupil Placement Board with unfavorable comment. Meanwhile the county school appropriations were placed on a month-to-month basis.

In spite of all this, Del. Poff, whom I visited in his home, was not pessimistic. He doubted if the school authorities would make trouble after a Federal court decision. He said there were five extremists in the county. He was renominated by the Republicans, with only slight opposition due to his "integrationist" statement. If there had been strong feeling on the issue, there would have been Democratic opposition, but the Democrats did not even put up a candidate.

I was greatly impressed with Poff, high-minded and devoutly in favor of desegregation -- with plenty of courage too. An old Negro man has attended his (Lutheran) church in Floyd for many years and is a member of his men's Sunday School class. He said the Floyd county Negroes -- mostly professional people -- were much superior to many of the mountain whites.

Floyd, he noted, will have no case at all in court. The county has no Negro high school, its 34 Negro high school students being expensively rounded up by bus daily and taken to Christiansburg in Montgomery County.

We agreed that peremptory desegregation orders might easily come by September. In Warren County last year Negroes first applied for admission to the white high school on July 18, the applications were rejected by the State Pupil Placement Board on August 29 and the final desegregation order with refusal of stay came on September 12. The Governor ordered the school closed the same day.

Wednesday evening and again Thursday evening Galen Martin rounded up a group which gathered for dinner, or coffee, with me at the Farragut Hotel. These were mostly human relations people. Martin succeeded in getting only one from the business community, Clifford Seeber (insurance man and brother of the mayor of Clinton) who came Thursday, along with Reverend Leo Earl Acuff. In the Wednesday group were: Dr. Forest Lacey, of U. T. Law School; Reverend Bob West, Unitarian Minister; and Ken Kennedy of the TVA information office. We talked until nearly midnight each evening.

Mayor John Duncan, whom I did not see, was generally regarded as a moderate. Knoxville was somewhat excited over the arrival of Brooks Hays to take over his TVA duties. He should be a good influence there.

I found much difference of opinion regarding the two newspapers--depending partly on matters other than racial. The Dempsters despise the Journal. However, Galen Martin says the Journal is as good as the News-Sentinel on the point of school desegregation--neither of them inflammatory. I was unable to make connections with Loy Miller, News-Sentinel editor.

Benjamin Muse

September 5, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Virginian-Pilot and

Ledger-Star, Norfolk, Va., Sept. 2, 1959

Lenoir Chambers — Robert Smith
William Meacham — Perry Morgan

I had a very happy conference in the forenoon with Lenoir Chambers, editor, and Bill Meacham and Bob Smith, associate editors, of the Virginian-Pilot. Reminiscing over the war of "massive resistance," it was like a reunion of buddies who had shared the same foxhole.

We also talked about Virginia politics and the desegregation situation, without bringing out much that needs to be reported here.

No desegregation disturbance was anticipated in Norfolk, but the situation had worsened, and Superintendent Brewbaker's troubles had been increased by the appointment of three more or less antagonistic members to the school board, which formerly was unanimously cooperative.

Mayor Duckworth is still obstructionist on the desegregation issue, though his ability as mayor was otherwise praised. Vice-Mayor N.B. Etheridge was said to be much more congenial. I had a few words with Etheridge later in the hotel lobby, and he talked like a moderate.

Perhaps the SRC should be better acquainted with the Virginian-Pilot men, who are wholeheartedly liberal and are interested in the broad desegregation problem. Meacham writes most of the N. Y. Times editorials on the South, and Smith is writing a book about desegregation.

The best news I had from them was of the change of editors of the Ledger-Star. The Ledger had been a supporter of "massive resistance" under editor Joe Leslie, who has retired. The new editor, appointed three months ago, is an able young liberal, Perry Morgan, from the Charlotte News.

I had a fine talk with Morgan in the afternoon, and enrolled him privately in my "club." He talked frankly about his problem of moving the Ledger-Star away from its poliy of "abject Byrdism."

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Benjamin Muse

September 17, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Richmond, Sept. 16, 1959

Daniel Bowers

Two and a half hours including luncheon, with Mr. Bowers, the new VCHR executive director, who, I think, is a splendid man. Nothing for a report, except that I was delighted with him.

The Economic Pressure

In a conversation with two old journalistic friends, Latimer of the Times Dispatch and Daffron of the A.P., I was able to confirm reliably the rumors of pressure upon Gov. Almond by Virginia business leaders last November.

A group of "bankers and big business men from all over the state" — 30 or more in number — invited the Governor to a dinner conference at the Rotunda Club. The affair was organized by President Saunders of the Norfolk & Western Railway, and it was he who approached the Governor. No other names were known. The group had urged Almond to drop "massive resistance" and stop school-closing — pointing to the possibly disastrous effects upon industry, etc.

Latimer and Daffron had had the story from Almond himself, who said that his reply to the business men was that the laws were still in effect and he could do nothing until "the litigations have run their course."

We also talked about gubernatorial prospects, and, while it was still largely speculation, both of these reporters thought now that Attorney General Albertis Harrison was the most probable next Governor of Virginia.

Albertis Harrison

I had a conversation with the Attorney General which was even more cordial than my previous one. He asked me to be sure to look him up whenever I came to Richmond and ended the interview with a "Hurry back."

Harrison, an avowed segregationist has, nvertheless, a rare confidence that the problem will ultimately be solved in Virginia and the South. (He asked that his remarks be considered off the record.)

In Prince Edward County he predicted that the public schools would reopen "in two or three years." Then a few Negro children would be admitted to white schools. However, he said, "if they are engulfed with Negro applicants, "the whole thing will blow up again. It won't work if they're englfed."

We both agreed that the number of Negro applicants for integration would probably be small. He thought there would be few Negro applicants, because they would have learned their lesson and would not risk demoralization of the school system again. I expressed the opinion, and he agreed, that most of the Negro pupils would prefer to stay in Negro schools anyway.

Harrison did not anticipate any very formidable attempt to stage a "massive resistance" comeback in the next session of the Legislature.

Eugene Cook

Seeing Harrison just ahead of me, was Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia.

In my conversation with Harrison we got on to the subject of the increasing tendency of Southern leaders to accept the inevitable.

"Take Gene Cook, who just went out of here," Harrison said. -- "He rates as one of the fiercest of resistors. But he's no fool. He knows the score. Gene Cook knows he can't lick the Supreme Court. He knows that Georgia will have to adjust to this thing sooner or later."

Benjamin Muse

October 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With J. J. Brewbaker, October 23, 1959

I delivered my letter of October 22 to J. J. Brewbaker, Norfolk superintendent of schools, outlining our understanding for the year, beginning July 1, 1960, and we talked for about two hours.

He was quite satisfied with the terms set forth briefly in the letter, and we discussed other practical details.

In answer to his question, I said one-third of his time would mean an average of about ten days a month, including any Saturdays and Sundays spent in travel.

For his typing, I suggested that he use a public stenographer. He thought he might like to have a portable typewriter, nevertheless, for doing short letters and rough drafts. I said this would be a proper expense from the Fund, all such equipment to remain the property of the Southern Regional Council. He would also probably want one two-drawer file case and stationery. He did not think of other office needs.

He expressed enthusiasm over the project. His wife, he said also liked the idea. It was just right -- something interesting to do, yet not too much. He had turned down an offer from Commissioner Dorthick and one or two other half-offers, for full-time employment.

He wanted to know if it would be permissible for him to attend conventions and other meetings of public school administrators. He thought he might "do some good" at them. I thought that that was much to be desired and would be a valuable part of his work. We both agreed these meetings would give him a splendid opportunity to mingle with Southern school administrators and to make contacts which he could later follow up by personal visit.

We both agreed that public announcement of his undertaking this work might well be postponed until possibly next May or June. There was much speculation in Norfolk now as to what he would do after his retirement from the school administration, and the newspapers had been after him -- but he would leave them guessing.

In due course he would make public announcement that he was going to serve the Southern Regional Council as a consultant on public school desegregation. He would also like an announcement of his new activity to appear in The School Administrator and possibly other publications serving the profession. He showed me a notice in The School Administrator of the kind he had in mind, telling of work undertaken by another superintendent upon his retirement.

He would like for his friends to know what he is doing, and he would like for Southern school administrators to know that he is available.

He thought most Southern school superintendents and many Southern school board members would be glad to talk with him. If some were not ready now to talk to a consultant on desegration, they would be ready "when the courts start blowing down their necks."

However, we have at least six months in which to consider the publicity angle, and he is open to advice. I am sure he will be discreet.

We both agreed that the six months, March to August inclusive, will probably be the period when his services are most needed. He anticipated a busy July and August next year.

Benjamin Muse

February 12, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With C. H. Humelsine,

President, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

February 9, 1960

My hour's talk with Mr. Humelsine was pertinent and well worth while, because of his close relationship with the Virginia power structure. He had been in close touch with the business leaders who brought pressure to bear upon Governor Almond in November and December, 1958, and January, 1959.

Mr. Humelsine's philosophy: "I have no race prejudice -- at least, none that I know of. I am against segregation in schools and official things. Social relationships are a different matter -- I suppose that is a question of environment. But the whole thing has to move very slowly." He didn't believe in trying to rush it. He disapproved of white "extremists" who go out of their way to cause race mixing -- say: "I don't want my child to be deprived of the privilege of mixing with Negro children" -- and the like. Such groups, in which he vaguely included Human Relations Councils, he said did more harm than good. Also Negroes who tried to go too far too fast. The important thing was to take integration when it comes and keep public schools open -- have more and better schools.

He talked at some length about the absence of race discrimination in Colonial Williamsburg, and the conferences and dinners there in which Negroes and whites mingled.

He seemed relatively little interested in developments elsewhere in the South, but was intensely interested in the problem in Virginia -- and in Williamsburg. He had studied closely the situation in Williamsburg, where a peculiarly difficult problem loomed, owing to the fact that the relatively liberal city shares the same school administration with strongly prejudiced James City County.

The subject of the opposition of Virginia business men to school-closing was broached when I remarked that the attitude of business men in the school crisis had been generally disappointing.

What? He didn't see it that way in Virginia at all. It was the business men who saved the situation. He didn't know a single business leader who favored school-closing. (He corrected this to say that nine out of ten of them were against it.) He thought Virginia business leaders moved in the right way at the right time -- and it was all off-the-record, as it should be.

He named among the business leaders active in the movement, Saunders, Rhoads, Batten, Armistead, Powell and Bemiss; but, like Saunders, he said the names were not for publication. He said most of them preferred segregation and were also "Byrd men."

Note:

Francis Miller secured the cooperation of representative business leaders in Charlottesville, but only after long effort. Blair Buck and other Committees for Public Schools leaders complained often of the "cold shoulder" which they received from important business men.

Forrest P. White, of the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools wrote in the Atlantic Monthly (Sept., 1959):

"Did these leaders later come forward when the schools actually closed?

... Their silence was profound. No bank president, only one owner of a large business, no person ever elected First Citizen of Norfolk, no former director of the United Community Fund, no past president of a hospital board of directors, only one person outstanding in city government -- in short, almost no one of real prominence declared himself openly as favoring public schools under the only conditions in which they could be maintained: with such integration as the federal courts ordered."

Nevertheless, it is clear that many of the state's leading business men insisted vigorously, and effectively, that the episode of closed schools must end -- though their activities were largely secret and remain so to this day.

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Benjamin Muse

February 13, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With J. J. Brewbaker

Superintendent of Schools

Norfolk, Va., February 10, 1960

I spent about two hours with Mr. Brewbaker, who is joining the Leadership Project on a part-time basis July 11. He was anxious to see me, and had written, offering to meet me in Richmond.

Part of the conversation was of a personal nature, by way of getting mutually better acquainted. He also had many questions about the SRC and various individuals prominently identified with it. We also talked about the situation in various sections of the South and the people with whom I had talked on my rounds, especially public school officials. He had told many of his friends of his coming association with us, but the newspapers, with whom he is very friendly, are withholding the public announcement until he gives the signal -- probably in June.

Incidentally, he thought the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot "the best newspaper in the South," and expressed admiration for Perry Morgan, new editor of the Ledger-Dispatch, who had transformed that formerly segregationist paper.

He spoke of his plan to continue to attend annual meetings of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators. His role would be simply that of a consultant on school desegregation; he would make himself known as such to the Southern representatives and prepare for later visits to some of them. He also raised a question of attending the National Conference on Citizenship (a matter which I have discussed by letter).

Mr. Brewbaker's experience, and his accomplishment in Norfolk qualify him admirably for discussing all aspects of the desegregation problem with fellow educators. Probably most important of all will be his ability to encourage school administrators to go ahead and to reassure them that little trouble need be expected. He is discreet and tactful, a Southerner, with an ideal personality for this purpose. He knows many Southern school administrators already. He is enthusiastic about this assignment, and is deeply determined to make a contribution to the solution of the South's great problem.

I dined with W. S. Meacham, associate editor of the Virginian-Pilot, who is a warm friend and admirer of Brewbaker. He said that "Brew" was the ideal choice for this job. He added that "Brew" was visibly happy over the prospect.

Brewbaker was retiring from the Norfolk school administration sooner than necessary, because of the vindictive attitude of Mayor Duckworth and the Norfolk City Council. These "massive resisters" had made trouble for Brewbaker ever since the 1955 Supreme Court ruling. During the past year, they no longer hoped to stop school integration, but have used every possible means of punishing "Brew", steadily packing the school board with his enemies and obstructing his work in other ways.

Meacham said the prospect of this SRC activity had rejuvenated Brewbaker. He told him: "Your greatest achievement may lie ahead" -- and Brewbaker seemed to have some of that feeling.

Benjamin Muse

March 12, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation

Horace H. Edwards, Richmond City Manager

Albertis Harrison, Virginia State Attorney General

Wed.-Thurs., March 9-10, 1960

City Manager Edwards has also been Democratic State Chairman, a candidate for Governor, several times Mayor of Richmond, and a corporation lawyer. (A warm personal friend for the past 25 years.)

He seemed little aware of the gravity of the problem as far as Richmond is concerned. He did not have much personal touch with it. The Police Bureau had its orders and it was doing its duty. Whether or not Negroes were served at lunch counters was entirely a question for the merchants affected.

Personally, he thought restaurants (apparently including lunch counters) had a right to serve or refuse to serve, whom they pleased. Sitting down at lunch counters when asked to leave was unlawful and he would not allow it. On the other hand, picketing was lawful. The police had orders to require good behavior on the part of pickets, but also to protect pickets from molestation.

He was inclined to think that the protest would peter out, without any change in lunch counter segregation. He doubted that a Negro boycott would be effective because:

(A) Negroes would not stick to a boycott, and
(B) The merchants would rather do without Negro trade than offend their white clientele.

He had little fear of violence in Richmond. The young white supremacy hoodlums were not numerous in Richmond, and the police had them under control.

He repeated the pat comments so familiar in the South now: the sit-down business had set back progress in race relations, including restaurant desegregation; the Negroes were using the wrong methods; it was unfair to penalize a few merchants, etc. These seem to reflect the prevailing white attitude in Richmond.

They did not, however, reflect Edwards' own deeper thinking. In an hour and a half of talking as between two old friends he revealed much inner liberalism on the race problem. Eloquent about

Africa and the world revolution. Said the change in white Southern thinking will come with the new generation. He found many liberals among young people. The Negro member of the Richmond school board was a "great help to us all."

He recently spent ten days in Orlando, Florida, with three others including Richmond School Superintendent Willett. They talked and they talked until they solved all the world's problems, including restaurant desegregation: In ten years Negroes would be mingling with whites in public eating places nearly everywhere in the South, and nobody would pay much attention to them.

As for the Petersburg library situation, he said the Petersburg city crowd were "stupid," hadn't "a leg to stand on."

I breakfasted Thursday with Times-Dispatch Lattimer and Associated Press Daffron. (Unable to get home because of the snow, they had spent the night at my hotel). They had very different views from Edwards' about the Richmond hoodlum element (there were plenty of them) and about the dependence of Richmond merchants on Negro trade. A Negro boycott could affect Richmond merchants sharply. One saw as many Negroes as whites in Thalhimers' basement.

Friendly visit to Harrison, with whom I am developing a warm friendship. (I brought him greetings from North Carolina Attorney General Seawell.) Harrison had what I described above as the prevailing white view of the lunch counter protest. Said the new anti-trespass laws had clarified matters for the police and the courts. They would effectively put an end to sit-downs. A simple sign saying, "Serving White People Only," would make any Negro intruder subject to arrest.

He said the protest movement had stirred up new racial tension just when Virginia was beginning to work out a quiet solution of the school problem.

He was loaded with requests from the legislature for legal opinions and I did not take much of his time. Invited me to come back after the session and have a "nice, long talk" with him.

I visited Dan Bowers, CHR director, who gave me much information which he has already conveyed to SRC.

Benjamin Muse

March 31, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visit to Petersburg, Va.

March 29, 1960

A visit to Petersburg (Virginia's most largely Negro city, estimated about 50%) was important as an experience to balance against my visit to more liberal cities in North Carolina. This is one of the most difficult cities for desegregation of lunch counters or anything else. (Petersburg's peculiar history makes it a museum piece anyway.)

I lived in Petersburg when active in politics and know many people there. I talked to half a dozen on this visit. I had only a moment with the city manager (before a meeting of the city council) but talked at length with Whitworth Cotten, director of public works, an able and well-informed official, City Hall veteran and old personal friend. (He is a brother of movie actor Joe Cotten.) I visited the Mayor, Walter Edens, another old friend, in the evening.

I was also driven around the city and shown the handsome new Negro schools, built or enlarged, in recent years. A substantial program of Negro school construction has been carried out -- while only one little elementary school has been built for whites. This has contributed to present white resentment of Negro "ingratitude."

I was also shown how Negroes are steadily taking over the downtown residential district -- another factor in white discontent.

A third source of bitterness is Wilcox Lake (where my children used to swim) -- closed, "because the Negroes refused to accept the nice offer of a swimming pool of their own."

It is widely feared that other Petersburg recreation facilities, tennis courts, etc., will go the same way.

Significantly, it is a very general belief that some school integration will take place next September, and there is grudging, fatalistic acceptance of this prospect.

But the white attitude is: That ought to be enough. The movement for lunch counter desegregation has met with an almost solid wall of white opposition, much of it very bitter.

It came when the whites were already exasperated at the move on the public library. I talked only with white people (Dan Powers has been in close touch with the Negro leaders), but the white version is vitally important. The library story is that 141 Negroes crowded into the public library in a manner to prevent its normal use by white people. Two Negro women, I was told, brought small children, obviously not for proper use of the library.

Actually, the library will be desegregated. City officials, including the mayor, expect a court order to this effect. They say they cannot proceed voluntarily on account of legal complications on the other side. Many Petersburgers are angry at the publicity given the segregation of the library without reference to the stipulations of a deed to which the city felt bound.

The deed from the donor of the library building required segregation of Negro patrons in the basement. (Interesting note: the stipulation was made by Mrs. McKenney in the interest of the Negroes. She feared that the city might bar Negroes from the library entirely and made it mandatory that they be given the use of the basement.) Negroes account for about 7 of the book withdrawals from the library.

The attitude of Petersburg whites can best be described by saying that they are horrified that Petersburg Negroes should assert themselves as they have this month. One hears angry references to "a few preachers who have gotten out of line on this thing," but otherwise it would be hard to find any white people who are sympathetic with the Negroes.

The mayor related, as something preposterous, how a group of clergymen had invited himself and three city councilmen to lunch last week and suggested that they set up a biracial committee! Of course, I commented that this would be a good idea. The mayor said he had no idea that any white person would serve on such a committee except the preachers. Nobody was having anything to do with Wyatt, the Negro leader.

Present lunch counter status: five stores are now under threat of boycott unless lunch counters are desegregated. They are: Woolworth's, Kresge's, Grant's, People's and McClellan's. McClellan's manager has stated that he has orders to close his lunch counter when Negroes seek service. All five stores have substantial Negro patronage and could suffer severely from an effective boycott. No time limit is given by the Negroes, who say merely that the boycott will not begin "until we have finished negotiating." There is no picketing as yet.

Former President Truman is suddenly popular in Petersburg -- "Throw 'em out!"

Obviously, there is danger in the Petersburg situation. Cotten is the nearest to a liberal, or at least a realist, of the people with whom I talked. He is a strong believer in the efficacy of fire hose in dispersing mobs, believes they should keep the fire hose ready.

Benjamin Muse

Bowers:
Mrs. Robt. G. Clifford (founder Richmond CHR)
is daughter of McKinney?
Spotsylvania: 76 members appealed; 2 will
not resign: Fredericksburg 7 [illegible]
[illegible] resigned [illegible]

Lumber:
Lynching? Day [illegible] Mississippi
& Pres. telling Jul. Wilson to act!

June 6, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Richmond, June 1, 1960

State Senator Haddock -- Attorney General Harrison

Dr. Haddock lunched with me. I visited Harrison afterward and our VHRC director Dan Bowers dined with me in the evening.

Virginia continues to be less aware of the seriousness of the Student Protest movement than North Carolina, Tennessee, etc., but little publicized efforts, and some meager progress are being made in various sections, and a Mayor's Committee is being set up in Richmond. Woolworth's desegregated lunch counters in Hampton and Williamsburg, and a Mayor's Committee is quietly at work in Alexandria.

The unpredictable Richmond News Leader is denouncing library segregation -- but is denouncing also the professors who resigned from Vanderbilt.

Most of the candidates for the Richmond city council, when polled recently, declared themselves in favor of a biracial committee, and the present mayor and city council moved to set one up. Mayor Anderson (with whom I talked over the phone) is not much interested, has "little hope that it will do any good," but is acting on account of pressure from "the church women." He has only a few weeks more in office.

Incidentally, the Richmond Negroes, whose vote can be decisive, are planning an interesting strategy for the June 14 election. Instead of single-shot voting, their leaders plan to recommend a full ticket of the nine most acceptable candidates to assure the defeat of those candidates who are most unacceptable from the Negro point of view. There are 22 candidates in the race. Announcement of the Negro-favored slate is awaited with considerable interest.

Dr. Edward E. Haddock (medical doctor) was mayor of Richmond, 1952-1954, and was first elected to the State Senate in 1956. He is a dedicated liberal, and no one opposed every step of massive resistance more boldly and consistently than he. He is the Negroes' favorite among Richmond politicians, and they give him a heavy vote. Dr. Haddock believes in advancing with a minimum of publicity and agitation -- with

particular reference to lunch counter desegregation. He related how he eliminated segregation in city hall rest rooms during his term as mayor. The interior was being repainted. He simply told the contractor to paint over all "white" and "colored" signs. That was all there was to it. No publicity and no complaint. No one seemed to notice the difference!

Dr. Haddock was advising with Mayor Anderson in setting up his bi-racial committee. A small body was contemplated, four white and two colored members. They were most anxious to get former Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson to serve as chairman. A probable Negro member would be Dr. Tinsley Spraggin, of Virginia Union University. Dr. Haddock thought Spraggin would be fine. He had been recommended by various people, including, curiously, Byrd machine Congressman Burr Harrison.

Dr. Haddock remarked that the Negro Protest movement in Richmond was directed most conspicuously against probably their best friend among Richmond business men. Thalhimer would be glad to desegregate but fears to go it alone. He had arranged a conference between Thalhimer and Negro leaders in which the merchant said he would not hesitate to desegregate if his downtown competitors could be persuaded to do the same.

I continue to cultivate Albertis Harrison, State Attorney General, and unannounced candidate for Governor, and find him increasingly congenial and hospitable to liberal thought on the race question.

He himself said of the new desegregation movement:

"Of course, it is inevitable. We can't educate the Negro and expect him to stay down. As the Negro advances toward the white level, it is foolish to expect him not to ask for equal dignity and equal treatment."

He found library segregation preposterous -- and said lunch counter segregation would have to go too.

Benjamin Muse

June 28, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation in Northern Virginia

June 22-24, 1960

This development is comprehensively reported in the Washington Post of June 23, 24, 25 and 26. Particular attention is invited to the "post mortem" in the Virginia Affairs column of June 26, a clipping of which is enclosed. I shall make only a few general observations here.

Northern Virginia, which comprises the Tenth Congressional District, has a total population (preliminary 1960) of 526,417. It represents one unit of "Suburbia" and is virtually the equivalent of one rather extended city. The component political units and their population, with the Negro percentage (1950) are as follows: Alexandria 90,332 (12.4%), Arlington County 163,589 (4.9%), Fairfax County 272,496 (10%) and Falls Church 10,158 (1.8%).

Desegregation of eating places here now is far more sweeping than anywhere else in the South. It extends, not only to variety stores, including chain drug stores, but to such restaurants as the Hot Shoppes (7), Howard Johnsons (3), various Tops and Waffle Shops -- virtually all chain-operated eating places.

The only sit-downs or demonstrations took place in Arlington, and the first desegregation occurred there -- a fact which points to the efficacy of demonstrations.

However, the earliest effective preparatory work occurred in Alexandria, where a mayor's committee started work last April. The many discussions of that group with chain store executives helped to prepare the latter for action throughout the area, and Mayor Leroy S. Bendheim was instrumental in bringing together chain store management and community leaders from Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax.

The Alexandria HRC helped to get the mayor's committee started and cooperated with it. Several of its members were also in the HRC and Mrs. George A. Eddy, HRC president, was secretary of the mayor's committee.

Another member of the mayor's committee, now publicly announced, was State Senator Armistead L. Boothe, a major Virginia political figure. Merchants and community leaders were long disturbed over the possibility that Virginia's law requiring segregation of public meeting places would apply to lunch counters. Fairfax Commonwealth's Attorney Robert C. Fitzgerald (a segregationist leader) stated publicly at first that the law prohibited integrated eating places and that he would enforce it in that sense. Boothe was principally instrumental in demolishing this theory to the satisfaction of the merchants. He was aided informally by State Attorney General Harrison.

The dominant political structure in Alexandria and Arlington was cooperative from the beginning. In Fairfax it was divided, but Mrs. Anne Wilkinson, liberal chairman of the board of supervisors, was staunchly cooperative.

When a few chain executives once made up their minds, there was something like a race to desegregate throughout Northern Virginia. The first decision to desegregate was made in a meeting of the Alexandria committee Wednesday, June 22. Desegregation was to take place in Alexandria the following Tuesday, June 28, and the committee's statement was to be published probably Monday.

However, before the day was over, Arlington merchants, under pressure from Howard University students -- led by Woolworth -- had already begun to desegregate. Alexandria merchants, somewhat disappointed not to be the first, moved the next day, and the committee's statement was issued Friday.

The Fairfax HRC had been working earnestly toward eating place desegregation for several months -- as a more distant goal. More recently it had been circulating petitions asking for lunch counter desegregation, trying to "obtain as many signatures as possible by June 25." The HRC was overtaken by events. Before the petitions were turned in, on June 24, all chain eating places in Fairfax desegregated. Noel Hemmendinger, of the Fairfax HRC, however, worked with leaders in Alexandria and Arlington before the climax. The Fairfax HRC will use the petitions and continue to work to bring about the desegregation of recalcitrant locally owned eating places.

The only serious disorders -- harassment of the Negro demonstrators -- occurred early in June. It was led by George Lincoln Rockwell, "Fuhrer of the American Nazi Party" -- a fact which was definitely beneficial to the whole Negro movement.

Rockwell's becoming a symbol of the opposition completely discredited it and aroused sympathy for the Negroes.

I had no part in the foregoing developments, beyond some phone consultation and mailing SRC material. When I phoned to arrange for my visit to Alexandria, the war was over.

Mgr., Murphy's:
W. A. Weeks
620 King St.

Secretary, People's Corp.:
E. D. Gibbs
00 Flora Ave, N.E.
(Wash)

Head of Drug Fairs:
Milton Elsberg
1200 So. Eds St
Arlington

Benjamin Muse

July 9, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Mayor Claude W. Woodward of Richmond

July 6, 1960

I lunched July 6, interestingly, with the mayor and two former mayors of Richmond, at the Rotunda Club. Claude Woodward, the new mayor, took office July 1. The other two were Edward E. Haddock, now State Senator (our host), and Horace Edwards, now city manager.

The city council had voted for the setting up of a bi-racial committee two months ago, but retiring mayor A. Scott Anderson, in spite of published reports that he was doing so, had not actually appointed any members to the committee. Anderson had talked over the phone with mayors in three or four cities having bi-racial committees and discussed the matter with many people, but he finally said that it would be "better for the new council and mayor to settle on the personnel..."

Liberal strength in the council was slightly increased in the June councilmanic election, when seven of the nine candidates endorsed by the Negroes were elected. The new mayor is much more in earnest, and optimistic, about the bi-racial committee than his predecessor.

With a police probe added to the many conferences incidental to the city government changeover both mayor and city manager had their hands full, but Haddock said they were most anxious for this luncheon talk with us. Woodward hoped to have his committee slate ready for submission to the council Friday, July 8. I tried to give the group the picture of other bi-racial committees -- more particularly "mayor's committees" around the South and offered some advice on the principles to be followed in setting up the Richmond committee.

City Manager Edwards was thoroughly constructive in his practical approach, but echoed more than the others the gossip of "sophisticated" (i.e. prejudiced) circles. He thought it possible, for instance, that Negro pickets were being paid by someone.

The mayor remained alone with me for fifteen minutes after the others left, and, thus privately, voiced a completely liberal attitude on the race question. He recalled how he had seen white and colored mingling "like brothers" at international Rotary meetings, in the Army, etc. This was as it should be. It had to come. The South had to clear this hurdle. He felt that this was his great challenge in Richmond, expected plenty of headaches, but was grimly confident.

Mayor Woodward was most inquisitive earlier in the matter of bi-racial committee structure -- and the best name for the committee. What is the usual size of the committee, how many white and how many colored? What businesses and professions are usually represented? How many preachers, if any, are represented.

A succinct report on this might be useful to other mayors and I plan to do some work on it. Incidentally, now that the Student Protest Movement has ceased to become a new phenomenon, other succinct reports would be handy for use by busy mayors and city managers -- without disparagement of the longer reports which are still invaluable.

Benjamin Muse

July 9, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Lynchburg

July 7, 1960

The Lynchburg city council set up a biracial committee "in a surprise move" June 28. Its purpose: "to promote harmony and understanding here in Lynchburg." No meetings have yet been held. The council's resolution listed the eight members of the committee, four white and four colored, named a co-chairman from each group, and stated: "We further direct Robert D. Morrison, city manager, to act as secretary of the committee.

Several remarked to me that the shrewd, and very efficient, city manager dominates mayor and council and runs the city -- although Mayor William C. Vaughan (whom I did not see) is said to be able and well-disposed on this issue. Morrison has the strictly business-like approach, avoids the moral point. Believes there would be little trouble in desegregating lunch counters, if the merchants could get together on it. Thought it was a smart move on the part of Lynchburg to set up a biracial committee, thought it was the first in Virginia. A little disappointed when I told him Alexandria was first.

However, he insisted that the committee, which was without authority, had no purpose except to enable leaders of the two races to talk things over and help the community solve its problem. His own role would be strictly secretarial. (Actually it is expected to be much more than that.

With Philip L. Scruggs, editor of the Lynchburg News (a liberal by Virginia standards) I had an extremely cordial visit of a kind which is one of the joys of this work.

In the afternoon I conferred at length with William E. Gordon, the Negro co-chairman of the biracial committee, and Rev. Virgil Wood, Negro president of the Lynchburg CHR -- at the latter's home. They were elated over the appointment of a biracial committee, and impressed with the caliber of the four white members -- which was definitely power structure. "When Mr. McWane talks, most anybody's going to listen." Henry E. McWane, president of the Lynchburg Foundry Co., is the white co-chairman.

I learned from these two also that the Piggly-Wiggly store, following demonstrations, removed lunch counter stools and is doing a thriving integrated stand-up lunch counter business. Sears was already serving both races at a stand-up counter. The Negroes in Lynchburg were harmonious and united in this matter and generally pleased with their four representatives on the biracial committees, especially Gordon, who (Wood assured me) could confidently speak for the Negro community. The Negroes had discontinued picketing, but they had been planning a "workshop" soon, under Wyatt Williams, CORE representative, on "non-violent techniques."

The two Negro leaders asked my advice about this and their whole procedure in the lunch counter situation. They seemed to agree with me and to be inclined to follow this advice which I gave:

Have various Negro leaders write to the mayor, expressing appreciation for the biracial committee move. Assure him of the confidence of the Negro community in Gordon and the other Negro members. Let him know that in dealing with Gordon he is dealing with the Negro community. Keep a spirit of quiet unity among the Negroes under Gordon's leadership. See that no demonstrations or Negro agitation takes place until the biracial committee has had a reasonable time to work out a solution -- several months at least. Do not in any case resume demonstrations without previous consultation with the biracial committee. Make it clear to the committee that you are following this course. Call off the CORE "workshop" for the present, but inform the committee definitely that you are doing this out of confidence in that the committee will reach a solution. Let the committee know that you have had no visit from any outside "agitator," that this is an entirely spontaneous movement on the part of Lynchburg Negroes.

Benjamin Muse

October 24, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Virginia

State Senator Haddock, Atty. Gen. Harrison, Editor Wyatt

Thursday and Friday, October 20-21

I lunched Thursday with Richmond State Senator E. E. Haddock, who was bubbling over with the Kennedy-Johnson campaign, the obliteration of massive resistance, and what he feels is a liberal upsurge in Virginia. "We are throwing off some shackles," he said.

(A strong factor in the Kennedy movement in this state is a desire on the part of liberals and anti-Byrd people to embarrass Senator Byrd.)

Incidentally Haddock, while mayor of Richmond, visited Chep Morrison, mayor of New Orleans, and has kept up a warm friendship with the latter. He will give me a cordial introduction to Mayor Morrison whenever I go to New Orleans again.

Haddock thought Attorney General Albertis Harrison most likely to win the Virginia gubernatorial race next year. The other most mentioned possibilities are Lieutenant Governor Stephens and State Senator Harry Byrd, Jr.

I visited Harrison during the afternoon and found him more cordial and confiding than ever before.

Harrison says massive resistance is dead as a political issue in Virginia and does not think it will figure significantly in next year's contest. No major political figure would advocate school closing now. Only the Defenders of State Sovereignty would be likely to put up a school-closer, and he would not go far.

Harrison was proud of Virginia's orderly acceptance of desegregation. The transition was taking place about as it ought to.

With regard to the Prince Edward County problem he thought the solution was more likely to come from white discontent with the situation than from court action. Some visible economic blow related to the school situation would

bring about a change there quicker than anything else -- if some industry should move out, or some industry decline to come in, because of the school situation.

Harrison recently announced his support of Kennedy, but believes Nixon has the edge in Virginia.

We discussed my travels and the situation elsewhere in the South. He thought it would be a fine thing if other states could be fully aware of what happened in Virginia. I told him a part of my job was to tell that story, and I told him for the first time about my forthcoming book on Virginia's massive resistance. He was intensely interested -- expressed some amusement at the thought that it would appear in the midst of the gubernatorial campaign.

If Harrison should be elected Governor next year, I feel that I could influence his policy on race problems, and I have that in mind. An official State commission on race relations would be one objective. However, it is possible, of course, that Harrison will not be elected.

I heard our SRC Vice-President Marion Wright address the Richmond Council on Human Relations Thursday evening, and noted there that Dr. Blair Buck, who headed the 25,000 member Virginia Committee for Public Schools is now taking a very active part in that organization.

Friday morning I visited Edward A. Wyatt, editor of the Petersburg Progress. Ed is an old and one-time intimate personal friend whom I had scarcely seen during the past five controversial years. He has been one of Virginia's most stubbornly anti-Supreme Court and anti-integration editors.

I conceded (1) that Petersburg had an exceptionally difficult basic problem and (2) that Negro leadership in Petersburg had been tactless and hard to deal with. In return I sought, not without some success, to obtain from him the concession that desegregation is necessary and inevitable and the course of wisdom is one of orderly acceptance.

Like most white Petersburgers Wyatt is still angry over the invasion of the public library, not by a small symbolic protest contingent, but by 140 Negroes, and by the recent Negro demonstration at the office of a Petersburg voting registrar. The latter demonstration was, not over Negro voting rights in Petersburg -- the NAACP has stated that it has no serious complaint in connection with Negro voting in Virginia -- but "out of sympathy" with Negroes who are deprived of their voting rights elsewhere in the South. To Petersburg white people it made no sense at all (and it makes little to me). It increased the feeling among many Petersburg whites that rational communication with Negro leaders is impossible.

Two points are noteworthy about the thinking of Wyatt, as a literate defender of the status quo: (1) he asks repeatedly: "Why don't Negroes concentrate on improving themselves and demonstrating their fitness for integration rather than on premature agitation for equality?" -- and (2) he is beginning to reappraise the whole matter as a result of the present international situation.

To his question under (1) I made more or less the usual answer, at some length. I remarked that in addressing Negro audiences I had often stressed the importance of demonstrating Negro excellence as a factor in advancing the cause of racial justice, but that other pressures were necessary too. Wyatt actually agreed with me that lunch counter desegregation was "obviously overdue." I agreed with him that, in all the circumstance, the calm and orderly acceptance of lunch counter desegregation by the Petersburg public was admirable.

Wyatt was definitely impressed by the thought that we need to be getting our house in order in the matter of race discrimination from the standpoint of our prestige with the burgeoning African states and the Asian powers. I believe this consideration is coming home to informed Southerners now as never before.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

LWDV
PR
JC
MF

December 12, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Victor Stewart
President
Colonial Pine Co., Inc.
Petersburg, Va.

E. H. Evans
President
McNair Investments, Inc.
Laurinburg, N.C.

M.A. Briggs
President
Austin-Heaton Flour Co., Inc.
Durham, N.C.

Charles F. Zukoski, Jr.
Executive Vice-President
First National Bank
Birmingham, Ala.

A. G. Gaston
Smith and Gaston Interests
A. G. Gaston Building
Birmingham, Ala.

Here are brief sketches of five Southern business executives interviewed on my November, 1960, trip. Two, Stewart and Briggs, are segregationists, who spoke freely, however, as old personal friends. One, Gaston, is a Negro.

Victor Stewart has been for 14 years chairman of the Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development, the agency chiefly concerned with bringing new industries into the state. He is also owner of one of the famous James River plantations. A man of great personal charm, he is a familiar figure in both social and political circles. At 81 Stewart is still very active. We were friends and neighbors when I lived in Southern Virginia 20 years ago, but I had seen little of him in recent years.

Leaning heavily upon the Wall Street Journal, the United States News and World Report and Richmond dinner party conversation for his philosophical background, his approach to the race problem was conservative. There was a redeeming kindliness in his attitude, however, and a willingness to listen which could almost be called an open mind. He seemed quite eager to discuss the problem.

"We have much on our conscience," he said, and he launched into a discussion of the mistreatment of Negroes in past years. In the days when school buses were only for white, he often picked up Negro children along the road and drove them to school.

"I like Negroes, I'm sorry for them," he said, "but they are utterly incapable of taking care of themselves. We have 15 Negro families at Chippokeo. My wife visits each home about once a week to see that it is clean and disinfected. They sit around on boxes when they could afford to buy furniture. Now why do they do that? There is hardly a home without one or more illegitimate children.

"The Negro is not, and never will be, the equal of the white man -- and I know Negro lawyers, Negro doctors and Negro professors."

He thought Negro children were precocious and cute, however, up to 12 years of age.

He told two or three Negro stories -- which I might have enjoyed 40 years ago. One of them was of an old Negro preacher who regularly preached about Noah and Ham and the "curse" placed upon the Negro race, concluding with the promise that Negroes who were honest and industrious and respectful would be equal with the sons of Shem and Japeth in the after-life.

I remarked that there were some pretty low whites in Virginia and gave him some statistics. He responded volubly to this. In his youth he had been a traveling salesman for a few years among the mountain whites. He was once warned to avoid a certain village -- "The Greens and McPhersons are fightin' and there is a little shootin' goin' on."

I gave him my usual repertoire. He was especially interested in information about the economic and cultural advances of the American Negro and asked many questions.

When I took my leave after an hour and a half, he said slowly, "It's a grave problem. It will take patience and kindness.

Marcellus A. Briggs was my favorite school teacher 45 years ago. I remembered him as a sort of a symbol of the pursuit of truth and beauty. I had heard that he left teaching for a successful business career, but I had not seen him again since I left the Durham high School.

I found him a lean, hard-bitten old gentleman -- and an intransigent racist. I decided after a few faint efforts that argument was useless, but that it would be interesting to get his thinking.

Briggs found Negroes, not only inferior, but obnoxious and generally "deserving no better than they get." His

Negro cook was dirty and slovenly. Eighty-five per cent of Durham venereal disease cases were among Negroes. He wouldn't employ a Negro in his office. He thought Sammy Davis' marrying a white woman was outrageous. He sympathized with Birmingham over the Salisbury articles in the N. Y. Times. Most of the trouble in the South, he thought, was stirred up by paid agents of the NAACP.

On lunch counter desegregation: "Well, the only solution for me and my friends is to stay away from places where Negroes are served." He was sure that demonstrators were paid by the NAACP.

Negroes were biologically inferior, and went on to prove it with learned sophistries. Look at Africa, for instance.

"There's a difference," he said. "White children and Negro children pass by my office (first floor) every morning on the way to school. The Negro children jump up and tap the awning -- never fail. The white children never do. They walk straight on."

I failed to see any evidence of inferiority in this demonstration of Negro initiative, but did not argue the point.

He was dead against inter-racial marriage -- not sure he even favored Anglo-Saxons marrying Latins.

He had organized the Durham centennial celebration in 1953. He asked one or two Negroes to serve on committees, but they refused because the Duke stadium, the parade and the church meetings were segregated! You couldn't talk sensibly with them!

E. H. Evans, Sr.: This sketch should be read in connection with my earlier reports and one to follow now on the phenomenally liberal and constructive approach to the race problem in Laurinburg, N.C.

Webb, the chamber of commerce manager, remarked to me: "You know how nearly every community has two or three people who sort of dominate the place -- power structure. Here it's one man, "old man Hersey Evans," I knew Hersey Evans, Jr., who was much in evidence as former president of the chamber of commerce, a member of the bi-racial committee, etc. He had lunched with Webb and me. But "the old man" was the one to see.

Webb said E. H. Evans, Sr. controlled 30 companies. This was probably an exaggeration, but evidence of Evans'

extensive interests in Laurinburg was present on every hand -- in addition to banking: hardware, seeds, real estate, construction, "investments," etc. (generally bearing the name of McNair, a maternal grandfather).

Big, hulking, simply dressed, "old Hervey" was a storybook type of small-town oracle and potentate. He sat facing the window and only turned to me now and then to drive home a point, as he slowly exuded homespun wisdom on the race question.

I imagined the technique was similar to that with which he had brought some Laurinburg fellow-citizens around to the moderate point of view. He seemed to be trying to convert me, rather than the reverse.

"The mistake" he said, "is to treat Negroes as a group. How would you like to be treated as a member of a group?...

"Of course, there are bad Negroes, plenty of 'em -- at the bottom and at the top. I believe Adam Clayton Powell is as crooked as a snake. But aren't there white people just as bad? It's the individual, not his race...

"Negroes are not going to swarm into white schools or churches or restaurants. They don't want to. That isn't the point. When I go to New York I never stop at the Waldorf-Astoria. That isn't my hotel. I haven't any desire to stop there. But, if anybody told me I couldn't stop at the Waldorf-Astoria, I would stop at the Waldorf-Astoria come hell or high water."

He told how Negroes had been recognized, and included, in Laurinburg civic events of recent years. To a reception in honor of a new president of the Presbyterian college, they sent 200 written invitations to Negroes -- which the Negroes prized -- and about a dozen Negroes came. Negroes participated enthusiastically in drives for libraries and a hospital. They built two libraries, one in the Negro section, but the downtown library was not segregated; a few Negroes patronized it.

The libraries were opened with a big ceremony. Laurinburger Gerald Johnson was the speaker. They gathered all other known Laurinburg authors to sit on the platform. These included a Negro who had written a book, called Lifelines.

Negroes contributed $26,000 to the hospital fund. Seventeen Negroes had their names engraved on the plac as donors of $500 each. (The hospital is integrated.)

The biggest celebration of all was "Awards Day," when Laurinburg was named "All-American City of 1956," A General

Electric vice-president made the speech. A local Negro minister sat on the platform and offered the invocation.

The Urban Renewal Commission was integrated. Evans also spoke of the bi-racial Committee on Community Betterment, on which I have already reported extensively.

I asked about North Carolina Governor-elect Terry Sanford, who is a native of Laurinburg. "I think he will be more liberal than Hodges," Evans said. "His mother's a fine woman. She's had a great influence on him."

I asked Evans if he had been visited by NAACP leaders. He said: "Yes, but not in a hostile way." (I learned later that the local NAACP cooperated closely with Evans and the Committee on Community Betterment.)

When I brought him to the question of public school desegregation, Evans said the politicians had made something big and ugly out of what was a relatively simple problem. In Laurinburg, where the Negroes had "fine" schools, there was very little interest in making any change. "But," he said, "we may push 'em to it. We may move ahead of 'em. We're studying that."

I remarked that such a move might save future headaches and litigation expense. He said: "Yes -- and clear our conscience."

I found that "Old Man Hervey Evans" was universally respected by the white community. Many Negroes seemed to share the enthusiasm of NAACP leader Morris: "I just love that man. If I got a friend in the world, it's Hervey Evans."

Charles F. Zukoski, Jr. seemed from the point of view of the race problem -- one of the few upright men in an otherwise godforsaken city. As executive vice-president of the First National Bank his is probably the most persistently moderate voice in the top echelon of the Birmingham power structure. (This sketch should be read in connection with a report on Birmingham to follow.) Unfortunately, Zukoski is not a native (born in St. Louis, he only came to Birmingham in 1927), but he is very much a part of Birmingham and, with great discretion and tact, he holds high prestige among a wide circle.

We engaged in a little cautious sparring before we got our bearings on the race question, then he expressed completely liberal views. Only the outer edges of the problem, however, seemed relevant to the present difficult Birmingham situation.

Zukoski had labored, and was still laboring to restore some communication between the races in Birmingham.

As chairman of the Public Welfare Planning Committee, he had been instrumental in establishing a bi-racial sub-committee

He had helped sponsor a bi-racial Institute on Education in 1954, which was repeated in 1955; but strong hints from Commissioner Connor and others led to the abandonment of this in 1956. Then the bi-racial sub-committee also had to be dissolved to prevent the withholding of Community Chest funds from the PWPC.

Zukoski had not given up. He was considering, along with Dr. Stanford, of Birmingham Southern College, making another attempt at restoring communication by means of a bi-racial committee which, for the present at least, would ban discussion of school or lunch counter desegregation.

He asked many questions about bi-racial committees elsewhere.

I left with him our Report No. L-20, a copy of the Fowler Commission memorandum of October 17, a copy of the minutes of the meeting of August 11 of the Laurinburg Community Development Committee and a copy of the Congressional Record reprint on the Southern Regional Council.

A. G. Gaston received me in a motel cafeteria, one of the group of buildings which he owns on the edge of the Negro ghetto in Birmingham. His latest building, a $1,200,000 ultra-modern structure, houses a federal savings and loan association, an insurance company, a business college, a real estate company, a Wahlgreen drug store, and Gaston's personal offices.

Gaston (62 years old) is a hail fellow well met whose wealth enables him to take racial frustrations with a certain jovial nonchalance.

"My friends in the North ask me why don't I move out of this Birmingham mess", he said, "But I don't want to."

"You have roots," I suggested.

"Yes, roots," he said. "I don't know what the colored folks would do here if I pulled out -- economically." Apart from his 300-400 employees, he helped Negro business in many ways. In the past two years his bank had made over 500 home loans. His example had eased credit for Negroes at competitive white banks; these were now making even more home loans to Negroes.

Gaston was apprehensive over Kennedy's obligations to Southerners -- Governor Patterson, for instance. Would a Negro be appointed to the cabinet? He thought Ralph Bunche, with whom he had been associated on various occasions "a great man."

He wished the President, or somebody, could induce U. S. Steel's Roger Blough to put Arthur V. Weibel on the right track. Weibel is the powerful president of the Coal and Iron Division of Birmingham. Weibel, he said, had more influence in Birmingham than anybody else. He was a fellow Tuskegee trustee and had other contacts with Weibel.

"When I run into Weibel in New York," Gaston said, "he slaps me on the back and says 'Let's have lunch.' But back in Birmingham he's just like all the rest."

Gaston thought Zukoski was the Negro's best friend in the Birmingham power structure.

He knew Governor Patterson personally, and had a low opinion of his intelligence. That might be a blessing, he thought. Patterson might change his attitude on race, if he were persuaded that it was a smart thing to do.

Gaston is not a crusader, but he noted that he struck a blow now and then. As a member of the financial advisory committee to the Birmingham school board he constantly advocated easing the tax burden on wage-earners. It increased his taxes but helped most Negroes. He had recently insisted on the elimination of the colored division of the Community Chest. He said Negroes would contribute more money in an integrated Chest drive -- and they did.

With reference to the broad race problem, Gaston wished vaguely "that Negro economic power could be properly organized and led." He said it was not boycotts that he had in mind.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

March 8, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Attorney General Harrison

Richmond, Va., January 24, 1961

As will be recalled from my memorandum of June 17, 1959, I saw in Attorney General Albertis Harrison a likely prospect for Governor of Virginia in the 1961 election and began to cultivate friendly relations with him.

On a number of subsequent visits I have drawn Harrison out more and more on the race problem and offered information and considerations in the hope of broadening his views. In the process Harrison has become increasingly cordial and we have become, I think, real friends.

Harrison is now an announced candidate for governor. He is opposed in the Democratic primary by Lt. Gov. A. E. S. Stephens. Harrison is the recognized favorite of the "Byrd Machine," but he has received support from many moderates on the segregation issue. The choice of Harrison by the Byrd organization was to some extent a concession to the moderate sentiment, which is now predominant in Virginia, as well as a recognition of the Attorney General's popularity and ability.

Stephens has received more of the anti-Byrd liberal support, but he is no more liberal in his public statements than Harrison, and knowing Harrison as I now do, I believe the latter will accomplish more for civil rights in Virginia than Stephens could. Best informed newspaper men now think Harrison's election is practically assured.

I called on the Attorney General January 24 and told him that, while I could take no public position and take no part in any political campaign, as a citizen I expected to vote for him.

I observed that while he was on the record as "opposed to integration" and I was in favor of integration, when he got through qualifying his position and I got through qualifying mine, I believed that our positions would not be far apart.

Harrison laughed and concurred. I said that I did not urge sweeping integration everywhere tomorrow, etc., and for his part, I knew he believed "in public schools, law and order, the Supreme Court and the Government of the United States." Harrison repeated, as he has often said to me in the past, that he respected the Supreme Court and its decisions and that no good American could want to see a Supreme Court decision flouted.

He was happy over the present situation in Virginia. Desegregation was going forward quietly and without disorder. He expressed real pleasure over the desegregation the previous week of the restaurants in Thalhimer's and Miller & Rhoads. "I haven't heard a single complaint," he said.

The school business, he said is "out of the press," and that meant a lot. I added that it was out of politics, and that meant most of all. He agreed and hoped it would stay out of politics.

"I will stick to my position as being opposed to integration," he said, but I will soft-peddle it. I am not going to say anything to arouse race feeling."

I asked if he expected to get the Negro vote. He said, "No -- on account of my label" (Byrd machine). But he said that he intended to do what he could to open new opportunities for Negroes and bring able Negroes into greater participation in state affairs.

We touched briefly on several other state problems, and I asked if he intended to bring more industry into Virginia. He said he was going to do everything possible to accomplish this.

I made a little speech here about industrial progress and race relations -- my usual line with Southern politicians. I said I would like to see Virginia in the forefront of Southern progress. I would like to see Virginia lead the South toward the solution of the great problem of race relations. "That is essential to any kind of progress -- smooth race relations."

"Yes, smooth race relations," Harrison agreed. "We've got to have that."

--"And smooth race relations means adjustment to the inevitable advance of the Negro to full citizenship."

Harrison agreed with that also. I said it would be a great feather in Virginia's and in Harrison's cap nationally if Virginia should lead in this.

I also broached the problem of a state commission on race relations. Harrison was distinctly interested in this. "But not now," he said. "It wouldn't do for me to suggest such a thing now. I would be called a traitor in the Black Belt. (Harrison is from the heart of the Virginia Black Belt.) But later on it may be possible."

Benjamin Muse

March 31, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

J. Barrye Wall and B. Calvin Bass

Prince Edward County, March 28-29, 1961

The most influential leader of the extreme resistance and school-closing movement in Prince Edward County is chubby, pugnacious J. Barrye Wall, 62, editor for the past 40 years of the Farmville Herald.

B. Calvin Bass, onetime chairman and long a member of the old Prince Edward County school board, which resigned last year, was a witness in the Supreme Court hearings and has been closely involved in the school fight in that county. He is now an active leader of the group which wants to see the public schools reopened. Bass said there were five leaders of the resistance group of whom he would say that, if they should vanish, public schools could be reopened without much trouble. The dynamo among the five was J. Barrye Wall.

I drove to Wall's office first, Tuesday afternoon. We talked for an hour. Then he went out to greet my wife waiting in the car; we talked for about half an hour on the sidewalk and went inside again for another half an hour. A chamber of commerce banquet prevented him from dining with us, but he urged us to stay overnight and see him again in the morning.

I understand that the Salvation Army procedure in dealing with a derelict is to win his friendship first and try to save his soul afterward.

In Wall's case I had some elements of friendship to begin with. We had had friendly association 25 years ago when I lived two counties away; he had dined at my house and my wife and I had been entertained by him.

We recalled the good old days, and I presented him with an autographed advance copy of my book, which he appeared to appreciate -- although he knows I disagree with him. Of course, we kept up a running conversation about Prince Edward and the school problem. He did most of the talking, while I demurred only gently from his segregationist drivel. Whenever the conversation tended to become heated, I found some way to recall the good old days again.

I called on Calvin Bass after dinner, and came back to Wall the next morning. Wall accepted an invitation to lunch with me and asked me to drive with him to see the private school under construction. He told his secretary he would be back in 20 minutes. Actually we drove and inspected and talked for the entire morning. We saw various private school locations and abandoned public schools, including the fair-to-medium new Negro high school, which, he declared, was "the finest high school in Virginia."

We spent some time at the site of the new consolidated high school under construction -- a group of very modern one-story structures in a pleasant hilltop setting. Construction foreman Garrett came over to greet Wall, both beaming. The work was going forward briskly.

Wall at first wanted to give the impression that this was a kind of free-offering project. The men were working for very little (which I suspect is the Farmville wage level) and the suppliers had "given" many things -- bricks for instance. On pinning him down, however, this illusion vanished; he said merely that they had got some concessions. The cost would come to some $200,000 and, he thought, they would get a $250,000 school.

He was as pathetically enthusiastic as the builders of the Bridge over the River Kwi.

Lastly, back in town, we visited the private school foundation's proudest present exhibit -- the student library (11,000 books by donation.) It was a nice little library. A dozen attractive teenagers were quietly pouring over books and papers at the tables. An attractive lady librarian greeted us. In a quick glance at the bookshelves I was agreeably surprised to find a number of liberal authors, including Hodding Carter and James McBride Dabbs. (I am sending them a copy of "Massive Resistance.")

My four or five hours of conversation with Wall covered a wide range of race question controversy -- nearly all old stuff. Wall used all the cliches. I got in about 20 per cent of the talking.

I found something to admire in the enterprise of the private school devotees. I did not say that the brave new building would be wasted. It might be used for many years to come -- along with public schools. The private school could be a safety valve in places like Prince Edward County during the transition period.

However, I insisted that public schools should, and would inevitably be reopened with integration required by the courts.

I may have made an impression on a few other points. I tried to make him, not angry, but uncomfortable.

By lunch time, Wall remembered that he had been due back at his office in 20 minutes and that he hadn't touched the work on his desk. He would have to forego lunch and get back to work. We exchanged emotional assurances that differences of opinion on the segregation question had nothing to do with friendship.

I visited Calvin Bass Tuesday evening in his home, six miles from Farmville. He was most anxious that his remarks be held in confidence.

He said that from 70 to 80 per cent of the people of Prince Edward would like to see the public schools reopened. But he painted an almost incredible picture of repression and intimidation in the county.

He asked me if I knew about the "bush meetings." That was the name given to recent meetings held among prominent citizens favoring public schools, beginning with two or three, then a dozen, etc., until one final meeting drew 60. At the final meeting a band of private school fanatics waited outside, then flashed electric torches in autos and in the faces of departing participants.

A few days later a circular was distributed to key people among the private school faction, giving a complete -- and accurate -- account of the meeting. Bass showed me a carbon copy. Except for the insinuation at the top that this group was betraying the people of Prince Edward County, it read much like a copy of a secretary's minutes. The names of all 60 were given, together with the names of sympathizers who sent regrets. (Dean Moss was present, President Lankford, of Longwood College sent regrets.) The persons listed had subsequently suffered abuse and reprisals of various kinds.

Bass said "that crowd" (the private school promoters) intimidated the whole community.

He said there had been no need for closing the public schools in the first place, from any point of view. Not only had no Negro applied for admission -- which is well known -- but every Negro pupil had accepted assignment to a Negro school in written form.

The private school crowd had worked so hard for so long and had raised so much money, and had developed so much enthusiasm that they would not be stopped.

If public schools should reopen now, he said, he knew of one Negro family which wanted to put two children in white schools. In view of all the agitation of the past year, there might be a few more. But it would not be an unmanageable situation.

Both Wall and Bass discussed the pending litigation with me, each anxious about the outcome -- from a different point of view.

Bass thought the sequence of federal court orders would be of vital importance. If the tuition grant plan is to be invalidated, he earnestly hopes that that decision will be delayed until after the public schools are reopened.

The myth about the "mess" in Washington and the flight of whites from the Capital City has still a big place in Prince Edward segregationist talk. Wall brought it up four or five times. Even Bass has some misconceptions. I shall send each some information on this subject.

Bass was also anxious to learn more about the Southern Regional Council. I told him something about us and will send more material.

Benjamin Muse

April 6, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

W. S. Meacham, Colgate W. Darden, Jr.,

and Albertis Harrison

Norfolk and Richmond, April 3-5, 1961

I visited Meacham, associate editor of the Norfolk-Virginian Pilot Monday evening, April 3; Darden, former governor and former president of the University of Virginia, Tuesday morning; and Attorney General Harrison Wednesday morning. Tuesday afternoon I called at the Norfolk Journal and Guide and visited with its 77-year-old editor, P. B. Young.

Meacham, Darden and Harrison are all intensely -- and actively -- interested in the Prince Edward County situation. Meacham is urging both personally and editorially that the state move to bring this scandalous episode to a close. Darden similarly would like to see Prince Edward public schools reopened without waiting for court action. He thinks an issue should be made of it in the present gubernatorial campaign and believes voters statewide would support a program of reopening Prince Edward schools. Darden knows most of the prominent people in Prince Edward, but, "my contact there," he said, "is Dr. Lankford (president of Longwood College)."

I gathered from Meacham, Darden and Harrison the definite impression that even in official quarters it is expected that the federal court will order the public schools reopened. (The court will not accept the argument that the allocation of tuition funds fulfills the state's constitutional obligation to maintain public schools.) Harrison, who is preparing for another hearing Friday, thinks the court decision will probably be delivered in time to take effect with the September school opening.

All three of these gentlemen asked how I got on with Barrye Wall. Wall's attitude is a matter of general concern.

(I am sending copies of my book to Moss and Bass.)

Harrison asked if I had read the newspaper report that the Prince Edward County School Board had presented to the board of supervisors' budget proposals which include provision for public schools. "That is a little step in the right direction," he said, and he added: "Of course, I know about it before." Harrison is at present in an extremely delicate combination of roles: defense council in the Prince Edward County case and a candidate for governor. However, he is informally active in many ways in this situation. Calvin Bass is among those who have conferred with him.

Bass' estimate of the percentage of Prince Edward whites who would welcome reopening of the public schools (with required integration) was probably excessive and he doubtless would have qualifications. Bass said from 70 to 80 per cent. Darden estimated "about 45 per cent" and Harrison, "about 40 per cent."

With Colgate Darden I have a friendship dating from a rather pleasant gubernatorial contest in 1941, when I was his Republican opponent. We talked about a number of things from Laos on back to the Roman Empire.

Darden is emphatically opposed to defiance of the Supreme Court and to race discrimination -- more firmly opposed to segregation itself than he was five years ago. Nevertheless, he has a lurking doubt as to the innate capabilities of Negroes. In his travels, he found the Asiatic a superior type of human animal to the African native, etc. "Do you think we can ever bring the Negroes up to par?" he asked.

We argued this point at some length. When I cited Negro leadership in the world of sports, Darden agreed that Negroes more than held their own in the top echelon, but he doubted if they were "up to 10 per cent" at the medium athlete level. I had no reliable information on this point. He was interested in Negro prominence in the entertainment field, but I could not give him anything like percentage figures for Negro participation in TV, radio, etc. programs. He was interested, and impressed, by such other examples of Negro excellence and evidences of Negro cultural progress as I was prepared offhand to offer. His mind is not fully made up.

I mention this as a reminder to our research department of a concept, here gently held by a humane and deeply thoughtful scholar, but prevalent in a more vicious form among a vast number of Southerners. It also suggests more home work on my part!

Benjamin Muse

COPY

December 20, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Governor-Elect Harrison

December 19, 1961

I called upon Virginia's Governor-Elect Albertis Harrison at his temporary office in the Supreme Court Building. It is actually a sort of unpublicized hideaway, where he is trying to concentrate on budget, legislative program, appointment selections and other pre-inauguration business with a minimum of interference. The few weeks before inauguration are always hectic for a governor-elect. I thought it an appropriate time, nevertheless, to urge some recognition of Negroes in the incoming administration and to suggest also some constructive reference to racial justice in his inaugural address.

I suggested that some Negroes be appointed to major policy-making state boards. Harrison remarked that he believed there were several Negroes on state boards in North Carolina, which opened the way for what I wanted particularly to emphasize. I said there was a Negro member of each of eight major North Carolina boards, three of them having been appointed by Governor Sanford during the past year. I gave the Governor-elect a list of these eight boards and their Negro members, with pertinent details, which I had brought with me. Harrison was definitely glad to get this.

I also left with him a copy of Terry Sanford's inaugural address, calling attention particularly to Sanford's assurance of "first class citizenship" for all.

Harrison said that he was handicapped in his dealing with Virginia Negroes by the lack of the "right kind of Negro leadership in this state." The Negroes of stature and ability were not trying to exercise leadership. He had one Negro friend he could rely on (he didn't name him) and there were several Negro college presidents he could talk to, but he couldn't be sure that he was getting at real Negro leadership. I said that I would be glad to help in any way I could in appraising Negro material for appointment.

Harrison regretted the departure of Oliver Hill and Spotswood Robinson, two former NAACP attorneys in Virginia, now in federal posts. They had been his opponents in litigation, but they were good men, intelligent and above board. You could do business with them. He wished there were somebody of that sort representing the Negro community now. Holt and Lawson, two NAACP attorneys remaining in Virginia, he said, were definitely not in that category.

Before I left, the Governor said: "You can be sure that I will appoint a Negro to a major state board, probably two or three. Not at once, of course, but when vacancies arise -- and I can't do anything in that field until the General Assembly adjourns."

I also spent several hours with the new executive director of the Virginia CHR, Rev. Heslip Lee.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

June 22, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Prince Edward County

June 18-20

Harry Boyte of the American Friends Service Committee called at my home in Manassas several weeks ago to discuss the Prince Edward County problem and I had an opportunity to discuss it at some length with Dr. G. Gordon Moss, dean of Longwood College at a meeting of the executive committee of the Virginia CHR at Charlottesville June 15th.

Dean Moss then had just attended a meeting of the Prince Edward County board of supervisors at which it refused once more to provide for public schools during the coming year. He was one of three white citizens urging public schools. (The press carried a shot of Moss at the meeting and quoted his remark: "You gentlemen have an opportunity for greatness this day.") Eight white citizens expressed approval of the board's action and 15 Negroes pleaded for public schools. I saw more of Dean Moss in Farmville. He is irrepressible but completely pessimistic, sees no ray of hope but keeps fearlessly plugging.

I arrived in Farmville Monday evening the 18th, and dined with Mr. and Mrs. Boyte and a group which they had gathered. This included Rev. L. F. Griffin, the NAACP president and Rev. Frederic Buss, coordinator of the new 9-week, 11-grades project of the Student Christian Federation (financed by Taconic) for giving supplementary teaching to Negro children. (The Boytes dined with us on Tuesday.) I spent the entire morning Tuesday with J. Barryo Wall, local editor and now more than ever the moving spirit in the closed-public-schools segregationist movement. Wednesday morning I visited the Herald office again and talked mainly with Barryo's son, Will, who has just been elected to the Farmville town council. Rev. Moslip Lee, executive director of the Virginia CHR turned up Tuesday afternoon on his way to Danville and on his return Wednesday he arranged for a group to meet with me for lunch. The main purpose of this luncheon was to bring me together with Dr. Otis McClung, pastor of the Farmville Baptist Church. (Dr. McClung is a brother-in-law of "Happy" Lee, whom the latter feels belongs to the enemy camp.)

Several others were seen in between these engagements.

Liberal contacts: Prof. H. W. Battinger, Longwood (202 Irvin St. Ph 2-4410)
Mrs. M. Aubrey Brown, Darlington Hts.
Lester Andrews, Andrews, Target & Hidden, Inc. (Shopping Center)
Harlon Family, Darlington H. Co. — Mrs. John Poyner, Ed 8
George Sharles
Mrs. L. W. Putney, physical therapist

I directed my attention above all to Barrye Wall, who remains cordial, and almost affectionate, in spite of our interminable argument over many points of the race controversy in addition to the local Prince Edward imbroglio. Although he doesn't admit it, I feel that some of my talk sinks in and especially when I point to the general condemnation of Prince Edward now in most of the nation and even in Virginia. (The Virginia daily press is now almost unanimously calling for an end to the mess in Prince Edward.) I ask if he does not feel lonely now, and if it ever occurs to him that he might be wrong. Wall replies: "We are holding our finger in the hole in the dike."

Wall took me to see the Prince Edward Academy, which had not been completed on my last visit. We inspected all the rooms, accompanied by Principal Gilmer. There were things to admire. They have made a bright, attractive school at minimum cost. The clean re-painted second-hand desks and tables are from public school surplus. It suggests that public school money could be made to go farther with similar frugality. The spacious, 11,000-volume library is the proudest exhibit. I did not fail to examine the books on the race problem. There were three copies of Putnam and one each of Kilpatrick and Workman, but there was a conspicuous shelf of liberal books, including Dabbs, Hodding Carter, Stokely and Dikeman, Richard Wright, etc., not to mention "Virginia's Massive Resistance."

Bill Wall is a most ingratiating young man, but appears to share his father's view.

Boyte operates from an attractive office-apartment in the "Miller Building," owned by the Negro dentist, Dr. N. P. Miller, who occupies the ground floor. Boyte expects to stay in Farmville until mid-September, then leave to head an AFSC merit employment program in North Carolina and Virginia. He seems to have been remarkably successful in reaching a conversational relationship with leaders of the segregationist power structure. He told me that he has discussed the school problem with each of the six members of the county governing board and is convinced that a majority of them personally would like to see the public schools reopened. He also believes that a majority of the white people want the public schools reopened. A "machine," made up of extremists and private school promoters dominates the situation by pressure and intimidation.

The general feeling is that the only thing which can break the impasse in the near future would be a court order. Boyte and Griffin see a faint ray of hope in the possibility

that a federal district court order, expected within a few days, carried on appeal to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, might result in an order for the reopening of public schools next September. In this event the public school enrollment initially would be almost entirely Negro, but they are confident that a few white children would enroll from the start and that a substantial number of white children would enroll by mid-term.

The prospect is further complicated by the suit also before the federal district court to make illegal the payment of tuition grants, or scholarships, for attendance at any segregated schools (which would include the Prince Edward private schools.)

Dr. McClung, apart from some remarks which suggested a strain of anti-semitism, and some apparent nervousness, was a congenial participant in our luncheon conversation. When we talked about the embarassment of the Prince Edward County situation to all Virginians, he said he felt this most strongly. It was "thrown up at him" everywhere when he traveled. Anxious to establish his liberalism in our company, he made two nonetheless significant statements: (1) he said that his board of stewards had laid down a rule that, if any Negro visits the Baptist Church, he will be courteously seated, and (2) at a meeting of the men of his church last week the question of reopening public schools was openly and constructively discussed. This was the first time the question had been mentioned at such a meeting. It was brought up, not by the minister, but by Lester Andrews, a local shopping center executive. Dr. McClung said the discussion was calm and free from bitterness or segregationist fulminations. All who spoke seemed to feel that somehow the public schools should be reopened.

The Richmond News Leader, which encouraged Prince Edward's original recklessness in flaming editorials, has been suggesting recently that, now that the gesture has been made, it is time to get the schools open again. In an editorial June 19 the News Leader expressed the belief that an order to reopen the public schools, but allowing the tuition grants for the pupils of segregated private schools, would be acceptable to Prince Edward County. The suggestion was apparently offered to the court, as a "solution to all this." Barrye Wall said Wednesday morning that he endorsed this view.

Governor Harrison in an interview Wednesday appeared to anticipate a court order requiring the state to operate schools in Prince Edward. He said if this came, it would involve fiscal and administrative problems which would require new legislation. He expressed the hope that a "resolution of the problem" would soon be reached which would permit the reopening of the public schools in Prince Edward. Significantly, his remarks were

unemotional and included no aspersions on the Supreme Court or the NAACP.

The situation in Prince Edward County is dominated now above all by a feeling of uncertainty -- which all elements share. Wall says over and over again: "If we knew what the law is --," "If the courts would just tell us --," "If they would give us some ground rules --" The NAACP leader, and many in between, say substantially the same thing. No doubt uncertainty preys upon Governor Harrison and the federal judiciary.

For the case has become one of complexity compounded, not only from the standpoint of local and state law and the two Constitutions, but from a practical point of view. How would schools opened under court order be financed? How many white children will attend public schools if they are reopened? Will it be desirable to reopen all of the previous white schools? How many white teachers should be recruited? In the meantime there is a three-year backlog of Negro children awaiting entry in the first grade and a three-year vacuum in the higher classes.

I asked Drewbaker, who was here Thursday, to visit Prince Edward school superintendent Mellwaine and Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilkerson and discuss with them the practical problems of reopening Prince Edward County schools in the event this is ordered.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

July 2, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Governor Harrison on the Prince Edward Problem

Also Virginius Dabney

Richmond, June 29, 1962

As Governor Harrison is following Prince Edward County developments closely and with deep concern, and as he is uniquely well informed on all the angles of the problem, his very frank talk with me this morning (June 29) may be of particular interest.

Governor Harrison has concluded beyond any doubt that the federal courts will require the State of Virginia to re-open and operate the public schools of Prince Edward. He said: "That's absolutely certain. We'll have to either close all public schools or open those in Prince Edward."

He has also concluded that no other solution is possible, that there will be no change in the situation until this court order comes. "There is no other way," he said. "If you had asked me last January, I would have said that they would re-open the schools next September. (He had been disappointed in informal efforts which I know he had made earlier.) As late as March I expected that to happen. But now I say it is impossible. There is nothing that Harrison or Muse or anybody can do but wait for that court order."

When the order comes, he said, it will pose vexing administrative and fiscal problems. How can the state carry the whole public school load in one county without getting demands from other counties for similar financial help? A special session of the General Assembly will have to be called to enact new legislation. "It will be a long session," he said.

He agreed when I added that it would probably also be an ugly session, which might revive race agiatation now happily subsiding in this state.

I suggested that when the court order which he anticipated comes the Prince Edward resisters might see the matter in a different light. When it should be evident that the public schools will be opened and desegregated anyway, the county governing body might at last act. Under pressure from many quarters the supervisors might be induced to get the schools re-opened in the normal way and obviate the necessity of a special session of the legislature and other disruptions for the state. Governor Harrison saw a possibility of this. He thought it would be worth trying when the court order came.

Under Virginia law the board of supervisors cannot appropriate further funds for the ensuing year for schools or anything else after June 30 (which has passed). But Governor Harrison said: "They have the money." With the accumulated allocation for tuition grants and the regular state contribution, the county would have enough money. He was confident that the tuition grant money could be made available for school operation. The county also could borrow money.

Governor Harrison remarked that the case could have been brought to a head before now if the NAACP lawyers had handled it right. Now he feared the litigation would drag on for another year...But sooner or later it would come to a court order to the state to close all schools or open schools in Prince Edward.

I suggested the possibility of an early ruling by Judge Lewis, appeal and quick action by the circuit court of appeals, resulting in an injunction in time for school-opening next September. I recalled previous instances of swift action by circuit courts of appeals. The Governor saw a faint possibility, but thought it was getting too late for this; he believed the state would be allowed time for the necessary preparation.

When the public schools are finally re-opened Governor Harrison thought, few, and more probably no, white children would enroll. "Public opinion," he said (which I would call intimidation) will prevent many from enrolling even if they want to." (NAACP president Griffin had predicted that a few white children would enroll at the start and that the number would steadily increase. Barrye Wall said to me: "The NAACP will pay a few white children to enroll.")

Would tuition grants for segregated schools be outlawed? Governor Harrison had no idea. However, if tuition grants had to be knocked down, it would be a boon in the Prince Edward situation if this decision could be delayed for a year or two after the opening of the public schools. "This point," he said, "has been made again and again."

The Governor spoke without bitterness. He appeared to be proud of the remarkable progress of school desegregation in Virginia as a whole -- "almost incredible." I remarked that the state is doing a fine job in race relations. Harrison thought that the state was doing well in both education and race relations-- "Only Prince Edward," he said, "remains a black mark."

Before Governor Harrison's inauguration I paid him a visit to urge the appointment of Negroes to state boards, givin him the picture of what North Carolina has done in this field, etc. He promised to do some of this during coming months. This June the Governor has appointed a Negro to each of three state boards, a youth study commission and a regulatory commission for barbers and one for beauticians. I expressed pleasure at this. The Governor remarked that this was the first time in history that Negroes had been appointed to regulatory commissions in Virginia. He said he had heard no criticism from any quarter. I suggested that the public was ready now to accept more such appointments.

Earlier I called upon Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch. Dabney is bitter on the subject of the NAACP and disgusted also with the Prince Edward school-closers, has a plague on both-your-houses attitude. He feels that the present situation is intolerable and is doing, and will continue to do, all that he can to get the Prince Edward schools re-opened. He hasn't the Governor's feeling of positive certainty about the ultimate federal court ruling. (Both Dabney and Governor Harrison regard Barrye Wall as the leading spirit in Prince Edward County resistance.)

From a personal point of view I was glad to renew a cordial relationship with Dabney, an old pre-massive resistance friend.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

COPY

August 1, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conference on Prince Edward Situation

Richmond, Va., July 27, 1962

Rev. Neslip Lee, executive director of the Virginia Human Relations Council, called me Sunday night, July 22, saying that he had organized a meeting of key people to be held in Richmond the following Friday, July 27, to discuss the Prince Edward County situation, and asking me to preside. He said that he had invited, and secured the acceptance of Burke Marshall, Berl Bernhard, Harold Fleming, David Scull and several members of the Virginia legislature, and that Dean G. Gordon Moss of Longwood College had promised to bring from ten to fifteen citizens of Prince Edward. We met Friday in a conference room of the Hotel John Marshall.

Burke Marshall had excused himself at the last on account of the Albany situation, but he sent Mr. Green, of his staff. The others attended as expected. Berl Bernhard, Civil Rights Commission director, was accompanied by Howard W. Rogerson, special assistant. There were two members of the legislature, Delegate John Webb and State Senator Ed Haddock. The latter is also chairman of the Virginia advisory committee, CCR; Vice-chairman Phillips also attended. Dean Moss was accompanied by ten fellow citizens of Prince Edward.

It happened that Federal District Judge Oren R. Lewis had handed down a sensational opinion on the Prince Edward County case the previous day. The new ruling had not yet been carefully digested by the public or by our group, but the occasion offered a useful opportunity for ventilation of first reactions and discussion of the possibility of getting Prince Edward County schools open next September.

A streamer headline in the Richmond News Leader, just off the press, said: PRINCE EDWARD OPENING IN FALL UNLIKELY -- and that was also the concensus of our group. Some of us saw a faint possibility of considerations and pressures being brought to bear which would cause the Prince Edward authorities to move. But the contingent from Prince Edward sensed no change in the attitude of the county power structure and seemed to see no hope for this year. The following brief appraisal of the situation developed from our discussion:

Judge Lewis' decision was lamentably inconclusive. He found that "the public schools of Prince Edward County may not be closed, etc." But, in the words of the News Leader, "having reached this conclusion, Judge Lewis could not bring himself to back it up with a direct order." He merely directed that a plan be submitted to counsel by September 1 and to the court by September 7, and added this threat: "If, however, the said schools are not reopened prior to September 7, 1962, this court will on that day consider any and all proposed orders tendered by counsel of record...."

A major obstacle in the way of reopening Prince Edward schools in September, pointed out in the press and among our group, was the lack of an appropriation for school operation (although the county has ample accumulated funds earmarked for tuition grants) and state law which would seem to prevent a revision at this date of the county budget. But editorials in both Richmond papers, urging reopening in September, seemed to indicate that in the opinion of these two well-informed editors this obstacle might not be insuperable. The News Leader said: "But in our own view the Prince Edward supervisors are now just about compelled to find a way around the state law on local budgets."

The only alternative would be a special session of the General Assembly, which Governor Harrison would be most reluctant to call. (See my memorandum of July 2.)

Another formidable obstacle to a quick reopening of the schools would be the difficult job of reorganizing them and recruiting teachers. T. J. McIlwaine, who is the nominal superintendent of schools, has actually retired and probably never intends to resume active administration of open schools. Moreover, he is en route to Japan on a three months vacation! It was said that only eight Negro teachers are left in the county out of a normal complement of about 80. The problem would be one mainly of Negro teachers. I believe in the emergency the Virginia Negro Teachers Association, and other Negro groups, campaigning in a spirit of crusade, might get the teachers in time. Berl Bernard said that the CCR would be glad to help in a quiet way in teacher recruitment.

An important inducement for the Prince Edward private school faction, which controls the county governing board, should be the implied assurance of Judge Lewis that upon the reopening of the public schools tuition grants will be allowed to flow again. This would be a boon to the private school organization, which is in a precarious financial condition. The obvious public sentiment in Virginia now calling for an end to the Prince Edward County scandal may also have some effect.

What is most needed, however, is pressure from the Governor's office and, if a legal way is found to meet the financial problem, this might conceivably bring about a September school-reopening. Incidentally, it is rare indeed that the two Richmond newspapers together take a strong position which is out of line with the Governor's thinking. Governor Harrison on Thursday after Judge Lewis' pronouncement called in Attorney General Button and two of his assistants for a conference and left afterward for Camp Pendleton to review the National Guard there Friday and relax through Sunday at Virginia Beach.

Benjamin Muse

June 8, 1963

MEMORANDUM

HEW Conference on Prince Edward

June 3, 1963

I attended a meeting of interested private agencies and government officials, presided over by Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, to discuss remedial education programs for Prince Edward County. The meeting was organized on the initiative of Jean Fairfax of the AFSC. Among approximately a score present were James Quigley, Burke Marshall, Harold Fleming, Dean Moss and Rev. Griffin from Prince Edward. Heslip Lee, representatives of the National Institute of Mental Health, the Office of Vocational Education and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and four or five from the NAACP.

There was some excitement over the news which appeared in the New York Times (p. 2) the same day of a $2,500,000 project of the National Institute of Mental Health for Prince Edward County. Dr. Hildreth, of NIMH said the report was premature and should not have gotten into the papers. Nevertheless, he seemed confident that the project will receive final approval. The NIMH had been looking for a good place in which to conduct a mass experiment in a new method of teaching children to read. Prince Edward seemed ideal for the purpose. The program will reach about 500 children, in successive groups of 100. While the principal object had to be a scientific one, all felt that it would be a great help from other points of view.

Lester Banks of the NAACP saw a faint hope of federal court action forcing the opening of Prince Edward schools this fall. Griffin remarked that when the schools opened under court order it would be on the smallest possible scale.

Burke Marshall saw no chance of public school opening this fall. He was doing everything possible to secure remedial schooling for Prince Edward children -- cooperating with private agencies and straining every legal angle to find possibilities of federal help.

~~Marshall~~ J. A. Morsell of NAACP said a number of private groups -- one from Queen's College, etc. -- were eager to help in Prince Edward and would like to be told how they can serve.

The Office of Vocational Education was considering setting classes for vocational training -- in specific skills to meet industrial demands. The Department of Labor might also help. There was an apparent determination on the part of Keppel and other government representatives to help as far as legally possible in meeting the schooling need.

The $74,000 survey of Prince Edward County's educational needs, conducted by the University of Michigan, is nearing completion and the report will be available after June 15 -- after which further meetings and consultations will be in order.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Va.

October 8, 1963

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Danville, Va.

September 28-October 4, 1963

I plan to return to Danville at the earliest opportunity. This is a preliminary report, based on four days of conversation with leaders there -- mainly white. I have had as yet no contact with Negroes excepting M. C. Martin, bank president, with whom I dined and spent a long evening.

I dined one evening and kept in regular touch with Mrs. Henry Bourne, our CHR president, who is a lady of the highest social standing and many "power structure" contacts as well as a dedicated worker. Charles A. Womack, the leader of the liberal faction in the city council -- and in the city generally -- placed himself completely at my disposal; we lunched together twice and spent several hours driving around the town while we talked. I conferred for two hours with the mayor and visited also, among others, the president and the vice president of the chamber of commerce, the president of th Retail Merchants Association, two editors and the assistant to the president of Dan River Mills.

The atmosphere in Danville has been poisoned by the events of the last June and especially by the endless exaggerations and rumors which those events put into circulation. A notion, or an illusion, is held to some extent by most of the white leadership that Danville was on the way to race relations reform last spring when a group of Negroes, with some criminals and many children among them, suddenly launched a series of violent and unprovoked demonstrations. "Outsiders" are generally blamed, though some hold one local Negro, Rev. A. I. Dunlop, mainly responsible. Those convulsions are supposed to have put a stop to all progress. Leaders, like Mayor Julian R. Stinson, have told the story so often that they have come almost to believe that a better day was about to dawn before "this thing happened." The mayor told me that Danville might have matched the Charlotte, N.C., performance!

Louis Berman, president of the Retail Merchants Association, said: "I'm a member of a minority group myself and I don't think I have any prejudice, but those young Negroes went wild. It was right

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

in front of my store where they lay down in the street and blocked traffic. The police handled them as gently as they could, more gently than they would handle a white mob."

(Like many another who saw only one little phase, he is convinced the police behaved correctly throughout. The melee at the police station June 10 had few non-participating eye-witnesses.)

Berman recalled his negotiations earlier with a Negro delegation. He and the RMA executive secretary met by arrangement, and had a two-hour conference on May 31, with the president of the Danville Christian Progressive Association (the SCLC affiliate), Rev. Lendall W. Chase, and Doyle Thomas, president of the local NAACP. He told them of several merchants who had recently hired or upgraded Negroes and of more that were planning to do so, saying that he and some associates were working quietly on this. According to his statement to me, the two Negro leaders agreed to call off the scheduled demonstrations. Nevertheless, the demonstrations began the same evening -- small and orderly at first -- and, he thought, over the objections of Chase and Thomas. Two days later, Berman said, Dunlop paid him a visit and said in an "arrogant" manner that Chase and Thomas did not represent the Negroes -- "I'm the man to negotiate with."

Many pages could be filled with the stories of alleged Negro misbehavior and of "good" performance by hard-pressed policemen. However far the stories may be from the truth, the widely-held theory that a well-meaning city was turned from the path of interracial progress by a crowd of impetuous Negroes is the biggest stumbling block at this time.

For instance, Berman says the RMA is stymied now because (1) the merchants are angry and (2) the white public is sufficiently angry to avoid a store employing Negro clerks. This is, of course, an exaggeration, but it illustrates the feeling that has to be overcome.

Knowledgeable people, including moderates and some Negroes, point to a lack of coordination and guidance among the Negroes. They are said to have made many strategic mistakes. One was in putting forward a Negro candidate for the city council, who drew votes away from moderate white candidates. In this way, the Negroes are said to have "elected" their greatest single enemy in the Danville picture today, Councilman John W. Carter. The indiscriminate boycott is considered a strategic mistake. Merchants who employ or upgrade Negroes are still boycotted like the rest.

In the attitude of the populace there are several basically reassuring items when Danville is compared with Deep South cities. The spectacle of white hoodlums attacking Negroes has been absent from the picture. Small threatening groups gathered on several occasions, but police had little trouble in dispersing them. The integration of public schools in September proceeded with amazing calm.

(The anti-Negro feeling at the middle-class and country club level is intense, as reflected in the recent action of a Methodist congregation in censoring its pastor. Liberal leaders are also getting obscene anonymous phone calls.)

The attitude of "We were going to move until the Negroes spoiled everything," however untrue, is perhaps fundamentally more hopeful than an attitude of flat racist defiance. There is a wide recognition of the fact that racial barriers will have to be dropped "in time" and "in the right way."

The Danville Register is an inflammatory influence. It, like the afternoon Bee is ultra-conservative. Both papers are regular supporters of John Carter and the forces of repression. I called on Marion Saunders -- the Register's editor at night (his working time) and found him most cordial, though a little flippant and inclined to brush Danville's racial troubles aside. He likes to appear well informed about the Negro movement throughout the country. The new Civil Rights Commission Report was lying on his desk; he "knew the score." He said: "I know all these things will have to come. We are just fighting for time for Danville."

(I am told that the owners of both papers are intransigent racists and that their editors would be inhibited in any liberal impulse they might have.)

In spite of sweeping demands announced by SCLC, the immediate objectives of Danville Negroes should pose no great difficulty:

1) The establishment of a biracial committee.
2) The hiring of at least one Negro policeman and a city clerk. (The city has no objection in principle, but it does not want to move while "under the gun." I gather the Negro policeman will be hired shortly, but it must be in a routine way "to increase the efficiency of the police force," not as a concession to Negro demands.)
3) The desegregation of four leading restaurants. (Three are ready; only one is holding out.)
4) The hiring or upgrading of Negro employees by more Danville merchants.

The Danville problem, though grave and threatening, is one more of emotion than of substance. There is more anger at their humiliation, at the police brutality and the arrogance of white officials in the Negro protest than impatience to achieve specific objectives. The whites feel that the Negroes should be punished for the June disorders rather than rewarded with concessions. They are not irrevocably opposed to the moves desired by the Negroes, but refuse to discuss them under pressure. Each side would like to "get even" with the other.

An illustration of how largely the problem is one of emotion and pride is the controversy over so innocuous a thing as a biracial committee. There is fierce opposition to according the Negroes this

recognition. Some merchants would seem to be more amenable to employing Negroes than to sitting in conference with their leaders. Any white who advocates a biracial committee is accused of being a "nigger-lover."

The mayor says he is stymied on the biracial committee issue by the opposition of the council. He says there are five out of nine votes against it. Womack says there would be only four votes against it if the mayor would take a strong stand. I am suggesting also a chamber of commerce-sponsored biracial committee. Chamber president George Carter (whose wife is a member of the CHR) said something is being planned which he cannot yet disclose, and that some members of the board are working with him in a constructive initiative. I told Mayor Stinson about Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, who declared "I am a biracial committee" and maintained regular personal communication with Negro leaders.

In his conversation with me the mayor seemed very anxious to make a good impression. I understand he tries to be friendly with all elements, but I believe he would be happier following a moderate course. He says his hands are tied by the council, and above all, by John Carter, who, he said, commands the support of a majority of the people of Danville today.

Carter by riding the wave in Danville has become a popular hero. A dynamically active man (in his thirties) he stimulates anti-Negro feeling and tries to embarrass liberals in public statements, while he shines as a public benefactor because of his voluntary endeavors as a "friend of the court" on the anti-Negro side in litigation. He combines it all with a campaign for Goldwater for President.

The outstanding liberal leader is Councilman Womack, a splendid man. Personally popular, when I went around with him he was greeted jovially by many. His regular business is running Womack Electric Supplies, but he is also the owner of the Danville Commercial Appeal. This paper has long been somewhat famous among weekly newspapers in Virginia. Its circulation (about 9,000) exceeds that of either daily paper in Danville, excepting the Register's Sunday issue. The Commercial Appeal is the voice of liberalism in Danville and it carries a great deal of matter of a helpful kind on the race issue. Its editor George W. Crowder is able and courageous.

On Monday, September 30, the Commercial Appeal published an editorial with an interesting summary of the situation. It was entitled "An Open Letter to Martin Luther King," but it was aimed also at the council, city leaders and the public. In language adapted to the present temper of Danville it called for a resumption of interracial communication and constructive progress.

John Carter seized the occasion for an attack upon Womack, in which the editorial was thoroughly misrepresented. In a statement which appeared in Tuesday's Register, Carter said: "I notice

that City Councilman Charles A. Womack's 'Congo Chronicle' has invited Martin Luther King to come to Danville and sit down for a conference with the city council." He noted that "the first time Martin Luther King came to Danville he was accompanied by James Dombowski" and expanded upon King's alleged Communist associations. He did not mention King's announcement of his intention of bringing an army of demonstrators to Danville, which led Womack to urge negotiation instead.

When I talked with Mayor Stinson during the morning, he said the statement was typical of Carter's tactics and predicted: "He'll beat Womack to death on that." Womack asked my advice. He was considering a libel suit. I suggested that he avoid any personal unpleasantness with either Carter or the Register on this issue, but that he should give the greatest possible circulation to the editorial, which would speak for itself. I considered the editorial a healthy message for Danville at this juncture. I wrote an introductory sentence and the editorial was inserted as an ad the following day in the Register and again in the Bee. I think the incident and the editorial -- a clipping of which, as it appeared in the Register, is enclosed herewith -- throw light on the existing situation in Danville. I use a variety of approaches with Danville whites, but the truth that I hammer hardest is that merely arresting Negroes will solve no problems, only create bigger ones.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

April 8, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLEMING:

Conversation with Ted Dalton, April 6, 1959

Virginia State Senator, and Republican National Committeeman, Ted Dalton is one of my closest friends. I have known him since, as a young man, he took a little part in my campaign of 1941. In recent years I have given him a great deal of help and support in the Washington Post.

Dalton attracted some national attention by his sensational run for Governor in 1953, when he received 45 per cent of the vote in this traditionally Democratic state.

In his second run (1957) Dalton took a moderate position on the segregation issue and was badly beaten. He advocated local option and a pupil assignment plan, which Almond has now embraced.

Dalton now plans to fight (with little hope of success) for more moderate legislation than that contemplated in Almond's Perrow Commission plan.

Dalton's attitude is far removed from ours. It is like this: "I am personally for segregation, but I know the law of the land when I see it." However, he was with me at the meeting of church leaders in New Orleans last year.

We lunched together Monday at a Richmond restaurant. Unexpectedly, we were joined by State Senator Harry Byrd, Jr.

Almond's present position in the middle of the road was pointed up by the fact that these two, extremist Byrd and Virginia's most conspicuous moderate, found common ground in criticizing the Governor.

The cordial relations between Dalton and Byrd also are an interesting commentary on the tendency of personal friendships to survive political throat-cutting in Virginia. During the luncheon they planned to go to Washington together to attend the opening game of the baseball season.

When he finished eating, Byrd tactfully left us to our private conversation. I told Dalton about the Southern Leadership Project, and we talked about it for an hour or more. (We were almost alone in the restaurant at this time.)

His first reaction was to stress the need for caution. "You'll have to work mighty quietly," he said, "and keep out of sight as much

as possible. Your activity will have to be known to as few people as possible...Better not let people know you're on the Council's payroll if you can help it...Don't let anything happen to your column in the Post. Keep it up even if you haven't time to write anything any good. If you drop out of the Post, they'll start rumors and embarrass you."

After that, however, Dalton expressed growing enthusiasm for the project--so much so that I almost thought he would like to be identified with it.

He promised to send me a copy of a speech of his touching on the effects of school troubles on industry. He told me of a speech on the subject by Stuart Saunders, president of the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Also suggested looking up a speech of _____ Woodward, of Suffolk. He cautioned me against approaching Vernon Kemp, executive secretary of the Virginia Chamber of Commerce--"in the wrong camp."

Dalton asked me to call upon him for any help he could give, said he would really like to "put himself out" to help. I asked if he would be willing to travel if occasion should arise. He said he would be glad to take a trip sometime if there were anything he could do.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED MAY 19 1959

May 18,1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Miami--The Danger of a White "Boycott" of Orchard Villa School

I became acutely conscious in Miami of the danger that no white children will attend Orchard Villa School when it opens next September.

When (for reasons other than aversion to racial integration on the part of many) the Warren County High School in Virginia opened last February without any white pupils, the result was disastrous from a publicity and psychological point of view. The incident was widely reported as a "unanimous boycott" by the white people of the county, who allegedly "stood like a stone wall" against racial integration, etc. Segregationist extremists hailed the people of Warren County as latterday Confederate heroes.

The effect was largely offset in Virginia by the resounding success of the desegregation in Arlington, Alexandria and Norfolk. But the incident tended to encourage resistance, and planning for school-closing to prevent integration in many sections of the South.

The embarassment which could result from a failure of any white pupils to enter Orchard Villa in Miami next September cannot be overemphasized. (The danger arises in this instance from the fact that for some years the area served by Orchard Villa has been changing steadily into a "Negro neighborhood.")

Many with whom I talked in Miami did not seem to sense this possibility, but assumed that enough white pupils would be left at Orchard Villa to make it an example of integration. On the other hand, I was told in such divergent quarters as the Police Department and the Council on Human Relations that it was virtually certain that no white pupils would attend the school.

Above all, Dr. Joe Hall, the superintendent of schools, was deeply concerned. He saw little chance of avoiding an integration fiasco at Orchard Villa.

The all-white enrollment at the school had fallen from 450 four years ago to 243 last September and 170 last March. Dr. Hall interrupted our conversation to phone the Orchard Villa principal and learned that the enrollment figure now stood at 132.

The natural thing to do, Dr. Hall said, would be to fill up Orchard Villa with pupils from an overcrowded Negro school nearby--a step which probably will be taken if no white children enter the school next September.

I had hoped vaguely that the repercussions of such an incident ld be neutralized and the good faith undertaking made effective y some school desegregation elsewhere in Miami. I was glad to ind that Dr.Hall had exactly this in mind.

Dr.Hall said that he planned to discuss with the school board the possibility of quietly carrying out token integration next September in some other schools. He described several situations in which this could probably be done "without any trouble at all" as far as the affected schools were concerned. In fact, the assignments might possibility be made without any publicity until the Negro children were actually in school.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

May 15, 1956

MEMORANDUM

Miami--Conversations with Mrs. Lyle Roberts, School Board Member, and Dr. Joe Hall, Superintendent of Schools

Mrs. Roberts had been described to me as the "key" member of the school board, and my conversation with her tended to bear that out. I spent an evening with her (8-10 P.M., May 11) at her home in Coral Gables.

Mrs. Roberts said the board was made up of four "segregationists," two "moderates," and one "integrationist" (Mrs. Anna Brenner Meyer). She was one of the two "moderates;" her actual views on the moral issue, she said, she kept to herself. She was an ardent admirer of Gov. Collins.

She also admired Editor Baggs of the Miami News, on all but one point. She fiercely resented his statements that the Governor had a part in the board's decision to desegregate Orchard Villa, which she termed a "lie." (She and Baggs, with whom I talked later, gave completely different accounts of this incident.)

She gave a blow-by-blow account of the Sunday evening meeting in which the plan was adopted, a step for which, it appeared, she was mainly responsible. Her delicate manoeuvering had been made more difficult by the "extremists" on both sides, among whom she included the Council on Human Relations. However, she spoke with particular anger of the pro-segregation fanatics and presented me with some of their literature. She boasted of her own carefully balanced middle-of-the road position.

Mrs. Roberts asked my opinion of a plan which she was considering for the school board to employ a security officer of its own. This officer would study attitudes and tensions from the school administration end and serve as a liaison with the police. She had mind a possible man for the post, by the name, I believe, of John Tyler--a former FBI agent.

My reaction was that the idea seemed a good one, provided the security officer and the police were congenial.

Dr. Hall, with whom I talked the next morning, was expressly eager for advice and help. He had many questions to ask about the Norfolk experience, and was keenly interested in our proposal that he visit that city, at the expense of the Southern Regional Council, and talk with Superintendent Brewbaker. He said several members of the school board might also wish to make the trip, and I said the invitation would include them.

My conversation with Dr. Hall is further reported in my memorandum on the Orchard Villa problem.

Benjamin Muse

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BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

May 16, 1959

MEMORANDUM

The Save-the-Schools Movement in Miami--Conversations with Haskell L. Lazere and Charles E. Gottlieb

The save-the-schools movement in Miami is reflected in the attitude of many organizations and strong public sentiment, but is sporadic and unorganized. I talked with two leaders: Haskell L. Lazere, director of the American Jewish Congress; and Charles E. Gottlieb, chairman, Dade County Committee for Better Schools. Lazere's objective is desegregation, with combatting school-closing only a phase; Gottlieb's direct concern is only with schools.

Lazere (714 Congress Building, Miami 32) is an ardent crusader for civil rights all down the line, lobbies in Tallahassee against all "racial" bills, book-burning, etc. Was active in bringing about participation of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Conference of Christians and Jews in a desegregation resolution. Also active in circulating an anti-school closing petition initiated by the Miami Beach Junior Chamber of Commerce. Said over 1,000 had attended anti-school-closing meetings. Lazere emphasized the value of the economic aspect of the question and wished all the material we have on the subject.

Mr. Gottlieb, vice-president of Stevens Markets, Inc. (6209 N.W. 27th Ave.) is a dynamic individual and apparently something of a figure in the business world as well as in civic activities. He was eager for information and help. He lunched with me on May 12th., the day of my departure, and insisted on staying and taking me to the airport, in order to continue the conversation. He wants all the material we can send him, particularly on the economic aspect.

He summed up the points on which he wanted help as: the economic aspects of the problem, the techniques of organization, money-raising and the availability of a professional organizer.

He said that Roy E. Larsen, president of Time Magazine, was a close friend and he planned to ask him for help.

Gottlieb was full of enthusiasm, and yet uncertain about going ahead. He felt the danger to public schools in Florida was not yet clear. No one would know until the Legislature adjourned whether or not a save-the-schools movement would be necessary.

"We don't want to get steamed up," he said, "to fight a dead dog."

I agreed that it might be wise to sit tight until the Legislature adjourns and we know where we are, while getting ready to launch a full-scale movement, if necessary, then.

He said there was no save-the-schools organization as such, with a membership list, in Miami. Meetings and other activities has been conducted by a number of organizations, working together.

Mr. Gottlieb, and others, mentioned William S. Paley, capitalist, former ambassador and head of the Miami Transit Co., as an active opponent of school-closing.

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED MAY 18 1959

May 16, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Law Enforcement, Miami--Conversation with J. J. Youell, Assistant Chief of Police

Walter Hadley, the Chief of Police, was out for the day when I called, and I never met him. I asked about him in conversations with half a dozen others and received an uniformly good account of him. He was described as able and devoted to law and order. No one seemed to know his personal views on segregation, although moderates and liberals had a favorable impression of him.

I have had doubts about the reaction of law enforcement people to suggestions or offers of help from us. I was not encouraged in this by John Perry.

However, I decided to broach the idea at least casually, and did so in a conversation with J. A. Youell, Assistant Chief of Police, in a conversation on May 12. I said that I knew of the high reputation of the Miami Police Department and had no doubt of its ability to take care of a desegregation situation.

However, I remarked that Chief Harold Anderson and the Norfolk police had been through school desegregation and had done a wonderful job. If Chief Hadley or Assistant Chief Youell should be interested in going to Norfolk to talk to Anderson, the S.R.C. would be glad to finance the trip.

Mr. Youell's reaction was entirely negative. "We know Harold Anderson," he said. "If we wanted any information from him, we wouldn't hesitate a minute to pick up a phone and ask him."

In further conversation, Mr. Youell said approximately: "There isn't going to be any disorder in Miami. We are going to see to that. We can handle it all right. We have an 125-man riot squad. I don't think it will be needed, but it'll be ready."

With regard to the Orchard Villa school, he seemed to be sure that only Negroes would attend it in September.

Some of Mr. Youell's remarks were disturbing. "Law and order is our business," he said, "and we are going to attend to it--just law and order. The rest of the business (desegregation) is not our affair, but I don't mind telling you I don't believe in it."

When I remarked, more or less as a conversational item, that Anderson had assigned a couple of officers to keep an eye on the home of each integrated Negro pupil during the critical days, his reaction was a little alarming.

"Guards? —" he said, "Guards? They aren't going to get any guards from us. If they ask for trouble, they needn't come to us for guards." He said more in the same vein. He seemed to feel more resentment against the Negroes than against the fanatics who might molest them.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED MAY 20 1959

May 19, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Tallahassee, May 9 and 10, 1959.

I was in the hands of John L. Perry, Administrative Assistant to Governor Collins, during virtually my entire stay in Tallahassee.

Perry met me at the airport Saturday afternoon, left me at my hotel for half an hour to dress, then called and took me to his home for dinner. After dinner we attended a football game for two hours, then returned to Perry's home, joined by three other couples, for a light supper and a talk which lasted until 1 a.m. Sunday morning. The entire group was interested in the segregation problem, and wholly on the liberal side.

Sunday afternoon I spent driving, sight-seeing and talking with Perry. I had only an accidental meeting, and no serious conversation, with Governor Collins. We found him unexpectedly at home when we visited the Mansion, and the Governor courteously insisted on showing me around.

When we stopped for coffee during the final hour before he took me to the air port, I asked Perry what we could best do to help the Governor and the good cause in Florida. His answer was prompt and definite, suggesting that it had been previously considered.

He said approximately:

"Concentrate on Florida. This is the key state now, and you can do more here than anywhere else.

"Come back here and act as a liaison between the Governor and some people that need talking to. There are things the Governor can't say to them, and it isn't politically feasible to send any one from here to talk to them.

"See some of these people and tell them about Virginia. Give them the information they need. Tell them the stuff you told us when you first came to Tallahassee."

He used the expression "liaison between the Governor, etc." I suggested that it would probably amount to my making some visits to moderate leaders on leads from the Governor's office, but he did not explain further. I said the plan needed study, but that I would certainly be happy to cooperate with him and Governor Collins.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Ben - ✓
I suppose we can count on a fair number of these.
HCF

From the desk of
CHARLES A. BUNDY

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
LANCASTER, S. C.

To Southern Regional Council RECEIVED JUN 8 1959

Don't bother me with any more of this trash.

If you do-gooders would quit your "crusading" we would have already moved toward a solution of this problem.

I lose as much patience with you as I do the K K K and the N A A C P.

Take me off your mailing list now and leave me off.

Charles A. Bundy
CHARLES A. BUNDY
Manager

HCF

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED JUN 19 1959

June 17, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Virginia Situation -- Conversation With Albertis Harrison

As a glance at the attached clippings will suggest, Governor J. Lindsay Almond is becoming more emphatically a moderate leader. I shall try to renew an old friendship with him at the first opportunity. He has been away from his office for several days.

In the meantime, on June 12, I called on Attorney General Albertis Harrison, Almond's staunch ally and closest adviser--who is now widely regarded as his most likely successor as Governor.

The atmosphere seems propitious now for approaching Virginia leaders in various sections somewhat after the manner of my Florida consultations. I shall avoid involvement in current contests for the General Assembly in my SRC capacity, but the actual contests are limited in number. Otherwise I shall try indirectly to strengthen the Governor's hand by encouraging the moderate view.

I also hope to visit each of the desegregating districts and those where desegregation moves have been initiated, i.e., Lynchburg, Staunton, and Floyd County. Ted Dalton should be able to help in his next-door county of Floyd. Floyd is staunchly Republican.

Albertis Harrison, 52, was elected State Senator in 1948 and Attorney General in 1957. He is from Brunswick County, in the heart of the "Black Belt." I had only a very slight personal acquaintance with him when I called (without appointment) last Friday.

Harrison received me at once and was most cordial. He seemed, in fact, eager to talk about our problem. He recalled that I had formerly represented a county adjoining his own in the State Senate and should know how nearly impossible it would be to desegregate schools now in that area.

He said he and I disagreed about the "wrongness" of the Supreme Court decision, but that it was now the law and had to be obeyed. On the rest of it there appeared to be little difference in our views.

He said the Supreme Court decision had to prevail. In principle no thoughtful person could wish otherwise.

He was emphatic in his belief that no adequate system of private schools could be set up. Public schools were indispensable and in time they would have to be integrated. Pupil placement laws were only a temporary means of evasion and delay. In Southside Virginia, looking ahead, nobody knows how long, to the day of good faith compliance, the only hope lay in "voluntary segregation." Once the principle had been established, he believed nearly all the Negro pupils would prefer to stay together.

Changing the subject, he asked "What is the truth about the Washington schools?" I gave him a brief answer, and I shall send him a copy of our L Report on the subject with a personal letter.

He asked also about "the white people leaving Washington to escape integration." I have in mind an L Report on this also.

We talked longest about the "Four-Track Plan" of the Washington schools. I thought some such plan would help when integration should come to Southside Virginia. Harrison was interested, and he remarked that a kind of "two-track" plan was already very common in Southside Virginia schools.

I feel more and more that a report, or a brochure, on the Four-Track Plan is in order. Such a work should discuss, not only the working of the plan in Washington, but how the principle could be applied in smaller, and poorer, school systems. Dr. Hansen's "A Third Year Evaluation Report on the Four-Track Curriculum," (about 50 mimeographed pages, with charts,) is a comprehensive formal and technical discussion of the plan.

Ben Muse

Benjamin Muse

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

"L" Rpts file

6/17/59

JC--

If any of the following haven't been receiving "L" reports, please send them 1 through 5 and future ones. Mildred can supply addresses:

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Mr. & Mrs. DeJongh Franklin
Mr. Frank Weill
Mr. Lloyd Garrison
~~Mr. Phillip G. Hammer~~
~~Mr. Morris B. Abram~~
Mr. George Goodwin (home address)
Mr. Richard Rich
Mayor William B. Hartsfield
Mr. R. L. Foreman
~~Mr. Gregory E. Shinert~~

Advised furnished 6-18-59 JMC

What do you think about Ivan Allen Jr.? As a recipient, I mean, of economic reports.

HCF

June 24, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation, Inc.
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Harold, who is away from the office, has asked that we send you the enclosed copies of responses to the initial circulation of the "L" reports. The response has been generally favorable as the enclosed will indicate.

The "L" reports are, of course, a part of the Southern Leadership Project, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

Encls: Letters from Stuart B. Carter, Fincastle, Va., dtd. June 19, 1959

James L. Hanry, CofC, Wichita Falls, Tex. dtd. June 11, 1959

Gordon W. Lovejoy, Nat'l. Conf. of C. & Jews dtd. June 18, 1959

Ed J. Lukas, Amer. Jewish Cttee., dtd. June 17, 1959

June 24, 1959

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

Harold, who is away from the office, has asked that we send you the enclosed copies of responses to the initial circulation of the "L" reports. The response has been generally favorable as the enclosed will indicate.

The "L" reports are, of course, a part of the Southern Leadership Project, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

June 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Thomas F. Boushal, President, Bank of Virginia

I had a long and most satisfactory talk June 23 with Tom Boushal, president of the Bank of Virginia, at his office in Richmond.

We covered a great deal of ground, and I got, I think, a valuable insight into what is probably typical thinking on the subject by a moderate and public-spirited business leader.

Not all of his views would pass the SRC test. He said at the beginning that he believes segregation is best for both races. He is annoyed by "slander" of the South in the North. He makes a specialty--in arguments with clergymen--of a theory that this is not a "moral" issue (else "all who died before 1954 would have gone to hell.")

He fell naturally into the old Southern master-servant way of talking about Negroes, and a casual assumption of Negro inferiority. He seemed to have had little contact with cultivated Negroes.

Yet I found upon longer discussion that he was concerned with the moral angle in many ways, and did not seem to believe in segregation as a permanent thing. He said it should be eliminated by "evolutionary" degrees.

I pointed out the fact that there are many white children in the schools who are as backward and uncouth as any Negroes. "In eastern Virginia the poor and dirty ones are generally colored; in western Virginia they are white." I gave him the information that there are twice as many "poor whites" in Virginia as poor Negroes. (This line of argument, I think, is effective, and we might do more with it.)

He agreed that politicians had made an enormous problem out of one that could have been solved by gradual adjustment to the satisfaction of the courts and without great public disturbance. (He said Governor Hodges, of North Carolina, was a close personal friend.)

Of course, school-closing was bad for business. "Industry isn't going to come here unless it knows it's going to have schools for its people." I think he will use his influence in this field.

Before I left he said: "I don't think we disagree on anything!" He asked where I could be reached, and was most cordial.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS VA.

REC'D JUL 6 1959

July 3, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Governor Orval Faubus, June 29, 1959

An entire morning (June 29) was devoted to seeing Governor Faubus (10 minutes) and his administrative assistant (30 minutes), but several hours' observation of the conversation and the goings and comings in the Governor's offices was not without interest.

Rolla Fitch, the chief administrative assistant, seemed slightly more reasonable than the Governor. He agreed that the importance of limited integration in Little Rock high schools had been vastly exaggerated. He thought it would be better to go ahead and have token integration. "But I'm just a routine administrative man. I don't have anything to do with these questions."

In further conversation he echoed much Faubus talk. The trouble with token integration, he said, was that it would soon become mass integration. Then there would be "white and colored falling in love. Look what's happening in Washington!"

I told him there had been only one case of interracial marriage among over 100,000 pupils in four years of integration in Washington.

He said he would like to see the whole matter settled "for the sake of the Governor's health." He said the "strain" was telling on the Governor. "His hand shakes like that."

I talked to him briefly about Almond's performance--which was the one thought I hoped to get over in some degree to the Governor.

Faubus arrived late and was running half an hour behind his appointment schedule. Although this would be the only opportunity to see him, there were others still waiting ahead of me and at about 12:15 I decided to give up.

I carried copies of two of Almond's key speeches (January 28 to the General Assembly and June 9 to the Warren County private school patrons). I went in with these again to see Fitch.

I told Fitch that Virginia exhausted the possibilities of legal resistance last January; a similar situation had now been reached in Arkansas. These speeches, I said, would show how Almond met his crisis and might contain some thought which would be helpful to Governor Faubus.

Fitch said: "The Governor ought to have them. You ought to hand them to him." Then he more or less pushed me into the Governor's office, announcing: "This is Mr. Muse from Virginia."

Faubus was in a conference with an earlier caller whom he rather rudely neglected as he turned to me. He shook my hand and asked: "How are you getting along in Virginia?" There followed about ten minutes of eager conversation on both sides.

Some of it was approximately as follows:

Me: "There's been a change of policy in Virginia."

Faubus: "I know. I didn't like it. I had admired Almond before."

Me: "Nobody fought integration harder than Governor Almond, but he came to the point where there was nothing else he could do. He was just up against Federal power, and he couldn't do any more. That was last January. The same thing has happened to Arkansas now. Arkansas has come to the same point."

Faubus: "We haven't come to any such point. We can keep on fighting. The whole South can keep on fighting. We can make the Supreme Court reverse its decision."

Me: "They don't see any hope of that in Virginia. Almond is a lawyer. He struggled with the courts over this thing for seven years. And he doesn't see any possibility of a reversal of the decision. He decided that Virginia had to adjust in some way.

Faubus: "So you enforce integration with state police."

Me: "The police had hardly anything to do. There wasn't any trouble. We now have what Almond calls a "Freedom of Choice Plan." Nobody is compelled to go to any integrated school, and there are tuition grants for those who go to private schools."

Faubus: "The courts are going to break that down--the tuition grants. That's what worries me. Poor children won't have the money to go to private schools."

Me: "Almond got his stuff through the Legislature and got a good reaction in a newspaper public opinion poll. These two speeches will give a pretty good idea of how Almond explained the situation and got the idea across."

Faubus: "I'd like to have them. I want to see what he said."

The Governor glanced at the neglected earlier visitor at this point, and I terminated my visit.

I had assured Fitch that anything said by him or the Governor would be off the record.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 6, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Nashville, June 30-July 1

In what amounted to only half a day in Nashville I saw only Walter Sharp and Coleman Harwell, editor of the Nashville-Tennessean. Sharp accompanied me on the visit to Harwell, who was an old friend of his.

Harwell was discouragingly cold for the first ten minutes, but warmed gradually to the conversation and to the project. At the end he followed us to the outer door and it was difficult to get away. He told me to make myself at home in the Tennessean offices, offered me any facilities and asked me to call on him whenever he could be of help.

A little discussion of Tennessee politics. Governor Ellington not naturally an extremist, but inclined to go as the political wind blows. Nashville Mayor Ben West regarded as a moderate on the segregation issue.

Creed Black from ~~his~~ Harwell's staff has just gone to Savannah to become executive editor of the two papers there. He will be a good contact for me.

(Incidentally, Harwell asked me to try to find him an editorial writer--a good spot for a young liberal.)

I was particularly impressed by our discussion of the break-down of communication between the races. Harwell reflected that, perhaps, he had been remiss, and made a note to call soon on the new president of Fisk. More significantly, however, he noted a sort of boycott of his office by Negroes.

"As well as I can remember there hasn't been a Negro in here for four years. Formerly I had visits from Negroes every few days."

Yet Harwell is a dedicated liberal, known to be friendly to the Negro cause. He said he missed their visits. Sharp said he would mention this matter to some of his Negro associates.

We concluded that Negroes are overly afraid of embarassing their white friends. In this instance they would certainly have been welcomed by an influential editor. This diffidence accounts for some of the break-down of communication.

Harwell said he also had detected a certain tone of wavering on the part of previously inflexible resistors in the South. When I told him about Ellis Arnold's move, he jotted down notes for possible editorial reference.

In a long talk, including luncheon, with Walter Sharp I was amazed at his acquaintance among the Nashville "power structure", including Mayor West and most of the financial and business magnates. I believe many of these know him socially and through his role in civic activities in the artistic field.

He mentioned Dan May and Macklin Davis as committed liberals. Many leading business men, however, had avoided the issue and never expressed themselves on either side. In this list were: Albert Werthen, Malny Jarman, Victor Johnson, Fred Harvey, John Sloan and Vernon Sharp.

We planned somewhat enthusiastically a future "campaign" in Nashville in which I could meet these people and others under favorable auspices.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 6, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Little Rock, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, June 28-30, 1959

I was generally lucky in being able to see the people I wished to see in two days, although Harry Ashmore was away. (My visit to Governor Faubus is reported separately.)

I had an hour and a half Monday with Hugh B. Patterson, Jr., Gazette publisher, in one of the conversations which I value most in my recent experience. We discussed Little Rock, Arkansas, and the South. He was sure Faubus would run for a fourth term. He became very much interested in this Leadership Project and offered to cooperate in any possible way.

Patterson felt keenly about the importance of the role of the business community in the solution of this problem. It is dangerous for the individual business man to "stick his neck out," he said, but when they act together they are fairly safe. "If 100 of the leading business men of the state would unite in signing the right kind of statement," it would do wonders in Arkansas. It was business men who were saving the situation in Little Rock now. Even some business leaders in Eastern Arkansas were bringing pressure to bear. He talked about the great job done by the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce.

I made something like headquarters at the Chamber of Commerce (115 W. 6th. Street). Boyd Ridgeway is an attractive, ebullient young man from Greenville, Mississippi ("but I came under the influence of Hodding Carter.") I paid two visits to his office and joined in a long coffee break with Ridgeway and several others.

In Ridgeway's enthusiastic account, the chamber had been chiefly responsible for the election of the three moderates to the school board and for the recall of the other three. It was actively concerned with the situation now. I gather that the chamber is also close to the new city administration, and is encouraged by the preparations for law enforcement next September. Dean Dauley, city manager, and Eugene Smith, chief of police, have the confidence of the chamber and of moderates generally.

Ridgeway likes our L Reports and will be glad to cooperate in any way.

Significantly, the new president of the school board, Everett Tucker, Jr. was chairman of the industrial committee and is a leading light in the chamber. His office is in the same building. His business is the Little Rock Industrial Development Co., which he heads. I talked with

him in Ridgeway's office and again alone. Tucker believes, I think, quite strongly in segregation and is critical of the Supreme Court, but he is firmly determined to keep the schools open with whatever integration is required.

Tuesday I also visited Granger Williams, the chamber president, at the National Old Line Insurance Co. building. A quietly dedicated man, Granger seemed the most earnestly concerned of all with the problem of getting the schools reopened and integrated in an orderly manner.

Granger said the plan of integrating both Hall and Central High--which he believes is now agreed upon--would decentralize the agitation and be advantageous in other ways. The Hall school patrons being on a higher economic level, it would refute the argument that the wealthy children were escaping integration. He said there is a more liberal atmosphere at Hall anyway and integration should have been tried first there.

Williams was also proud of the chamber's accomplishment, but he insisted that credit should be given to the women of the Emergency Committee, without whom his work would have been impossible.

Former Governor Sid McMath (Tuesday) was a little unbending, but extremely friendly. He offered to help in any way he could in this project. Went over much of the same ground as others. "The harm that man (Faubus) has done is incredible." Impressed with the good work of the chamber of commerce, but observed that some business men went along with Faubus. The Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Co. backed Faubus financially, and utility rates stay high as a result.

In the case of all these business men with whom I talked I was impressed with the fact that they like to feel that they are acting on a high plane in the school crisis. There was a sort of good-natured resentment about the suggestion that this was a matter of business and self-interest. Ridgeway: "It's not a matter of business with these men, it's a matter of good citizenship--a matter of principle." It was a matter of "moral principle" to Williams.

They agree, nevertheless, that school trouble is damaging to business, and that is, of course, a cogent argument. I was repeatedly told that "not a single new industry had come to Little Rock since September, 1957." Incidentally, however, business in general is said to be good in Little Rock just now.

I paid a brief visit to Nat Griswold, and had a pleasant evening with Reverend C.S. Cartwright.

I found generally among those with whom I talked a hopeful belief that the schools will open in September without very great disturbance.

Benjamin Mase

BENJAMIN MUSE

MANASSAS, VA.

July 7, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Knoxville, Wednesday-Friday, July 1-3, 1959

In Knoxville I saw only a few of my intended prospects, due in part to the impending holiday and in part to sheer bad luck--which must be expected from time to time. The mayor was coming in only for one meeting Thursday before taking off for the holiday, a school board member could only be seen a half an hour before my scheduled departure Friday, and the chamber of commerce president could be seen only at the same hour as my appointment already made with another prospect, etc., etc. (Paul Christopher was away all the week.)

However, I had a cordial talk Thursday morning with Charles Herd, manager of the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce.

Herd is a quiet, cautious type, whom Galen Martin and others regard as a moderate. He seemed very much so to me. He said the school segregation question had never been discussed in a meeting of the Knoxville chamber but that it had, of course, been discussed informally among members. He did not believe there was an extremist in the chamber. As far as he knew none of them would favor closing schools to prevent integration. In any crisis, he was sure, the Knoxville chamber would be a force for stability and order.

He was interested in the performance of the Little Rock chamber, said the Knoxville chamber would probably do likewise in similar circumstances.

I visited George R. Dempster (political and business leader, former Knoxville mayor, chairman of the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission, etc.) at the Dempster Bros. plant near Knoxville Thursday afternoon.

We had a long pleasant talk. He is an elderly gentleman with a fondness for reminiscences and funny stories. He appeared to agree with everything I said. He is a reliable liberal and liked the idea of alerting business men. He anticipated little trouble in Knoxville. "No respectable person in Knoxville would favor closing schools."

(A secretary reminded him that he was lunching with Senator Kefauver Friday.)

Mr. Dempster showed me his huge cafeteria, where, he said, white and Negro employees were completely integrated. He gave me a ticket good for 100 meals--a favorite gimmick. (Perhaps I had better hang on to this. One never knows.)

Wednesday evening and again Thursday evening Galen Martin rounded up a group which gathered for dinner, or coffee, with me at the Farragut Hotel. These were mostly human relations people. Martin succeeded in getting only one from the business community, Clifford Seeber (insurance man and brother of the mayor of Clinton) who came Thursday, along with Reverend Lee Earl Acuff. In the Wednesday group were: Dr. Forest Lacey, of U. T. Law School; Reverend Bob West, Unitarian Minister; and Ken Kennedy of the TVA information office. We talked until nearly midnight each evening.

Mayor John Duncan, whom I did not see, was generally regarded as a moderate. Knoxville was somewhat excited over the arrival of Brooks Hays to take over his TVA duties. He should be a good influence there.

I found much difference of opinion regarding the two newspapers--depending partly on matters other than racial. The Dempsters despise the Journal. However, Galen Martin says the Journal is as good as the News-Sentinel on the point of school desegregation--neither of them inflammatory. I was unable to make connections with Loy Miller, News-Sentinel editor.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED JUL 20 1959

July 18, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I went to Richmond yesterday to lunch with the Dr. Blair Bucks, and Lightsey, at the Buck home, and had a further talk with Buck after Lightsey left.

Of course, we are happy at the results of the Democratic primary, as I have said more extensively in my Washington Post column.

Lightsey's manuscript

Lightsey brought me a copy of his story of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, which you had already sent me. He said he wished I or somebody else would turn it into a story which might be accepted by a national magazine. Even if I had the talent, I doubt if the theme is of that quality.

I told him that I had recommended its purchase by the SRC for publication in pamphlet form. Later he remarked to Buck, when we discussed the Committee's financial troubles, that I had indicated "we might get something out of the SRC for that story." The Committee's deficit of $740.71 being mainly on account of Lightsey's salary and expenses, I presume that anything we pay will be credited to the Committee and then passed over to Lightsey.

The Committee for Public Schools

The state Committee for Public Schools, after a period of doldrums, sprang into action during the last two weeks of the recent campaign, and its call for support of the right candidates did considerable good. It now plans one last (?) 6-months' campaign to keep the public schools safe for the session of the Legislature which opens next January -- provided a little money can be raised. Lightsey has agreed to work 15 days a month for $2,000. for the 6 months.

Lightsey and the P-TA's

After that the Committee may fold up. The hope is that the state P-TA organization will carry the ball from there on. Lightsey is working to keep the right elements on top in the P-TA's and (as he has confided to me) to win election to the office of state president. A P-TA statement a few days before the election, partly instigated by Lightsey, also contributed to the success of moderate candidates.

Lightsey said he had definitely turned against segregationist Cong. Broyhill and wants to see a strong Democratic candidate fielded against him next year.

Public Education Officials

Buck knew the present Superintendent of Public Instruction Davis Y. Paschall very well and had enthusiastic praise for him. He said Paschall could be counted upon to do and say "just the right thing."

He noted that the State Board of Education had been "stacked" during the massive resistance period and now comprised five extremists to two moderates. One member (W.J. Stony) is a rabid racist and Defenders organizer. Incidentally Stony, an Almond appointee, is now viciously anti-Almond.

Apathy of Business Leaders

Throughout his fight for public schools Buck had found a depressing reluctance on the part of business leaders to take any part. Some, who contributed a little, did so in cash to avoid leaving a checking account record ~~receipt~~. Many said they were in sympathy but could not afford to offend associates and customers. Tom Boushall had "never give a cent." Many went along with massive resistance. He estimated that 80 per cent of the members of the Rotary Club were massive resisters.

I think he was recalling his hard uphill fight of last year, and exaggerating somewhat. He agreed that "things will probably be better now."

He gave me the names of a few Richmond business men that "one can talk to." I note them for future reference:

Claiborn Robbins, pres., Robbins Pharmaceutical Co. (an outright contributor)

Mallory Freeman, public relations director, above

William H. Trapnell

Bill Thalhimer, pres., Thalhimer Dept. Store

Irving May, vice-pres., above

Webster Rhoads, pres., Miller & Rhoads

Harry Swarzchild, pres., Central Natl. Bank

J. Malcom Bridges, exec. sec., Richmond Chamber of Commerce

Vernon Kemp, exec. dir., State Chamber of Commerce

Lewis F. Powell, attorney, (Electric Bldg.), chairman, school board

Little Rock Chamber of Commerce

Buck said the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce story, which I tell everywhere, is the best possible message to use among business men all over the South. He wished it could be "written up."

I do too. I believe there is top drawer material there for a magazine article. The Little Rock business men may or may not want to see it in print, but it might be done in a way which would make them proud. There is also the hitch that the battle is not yet over. Central High has not re-opened yet. All the same, there is a thought here that you might want to pass on to some of the writers who come your way.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

"McCarthyism under the Magnolias" in Progressive was splendid. I recommend it for New South reprint.

Best regards —

BENJAMIN MUSE

MANASSAS, VA.

July 30, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Del. Joseph H. Poff (R.), Floyd, Va., July 26, 1959

Floyd County, from present indications seems likely to be a center of integration agitation and action next September. It is a small (pop. 11,351, -- 4.2% Negro) heavily Republican County in southwest Virginia.

On May 11, the day after 14 Negro students applied for admission to the county's two white high schools, the county's representative in the House of Delegates, Joseph H. Poff, issued a statement probably unprecedented in the South.

"I think it would be better to admit the 14 than become involved in a suit," Poff said. "We have a high-type Negro here, and I don't think we would have a bit of trouble."

One school board member agreed, another disagreed and the other four remained non-committal.

However, the situation subsequently hardened into the familiar pattern (due largely, Poff told me to School Superintendent James H. Combs.) The school board "unanimously" expressed disapproval and found technical reasons for delaying action. Finally the applications were forwarded to the State Pupil Placement Board with unfavorable comment. Meanwhile the county school appropriations were placed on a month-to-month basis.

In spite of all this, Del. Poff, whom I visited in his home, was not pessimistic. He doubted if the school authorities would make trouble after a Federal court decision. He said there were few extremists in the county. He was renominated by the Republicans, with only slight opposition due to his "integrationist" statement. If there had been strong feeling on the issue, there would have been Democratic opposition, but the Democrats did not even put up a candidate.

I was greatly impressed with Poff, high-minded and devoutly in favor of desegregation -- with plenty of courage too. An old Negro man has attended his (Lutheran) church in Floyd for many years and is a member of his men's Sunday School class. He said the Floyd county Negroes -- mostly professional people -- were much superior to many of the mountain whites.

Floyd, he noted, will have no case at all in court. The county has no Negro high school, its 34 Negro high school students being expensively rounded up by bus daily and taken to Christiansburg in Montgomery County.

We agreed that peremptory desegregation orders might easily come by September. In Warren County last year Negroes first applied for admission to the white high school on July 18, the applications were rejected by the State Pupil Placement Board on August 29 and the final desegregation order with refusal of stay came on September 12. (The Governor ordered the school closed the same day.)

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 30, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

My wife and I were guests of the Ted Daltons in Radford Saturday afternoon, July 25, to Monday morning, July 27.

In many hours of conversation with Ted I made an earnest effort to persuade him to reject the Federal judgeship.

His acceptance of the appointment will remove a powerful force for moderation and racial tolerance from the political scene. Remaining in politics he could do much to keep the Virginia Republican Party dedicated to unmolested public schools and to strengthen Almond's moderate program. (Dalton was prepared to cooperate with Almond on this point.)

The claims of the good cause and those of personal friendship coincided in that I don't think Ted will be happy on the bench.

He was anxious to discuss many angles of the question -- both political and personal. It made a human interest story of the first order, though not much for the records of this project. Sunday night it seemed that Ted might decline the appointment, but time is short before the Senate committee hearing and I have about given up hope.

We also talked about Virginia politics and this project. Dalton knows most of the business leaders in western Virginia, including Norfolk and Western executives. He phoned N. & W. Vice-President Fishwick to make an appointment for me, but Fishwick was away for a week. Pres. Saunders was also away.

We talked about my distant relative and former State Senate colleague, Leonard Muse, of Roanoke. Leonard is a leading corporation lawyer, and is one of the two moderates on the State Board of Education. Leonard had circulated a petition among Democratic lawyers endorsing the Dalton appointment as a Federal judge. A visit by me to Leonard Muse is long overdue, but he was away -- also for a week!

At a cocktail party in Radford I saw some other Republican leaders, including the Republican lady Delegate, Mrs. Charlette Giesen, who is a zealous supporter of the Almond (Dalton) program. I also met, but had no opportunity for conversation with, Graham Claytor, former president, Appalachian Power Co., and active director in that and American Electric.

Talked with Dalton about Harry Byrd, Jr. whom Ted thinks will run for Governor. I will try to see more of Harry.

Sunday afternoon I visited Del. Poff in Floyd County, as reported in a separate memorandum.

Ben

Benjamin Muse

PRV
PA

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED AUG 28 1959

August 27, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Immediate School Plans in Florida--Conversations with:

John L. Perry
William Durden
Floyd Christian
Mrs. Lyle Roberts

In Tallahassee

My object in our Tallahassee stopover, August 12, was to make some return for the earlier hospitality of John L. Perry, the Governor's Administrative Assistant, and others there, and compare notes with them.

William B. Killian, Legal Assistant, who had invited us to have cocktails at his house, had suddenly snatched an opportunity for a two-weeks leave and left town. Perry had arranged for Killian's place to be taken by William Durden, the third member of the Governor's "official family."

I was glad to have this oppertunity to get acquainted with Durden, whom I had barely met before. Durden, Executive Assistant, is the senior member of the trio. He is an older man, with a mischievous twinkle in his eye and laconic in conversation -- liberal on the race issue. We had cocktails at the Durdens' and after dinner Durden insisted on our returning to sample some of the seven varieties of liqueurs which he had collected while in Puerto Rico and St. Thomas with the Governor.

The Perrys and Durdens were guests of my wife and me at dinner at the Hotel Duval. I noted a change in Perry's attitude since the anxious days of the Legislative session. I had the impression that he felt that the Governor's office had met its greatest challenge and no longer needed my help or wished to confide.

In the matter of the unfinished business of actual school desegregation I gathered that the Governor is in close touch with the situation privately, but would like for it to appear that, if desegregation comes, it will be the business of school boards only. He apparently would like for it to be regarded as the simple operation of Florida's pupil assignment law and no direct concern of the Governor as long as public order is preserved.

I remarked that Gov. Collins is praised throughout the Nation and in liberal circles in the South for his temperate approach to the segregation problem, but that there is always a qualifying -- "but he has kept Florida segregated." I said that it would be important for his record as a high-minded leader if actual compliance with the Supreme Court decision should begin in Florida before the end of his term.

It was at this point that Perry took me aside and made the remarks which I conveyed in confidential notes to Harold Fleming.

On the morning of August 13, I attended a brief press conference, where Gov. Collins greeted me cordially. We then proceeded to St. Petersburg.

In St. Petersburg

Floyd Christian, the Pinellas County superintendent of schools, is definitely a moderate, and I gathered from my conversation with him, August 14, that he would favor admitting a few Negro pupils to mixed schools without waiting for legal action. When I suggested this, he appeared to agree himself and added that some of the school board felt the same way. He expected little trouble in St. Petersburg when desegregation should come. However, he said: "No Negro children have applied for admission yet."

In Miami

I telephoned Friday evening, August 14, and made an appointment with Mrs. Lyle Roberts for Monday morning, August 17. Mrs. Roberts had been described by Perry as the "key" member of the school board and I had spent an evening at her home on my earlier visit to Miami. She had been exceedingly friendly then and was so again when I spoke to her over the phone. She volunteered that she would come to my hotel for our talk Monday at 10 a.m.

at 8:20 a.m.

Monday at the Columbus Hotel I received a message -- she did not call me directly -- saying: "Mrs. Roberts regrets that she will be unable to meet her appointment."

After a few minutes thought, and recalling my conversation with John Perry, I felt that I saw the picture and understood why Jane Roberts had changed her mind. I know her well enough to appreciate her nervousness at this juncture. People "in the know" with regard to this desegregation move are extremely reluctant to talk about it on the eve of the event.

I also decided not to attempt to see Superintendent Joe Hall. Both Hall and Mrs. Roberts, being prepared for me by the Governor's office, had confided to an extraordinary degree on my previous visit. At this point it would be impossible for them to talk frankly and it would be embarrassing not to do so. Moreover, with plans made and the stage set, I could be of no help.

I sent Mrs. Roberts a card -- "Best Wishes" -- from the airport on my departure.

How I spent the remainder of my day in Miami will be reported in separate memoranda.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED AUG 31 1959

August 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Editors, August 8-24

Charlotte	Tampa	Savannah
St. Petersburg	Orlando	Durham

I am increasingly impressed with the value and convenience of visits to editors and publishers. They are not only molders of opinion but often a part of the power structure and closely related to the business community. I also find them easy to see, even when merely passing through a city.

I like to promote the concept of a confraternity of liberal editors, striving to lift the South out of the morass; to carry news of one editor to another, as well as to bring encouragement and information to further the good cause. I also hope to bring more members into the "club", and I believe something can be accomplished among the segregationist editors.

Charlotte, August 8

C. A. ("Pete") McNight, editor of the Charlotte Observer, regretted the tendency of the Southern objective to freeze into one of merely "getting the courts off our backs," and regretted the failure of North Carolina to move faster under the Pearsall Plan. Disappointed particularly in the refusal of the Charlotte school board to integrate more than one Negro pupil this year. He said people were getting a little tired of talking and writing about segregation. "Even Tom Waring is getting bored with it."

In the larger picture he said leaving enforcement to the courts was a distortion of our constitutional system. He regretted the failure of Congress to act. "Collins plan?" -- "Same plan," he replied. Leaving to catch a plane for Atlanta, he was unable to enlarge on this theme.

St. Petersburg, August 14

Nelson Poynter, Editor and President of the St. Petersburg Times is also publisher of the Congressional Quarterly. We quickly found a mutual friend in Francis Pickens Miller, Virginia liberal and anti-Byrd leader. Mrs. Miller, a writer, is giving half her time to the Congressional Quarterly. Poynter was also interested in hearing of my talk with Hugh Patterson and others.

An enthusiastic liberal, Poynter said the St. Petersburg Times came out against segregation 20 years ago.

Poynter is an important figure in the business community. I am reporting more of his conversation in a separate memorandum on business men.

Tampa, August 15

Saturday afternoon, I saw only Carl Johnson, editorial page editor, Tampa Times (liberal on the race issue). Nothing will happen this September in Tampa. The school board was rather segregationist, and the NAACP lawyers not handling their case very well. Race relations were very good in the city, but Hillsborough differed from Pinellas in that the former contained a strongly prejudiced rural element. On the whole he thought desegregation would be carried out without disorder in Hillsborough when it came.

On the outlook for the 1960 gubernatorial race in Florida, Graves, like others, felt the situation was still too fluid to permit of any firm prediction. He thought Haydon Burns, mayor of Jacksonville, looked strong at present. Burns' position on segregation was uncertain. He thought State Sen. Doyle Carlton, the known moderate, was also strong. Others with whom I spoke put Carlton in front. Graves did not think Cardwell ~~Carlton~~ or Beasely would actually run.

Orlando, August 19

The Orlando papers were the most strongly segregationist that I visited. Martin Anderson, publisher of the Sentinel, Star and the Florida Magazine, is an extremely influential figure in central Florida. He had been away for several months. The publications were in the hands of William G. Conomos, General Manager.

Conomos outlined the papers' views on segregation, state rights and Supreme Court iniquity with 1 - 2 - 3 precision. The Orlando papers' emphasis is on these things. Only upon my questioning did he concede that they would prefer some desegregation to the closing of schools. "We've said so," he said.

It is a tribute to LeRoy Collins' political agility that Conomos concluded: "You can put us down as supporting Gov. Collins' policy."

For a more extensive discussion Conomos took me to Ormund Power, editorial page editor of the Star. Power was most cordial and I could go far with him. I suspect that he personally would like to take a more constructive stand if free from owner restraint. He did not think desegregation would cause much trouble in Orlando. He found practically no sentiment among responsible people in favor of closing schools to prevent desegregation.

Savannah, August 20

I was extremely fortunate in that our visit to Savannah coincided with a staff dinner to welcome two new city editors to the Savannah papers.

When I telephoned from St. Augustine, Creed C. Black, Vice-President and Executive Editor, invited my wife and me to join the party at his home. Present in addition to the Blacks and ourselves were: Alva H. Chapman, President-Publisher; Lloyd G. Eder, Vice-President and Business Manager; John L. Sutlive, Editor, Evening Press; Burger, City Editor, Morning News; and Steve Hall, City Editor, Evening Press -- each with his wife.

All gave the impression of being liberal on the race issue, except the Sutlives. Sutlive, a pompous, old-fashioned man-about-town, is the only holdover on the management level from the old regime. He seemed to disagree with the others on various subjects, and he was sometimes addressed as: "Sir." Apparently this link with the past was found indispensable in the reorganization of the two papers.

The change began two years ago, when the Chapman interests took over and Alva (a man apparently about 40) came from the St. Petersburg Times to be publisher. Reorganization began on the business end. Black has reorganized the editorial end since his arrival two months ago. Now 12 out of 13 department heads are new (the 13th being Sutlive).

Black is a dedicated liberal. Says 90% of the Nashville Tennessean editorials on the school issue were his.

For the present Black said the two editorial columns would stop making the wrong kind of comment; the right kind of comment on this issue would come gradually. They had a more important immediate task in backing Savannah's "fine" new mayor (W. Lee Mingledorff) and fighting the reactionary machine in the county.

Black found more quiet moderates and liberals in Savannah than he expected. City Editor Hall is trying to organize a Savannah branch of HOPE.

I had a chance for some talk with each man and took part in general conversation on the segregation question, Georgia politics and the possibility of pushing Savannah into the 20th century.

Durham, August 24

I visited the greatly enlarged offices of the Morning Herald and Durham Sun for the first time in 40 years. (I had been a teen-age cub on each paper).

I had been an associate of C. C. Council, about 5 years my senior, as an advertising go-getter in 1915-16. Council is now a genial old gentleman and more or less owner of the two papers. He was amused at my visit -- recalled that I did him out of $3.00 43 years ago -- but was hard to interest in the race problem. He remarked, however, that race relations were good in Durham and he didn't expect much trouble when desegregation came.

I was very much impressed with "Steed" Rollins, executive editor of the two papers. (I had worked for his father.) He was extremely cordial and emphatically liberal. The Herald had reprinted one of my columns a few weeks before. I had also noticed an admirable editorial in the Herald of the day before on violence and the NAACP.

Rollins would like to see more progress in North Carolina and specifically in Durham. He agreed that planned voluntary desegregation would be better than the court-enforced variety. But the school board didn't have the nerve to go ahead. He spoke of Durham's "fine, outstanding Negro leaders," among whom he classed Asa Spaulding as No. 1 and John Wheeling as No. 2. He said there was very little organized segregationist activity in Durham; the DUPEC had petered out. An ardent admirer of Gov. Hodges. As for the present gubernatorial outlook in N.C., there was no candidate yet in sight "whom I would feel like supporting."

A cordial conversation with H. C. Bradshaw, associate editor, threw no new light on the Durham situation, but a little on the situation in Prince Edward County. Bradshaw is a native of this Virginia county and goes back on the average every other week-end to his farm there. He said the "unanimity" of Prince Edward whites in favor of school-closing was vastly exaggerated. The moderates were intimidated. The results of a secret ballot would be doubtful. He also said there was danger of deterioration of the hitherto tolerable race relations in the county when September comes with no schools for Negroes. Negroes were beginning to show resentment.

Bradshaw said the prejudice and hostility in Southside Virginia were far worse than in the neighboring N.C. Black Belt -- due, he believed, largely to the Richmond News Leader. He said the N.C. press was moderate without important exception.

We dined Sunday evening with my nephew, Arthur Bradsher, a surgeon, who took us for a drive through the Negro residential section. We were impressed by the many handsome homes.

Arthur is eager to invite a group of the power structure to dinner whenever I go back. It would be easy to reach people in Durham, but probably not worth while to spend time there in the near future.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

PA ✓
JC ✓
PRV ✓
✓
HF ✓

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

August 31, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Business Leaders, August 10 — 19

George Goodwin	William Clapp
Morris Abrams	Cody Fowler
Phil Hammer	Ralph White
Nelson Poynter	Charles E. Gottlieb
Flannagan	Linton Allen

Goodwin and Abrams, Atlanta, Aug. 10

Harold Fleming joined in luncheon with these in First National Bank dining room. Goodwin is an official of the bank. Abrams was candidate for Congress.

Abrams made a very interesting proposal. He urged that efforts be made to bring about an investigation by a committee of Congress, preferably of the Senate, of the present situation in the desegregated schools of the District of Columbia. The value of the report on such an investigation, if conducted with reasonable objectivity, would be obvious. It would inevitably reflect vast improvement over conditions described in the earlier Davis Committee report. Even assuming the Davis Committee report to have been accurate, it would be reasonable to ask Congress to take a second look and see if, after three or four years, improvement has been made. However, all agreed that it would be extremely difficult to get such an investigation launched.

Phil Hammer, Atlanta, Aug. 11

Lunch with Harold F. and Phil Hammer, who is a member of the board of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. We discussed the problem of uniting the chamber, or Atlanta business leaders, in a move of opposition to school-closing and in favor of orderly compliance with court-ordered integration. It was agreed that it would be desirable to have Boyd Ridgeway, executive manger of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce come to Atlanta and confer with groups of Atlanta chamber members. When would be the best time for such a step remained a question.

Nelson Poynter, St. Petersburg, August 14

Nelson Poynter, publisher of the St. Petersburg Times and the Congressional Quarterly, discussed mainly the business and economic aspect. Avidly interested in the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce story. He thought the St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce or the "Committee of 100" should send somebody to Little Rock --"or maybe somebody from the Little Rock chamber would come here." I told him Boyd Ridgeway might. Here again was a question of timing.

(A remark of Poynter's, which I should have included in my memorandum on editors, I have used elsewhere: "Our liberalism hasn't hurt us, because we give 'em a damn good paper!")

Clapp and Flannagan, St. Petersburg, Aug. 14

William Clapp, whom Perry described as man of great influence in the business world, is president of the Florida Power Corporation and chairman of the Florida Development Commission.

When I called for an appointment to discuss the school segregation problem, he was very courteous and said, "We would like to talk to you. I will have Shank and Hines meet with you. They look out for the corporation interests in such matters." (!) On second thought, he said, "Come to see Flannagan, our vice-president, at two o'clock. I will try to get in there before you go."

Mr. Flannagan proved to be a humanitarian with liberal prepensities. He was active in civic work for better race relations, Negro housing, etc. Despised extreme segregationists. Was interested in the Little Rock chamber story. Believed business men in St. Petersburg would be solidly opposed to any school-closing shenanigans.

He took me in to see Mr. Clapp. The latter was guarded in conversation but quite cordial. He seemed to enjoy hearing how the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce beat Orval Faubus.

Then after a pause, Clapp asked: "What are we going to do about a mess like that in the Washington schools?"

I gave him my usual reply to that question, and I mailed him later a copy of our L Report on the Davis Report, etc.

Cody Fowler, Tampa, Aug. 15 and 18

Cody Fowler was described by Perry as "best bet" among Tampa business men. He is head of a law firm, including a long list of lawyers, occupying three floors of the Citizens' Building. Former president of the American Bar Association, member of Florida's Fabishinski Commission.

A big, rough-hewn man, he received me gruffly, but after 10 or 15 minutes was overwhelmingly cordial. In fact, he more or less took me in hand and caused me to spend a good deal of time on a matter which was not my direct concern -- the Negro housing problem.

Fowler was a liberal and more emphatically a humanitarian, a leading exponent of Fabishinski Commission moderation. He deplored the delaying tactics of the Tampa school board. "They're afraid of a little abuse. I get some letters, but all that is insignificant."

I called Saturday morning. He wished he had known I was coming. He would like to have been able to spend the afternoon with me. Had I ever heard of Progress Village?

"Can you come again Monday? We are having a board meeting Monday and I would like for you to come to that."

I told him of my schedule to be in Miami Monday, but agreed to come back Tuesday morning. He said he would ask the Negro members of the Progress Village board to meet with me Tuesday.

Progress Village, a housing project (not "Negro," but intended for Negroes) is Fowler's obsession and his joy. I have copious data on it which has no place in this report, but it is a wonderful thing and I shared some of Fowler's thrill when I got acquainted with it.

Progress Village was born when a new expressway and urban renewal threatened to displace many of Tampa's already crowded Negro residents. $50,000 of non-profit initial capital was raised in 80 small loans from white and colored citizens. Substantial profits are inevitable but they will be put back into landscaping, etc.

13,000 acres, contemplating 4,300 houses (at $8,000 - $9,000 on easy FHA terms) to accomodate 16,000 people. Plans call for 4 lakes, golf courses, playgrounds, shopping center, churches, etc. 300 houses are nearly completed, more under construction.

I talked half an hour with Fowler Tuesday morning until James C. Goodrich, project director, came to take me on a tour of Progress Village. Fowler had arranged for me to meet alone with the Negro board members at 11 a.m., and he asked me to phone him their comments later. Fowler is president of the corporation. I talked with N. H. Martin, Negro vice-president and other Negro board members.

As I phoned Fowler afterward, they were enthusiastic over Progress Village. Of course, they said, all Negroes would prefer seeing race ignored in housing as in everything else, but in existing circumstances they were proud and happy with this project. The NAACP regarded it as apart from, rather than in conflict with ~~their~~ its main objectives, since there was no restrictive aspect. These Negroes believed that some day white people would come into Progress Village; one said he knew of two white families who were considering applying for houses now. They said further, in answer to questioning, that they, and nearly all Negroes in Tampa supported the NAACP and favored school desegregation. They said, however, that the white people would be surprised to find how few Negro pupils would actually want to go to white schools.

Martin, who drove me back to my hotel, made the further interesting remark that it had been a fine experience for him to be associated with the other (white) members on the Progress Village board, and that he had learned much, especially from Mr. Fowler.

Ralph White, Tampa, Aug. 15 and 18

Ralph White, a member of Fowler's law firm and attorney for the Hillsborough County school board, is a bitter and obnoxious segregationist. He accosted me three or four times to make an unpleasant crack, and at one point Fowler almost found it necessary to separate us.

Charles E. Gottlieb, Miami, Aug. 17

I have an ~~[illegible]~~ odd friendship with this business leader, on whom I reported also in a memorandum of May 18 last. He is head of the Dade County Committee for Better Schools and of Stevens Markets, Inc.

Impulsive and given to "big talk," he seems well acquainted with the power structure and is not an insignificant figure. Three supermarkets in operation, two under construction and two more projected. The Miami News on the day of my visit reported Stevens Market, Inc. "sales of $11,498, 067 for the 24 weeks, etc." An architect went out with his drawing boards when I came into Gottlieb's office.

He is an enthusiastic liberal. He said he had reason to believe that a dozen Negro children would be admitted to white schools in September in addition to the 4 at Orchard Villa.

Fascinated with the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce story. Would like to have Boyd Ridgeway come at once to Miami. I told him we could finance such a visit by Ridgeway in due course.

Linton Allen, Orlando, Aug. 19

Allen, described as "key business man," is president of the First National Bank of Orlando. A gentle, elderly man, warm friend and admirer of Gov. Collins, humane and moderate on the race question. He knew of no one in the Orlando business community who would go along with school-closing.

"We have some fine Negroes and they are making progress. See that colored lady opening an account over there? That happens all the time."

When I mentioned Progress Village, he said, "We've had one of those for years."

Before leaving Orlando, my wife and I drove out to Washington Shores, a Negro housing project of several thousand houses. ~~Several~~ Negroes with whom we spoke seemed very proud of it, but I think it is considerably less attractive than Progress Village will be. I did not look into the financing and other arrangements of Washington Shores.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

PRL
LWDV
JCV
PAV
File

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

August 31, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Odds and Ends, Trip August 7—24

Sarah Mitchell, Atlanta, Aug. 9

Talked with Mrs. Sarah Mitchell, president Atlanta League of Women Voters at the Hayes' dinner. She was convinced the Atlanta school board chairman was "all right."

Mayor William Hartsfield, Atlanta, Aug. 10

Mayor "Bill" Hartsfield was in a fine, expansive mood when I talked with him. Talked like an allout liberal on the race issue. He "hoped" the school board would be "all right." Apropos of the united action of business men in Little Rock, he said: "We have the making of something like that here."

Little chat with "Skipper" Burns, the mayor's elderly secretary. Most cordial. Observed that his father was buried in Blanford Cemetery, Petersburg, Va. But an old-fashioned segregationist at heart.

Williams, Eisenburg, Miami, Aug. 17

Due to cancellation of Mrs. Roberts' appointment, I spent the morning with W. K. Williams, ex. dir., Florida CHR, who tried intermittently over the phone to make some appointment for me for the morning or for luncheon. He finally got Ira Eisenburg, from TV Station WTVJ, to join us for lunch. Eisenburg and his stations very liberal, but might have been helped by the conversation.

Little Mention of L Reports

I think Gottlieb was the only contact who mentioned the L Reports spontaneously. Editors, when I asked, replied "I may have seen one or two" -- or "They probably have been coming to us but they have not come to my attention."

Southern Regional Council Prestige

Among the people I visited I found no evidence of anything but respect for the Southern Regional Council. Some did not know about us. Others confused us with the Southern Education Reporting Service. Others said, "They're the people who do the studies on Negro voting" -- or "who got out the report on violence."

Benjamin Muse

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Memorandum September 1, 1959

ABOUT THESE REPORTS

Enclosed are two reports from the Southern Regional Council. The first explains that this is the beginning of a series on special topics which will come out from time to time and gives you some background on the Southern Regional Council. These are being sent to you at the suggestion of Emory Via, who was formerly the labor consultant for the Council.

We think that you may find these reports useful in any of several ways. Of course, just how it is used will depend upon your role within the union, what you think of a given report, and what issues you feel need attention with the people with whom you work.

It may be that the reports can serve as the basis for an educational program or as background for a piece of material that you write. They may be useful for selected distribution, and in some instances you may wish to reproduce it and see that it is circulated widely. In any case, we feel that you will find that most of these reports have information which can be helpful to you as these problems arise in union situations. The information in the reports will be authoritative and enlightening; you will always know the source of the facts and opinions expressed in them.

We would be happy to have your comments from time to time regarding the "L" Reports; if you would like to have copies of those already published, check the titles you want on the attached list and send to us with your name and address. NOTE: These reports have been punched for your convenience so that you can collect and refer to them in a standard three-ring notebook binder.

We hope to hear from you.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

L I S T
(Leadership Education Reports)

☐ Report No. L-2
"Excerpts from Speech of John P. Fishwick, Vice-President, Norfolk and Western Railway, to Rockingham Development Corporation, April 6, 1959."

☐ Report No. L-3
"How Could Shut Schools Affect State Economy?"

☐ Report No. L-4
"Public Schools and Southern Industrial Progress: Statements from Leaders in Business and Industry."

☐ Report No. L-5
"Public Schools and the Economy of Virginia."

☐ Report No. L-6
"The 'Davis Report' and the Truth About the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C."

☐ Report No. L-7
"Governor Almond (Virginia) on the Importance of Public Schools."

☐ Report No. L-8
"Race and Intelligence."

☐ Report No. L-9
"The Private School Answer to the Desegregation Crisis... The Virginia Experience."

NOTE: Check the title(s) you wish and mail to the Southern Regional Council.

-:-

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 1, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Conference, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I spoke to Ed Bromfield, editor of the Warren Sentinel, over the phone this morning with a view to driving over to Front Royal if he thought it advisable. He did not think an "outsider" could help at this juncture, although he would like for me to come over later and talk it all over.

He was very pleased at the way things were shaping up. He believed several hundred whites would attend the high school when it opens Sept. 8 in spite of the Negro pupils, and that enrollment would build up from then on.

25 or 30 die-hard extremists are meeting privately every Monday night, comparable to a WCC, but not much violence in the air. Most vicious influence is the Northern Virginia Daily.

General sentiment has improved. Recent Little Rock developments helped. The Baptist congregation which last year voted 2 to 1 to offer church premises for private school classes, yesterday refused to do so by a vote of 107 to 86. The Methodists took similar action.

The new principal of the high school, Robert A. Wood, Bromfield described as "forceful" and "splendid."

Another court hearing Thursday and a meeting of the private school group Thursday night to decide whether or not to stay in business.

Some talk of a business men's manifesto. I urged Bromfield to push this, telling him about Little Rock and recalling the statements issued by business men in Norfolk. He said something might happen within the next few days.

I am spending tomorrow in Norfolk, Brewbaker lunching with me.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

September 3, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Directo
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Subject to your approval, and the other necessary ratifications, I have engaged J.J. Brewbaker as a part-time consultant under the Southern Leadership Project, beginning July 1, 1960. Mr. Brewbaker's retirement as Superintendent of Schools of Norfolk will take effect June 30, 1960.

Mr. Brewbaker understands that his travel expenses, as well as any cost for necessary office equipment and supplies will be paid by us, and that he will receive an honorarium of $50 per day for the time devoted to this work. This honorarium will apply both to time spent "on the road" and to time employed in any necessary work at home. Telephone charges and any other incidental expenses are also to be met by us.

It was understood in a general way that Mr. Brewbaker would give from one-third to one-half of his time to this work. He does not expect to undertake any other employment.

Mr. Brewbaker was born in Boutetourt County, Virginia, on June 6, 1895, and has resided only in this state. With the exception of four years of employment in a bank in Buchanan County, his entire career has been devoted to teaching and public school administration. He has been with Norfolk public schools for 32 years. Beginning with 10 years as a school principal, he was later Assistant Superintendent and has been Superintendent for the past 12 years.

Mr. Brewbaker is in vigorous health, has never known what it was to be "sick."

Allergic to flying, he will travel by train and auto.

My rather intimate friends at the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot confirmed my high opinion of Mr. Brewbaker.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

September 5, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Virginian-Pilot and

Ledger-Star, Norfolk, Va., Sept. 2, 1959

Lenoir Chambers — Robert Smith
William Meacham — Perry Morgan

I had a very happy conference in the forenoon with Lenoir Chambers, editor, and Bill Meacham and Bob Smith, associate editors, of the Virginian-Pilot. Reminiscing over the war of "massive resistance," it was like a reunion of buddies who had shared the same foxhole.

We also talked about Virginia politics and the desegregation situation, without bringing out much that needs to be reported here.

No desegregation disturbance was anticipated in Norfolk, but the situation had worsened, and Superintendent Brewbaker's troubles had been increased by the appointment of three more or less antagonistic members to the school board, which formerly was unanimously cooperative.

Mayor Duckworth is still obstructionist on the desegregation issue, though his ability as mayor was otherwise praised. Vice-Mayor N.B. Etheridge was said to be much more congenial. I had a few words with Etheridge later in the hotel lobby, and he talked like a moderate.

Perhaps the SRC should be better acquainted with the Virginian-Pilot men, who are wholeheartedly liberal and are interested in the broad desegregation problem. Meacham writes most of the N. Y. Times editorials on the South, and Smith is writing a book about desegregation.

The best news I had from them was of the change of editors of the Ledger-Star. The Ledger had been a supporter of "massive resistance" under editor Joe Leslie, who has retired. The new editor, appointed three months ago, is an able young liberal, Perry Morgan, from the Charlotte News.

I had a fine talk with Morgan in the afternoon, and enrolled him privately in my "club." He talked frankly about his problem of moving the Ledger-Star away from its policy of "abject Byrdism."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE

Manassas, Virginia

September 17, 1959

LWD
PRV
FAV
JC
HFL

MEMORANDUM

RECEIVED SEP 18 1959

Visit to Richmond, Sept. 16, 1959

Daniel Bowers

Two and a half hours including luncheon, with Mr. Bowers, the new VCHR executive director, who, I think, is a splendid man. Nothing for a report, except that I was delighted with him.

The Economic Pressure

In a conversation with two old journalistic friends, Latimer of the Times Dispatch and Daffron of the A.P., I was able to confirm reliably the rumors of pressure upon Gov. Almond by Virginia business leaders last November.

A group of bankers and big business men from all over the state — 30 or more in number — invited the Governor to a dinner conference at the Rotunda Club. The affair was organized by President Saunders of the Norfolk & Western Railway, and it was he who approached the Governor. No other names were known. The group had urged Almond to drop "massive resistance" and stop school-closing — pointing to the possibly disastrous effects upon industry, etc.

Latimer and Daffron had had the story from Almond himself, who said that his reply to the business men was that the laws were still in effect and he could do nothing until "the litigations have run their course."

We also talked about gubernatorial prospects, and, while it was still largely speculation, both of these reporters thought now that Attorney General Albertis Harrison was the most probable next Governor of Virginia.

Albertis Harrison

I had a conversation with the Attorney General which was even more cordial than my previous one. He asked me to be sure to look him up whenever I came to Richmond and ended the interview with a "Hurry back."

Harrison, an avowed segregationist has, nevertheless, a rare confidence that the problem will ultimately be solved in Virginia and the South. (He asked that his remarks be considered off the record.)

In Prince Edward County he predicted that the public schools would reopen "in two or three years." Then a few Negro children would be admitted to white schools. However, he said, "if they are engulfed with Negro applicants, the whole thing will blow up again. It won't work if they're engifed."

We both agreed that the number of Negro applicants for integration would probably be small. He thought there would be few Negro applicants, because they would have learned their lesson and would not risk demoralization of the school system again. I expressed the opinion, and he agreed, that most of the Negro pupils would prefer to stay in Negro schools anyway.

Harrison did not anticipate any very formidable attempt to stage a "massive resistance" comeback in the next session of the Legislature.

Eugene Cook

Seeing Harrison just ahead of me, was Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia.

In my conversation with Harrison we got on to the subject of the increasing tendency of Southern leaders to accept the inevitable.

"Take Gene Cook, who just went out of here," Harrison said. -- "He rates as one of the fiercest of resistors. But he's no fool. He knows the score. Gene Cook knows he can't lick the Supreme Court. He knows that Georgia will have to adjust to this thing sooner or later."

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM September 24, 1959

To: The Executive Committee

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Re: Attached Report on SRC's Southern Leadership Project by Mr. Benjamin Muse.

At the October 5 meeting, one of the matters before you will be the terms of Mr. Muse's continuance as director of the Southern Leadership Project. From the last Annual Meeting and other meetings of the Executive Committee, you will recall discussions of this program aimed at reaching uncommitted decision-makers in the South, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Mr. Muse has prepared the attached report as a summary of the project experience to date and a basis on which to plan for the future. I pass it on to you in advance of the meeting with my heartiest endorsement. If I have any reservation at all, it is that Ben Muse has described too modestly the initial achievements and the evident promise of the project. In oral discussion and in later program reports, we will undertake to present more of the concrete evidence on which rests the staff's enthusiasm for the project and Mr. Muse's direction of it.

Meanwhile, I hope you will find time to read the attached report as background for our discussion on October 5.

THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT - AFTER FIVE MONTHS

September 1, 1959

The undertaking which we call the Southern Leadership Project was described in the original proposal to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, on December 13, 1957, as "an intensive and systematic program aimed at 'moderate' leadership," and as "a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership in achieving orderly desegregation of public facilities."

In a subsequent letter, addressed to the Fund last April, the Council observed: "Business and industrial leaders, in their quiet and reluctant fashion, are increasingly spurred by the prospect of economic damage to make their influence felt." The Council noted that recent developments had made it increasingly important to emphasize the economic penalties of school uncertainty and public disorder, particularly the deterrent effect upon industrial prospects of actual, or threatened, closing of public schools.

Meanwhile, the Council did not, of course, imply, "that advocacy of desegregation on moral or democratic grounds is useless or should be abandoned."

The Council stressed the importance of personal consultation, and it set forth certain proposed techniques, some of which were no doubt expected to be modified or discarded with changing situations, in the process of trial and error and upon knowledge gained from actual contact with Southern leaders. The pattern of method and emphasis needed also to be adapted in some degree to the background and personality of the individual directing the project.

In the spirit and within the broad framework of the objectives set up by the Council, after five months of identification with the project, I have come to view it and its possibilities in the following terms:

Editors, public-spirited business and professional men, school administrators, public officials, politicians and others who already are working for orderly adjustment can be helped with information on the experience of other communities and states and with other data which the Council can supply.

This service is rendered continually both by correspondence and by personal visit. A notable instance was the considerable time spent last spring in bringing to the Governor of Florida and his official staff information on the experience of Virginia to help them advance a policy

of compliance with the Supreme Court's school decisions. Assistance has also been given in a variety of ways to organizations in Virginia and Georgia fighting for the preservation of public schools.

Together with assistance in the form of information and advice, moderate leaders who are taking risks and preservering against odds in the good cause can be comforted and strengthened by a friendly visit. Here the work, in a wider and more varied field, resembles that which Paul Rilling is doing so ably among the Councils on Human Relations. It is a work to be carried on in matter-of-fact, often jovial, fashion, less by exhortation than by inference and by sheer companionship, but I consider it a function and a challenge of the first order. Modestly approached, it is in the spirit of the poet's ideal, to --

> "... move through the ranks, recall
> "The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
> "Praise, re-inspire the brave!"

The project of necessity is largely a matter of "playing by ear." It may be estimated, however, that the director should spend approximately one half of his time in travel and in visiting influential leaders in Southern communities. In five months, during which I had undertaken to give three-fifths of my time to the project, I find that I have spent 44 days away from base. Some of this time was spent in consultation with the Council staff in Atlanta, and the travel period included several Sundays.

However, visits were made to, and conversations were reported with, 48 leaders, who may be classified as follows: 15 editors, 14 business men, 6 school officials, and 13 other public officials, including two state governors, the Virginia state attorney general and the mayor of Atlanta. Some of these leaders were visited several times. There were also half a dozen group discussions, in which reporters, professors, ministers and professional men took part.

Supplementing this personal contact, a series of reports is distributed regularly to several thousand addresses in the categories mentioned above. All of the research and publication services of the Council are available when needed by this project, but the mimeographed "L Reports," in handy form for a business file, are especially designed as an auxiliary to it.

Approximately one half of the director's time needs to be spent in planning for trips and briefing himself on the situation in the areas to be visited, in reporting

after each trip, in suggesting material for L Reports, in some cases, editing these reports, in miscellaneous correspondence incident to the project and in a continuing study of the desegregation problem in the South.

Both in conversation and in published report, we have found it most effective to stress the following points:

1) the demonstrated futility of "massive resistance;"

2) the damaging economic effects of uncertainty, disorder and school closing;

3) the impracticability of using segregated private schools as a substitute for desegregated public schools; and

4) the harmlessness of school desegregation and the ease with which it has been accomplished in many communities.

It has been found important at the same time to correct, or combat, some of the widespread misconceptions and distortions of fact, with reference particularly to:

1) the alleged "mess" in the Washington, D. C., public schools;

2) the innate ability of Negro pupils; and

3) inter-racial marriages in desegregated school districts.

Conversations with deeply interested individuals sometimes develop into long discussions of many aspects of the race problem. At such times it is helpful to draw attention to notable examples of Negro excellence and to the dramatic burgeoning of Negro talent and achievement which we are witnessing today on the national scene.

Practical economic considerations appear to be the most effective at the present stage in drawing the attention of business leaders to the advantages of orderly compliance with the desegregation ruling. The project is business-like in its approach.

But it would be a mistake to assume that the business man is not concerned with the moral question. Too often on this issue the busy executive is not convinced that a moral principle is involved. But he is happiest when good business and righteousness coincide. Scratch beneath the surface of a Southern business leader and one is likely to find both a patriot and a humanitarian.

In the Council's original proposal it was concerned with the need for consultation between school administrators anticipating desegregation steps and others who have had experience in desegregation. We have found a way to meet this need by engaging the services of a school superintendent with experience in desegregation as a part-time consultant beginning next July. We believe this will be a most important activity during the crucial summer months of 1960 and thereafter as desegregation is undertaken in an increasing number of Southern communities.

In the business field, we have arranged to make some use of the services of an admirable consultant in Mr. Boyd Ridgeway, executive manager of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Ridgeway has agreed, whenever called upon, to visit business and chamber of commerce leaders elsewhere in the South and tell them of the Little Rock experience and the remarkable achievement of the Little Rock chamber in helping to restore stability to that city.

In tenatively undertaking this project, my chief doubt was as to the possibility of reaching the ear of leaders over wide areas of the South. I was uncertain as to the willingness of such individuals to discuss this subject freely, and even of my ability to gain access to them. After five months my doubts on this score have been removed.

I have been helped in this respect by members of our own group and other friends, and my own political and journalistic background have been of some assistance. Often, however, even without these aids, I have found it possible, as a stranger, to make appointments with influential leaders and to engage in cordial and earnest talks with them.

Beginning, as I have been doing, generally in more congenial quarters, I intend increasingly to visit Southern leaders whose attitude is one of resistance to desegregation, but who are hospitable to new information and rational discussion.

I believe the project offers a promising opportunity for service to the cause, which will increase progressively as more and more contacts and friendships are established in more and more sections of the South.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ BENJAMIN MUSE

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 28, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 29 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for two letters of September 24, and particularly for your very kind references to my report and my work.

The sparing use which HOPE intends to make of "Organizing to Save Public Schools" will make it possible for me to release more copies to the Virginia Committee, which wants at least 1,000. I am not sure from your letter if you are letting HOPE have 100 from your supply. In any case I would be glad if you would do that, as I haven't the address. I will keep at least 500 in reserve for the present.

My business in Knoxville proved different from what I anticipated, but very encouraging. I missed Brooks Hays -- detained in Washington -- and Galen Martin is far away indeed from any situation in which a Ridgeway visit could be considered. He said he didn't mean the suggestion seriously for the present.

However, I had a full and useful schedule in Knoxville and made a little approach to the power structure.

I have the feeling of having left unfinished business in both Chattanooga and Knoxville, and I plan to return there next week after our executive committee meeting.

Detailed reports on my visits to those two cities may be delayed a day or two as I am in bed today with a cold.

The Committee for Public Schools board meeting in Richmond all day Saturday (about 16 present) was valuable to me in the reports on desegregation, etc., in various sections of the state. The committee has a balance of $158, all bills paid, and is planning an energetic campaign with a view to the session of the Legislature opening in January.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

SR: C P Y

September 28, 1959

Mr. Boyd Ridgway
Executive Manager
Little Rock Chamber of Commerce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Boyd:

I understand that HOPE has been in touch with you and Frank Tucker with a view to having you both visit Atlanta early in November.

I hope this will materialize. Whether one or both of you make the trip, the expenses, as we have informed HOPE, will be borne by us on the basis indicated in my letter of August 31.

I understand that you made an earlier trip to Dallas for similar consultation. Is this correct, and have you visited any other Southern cities for this purpose? I have in mind suggesting this in Dallas or Houston when I go there.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

SRC.

COPY

September 28, 1959

Mr. Everett Tucker, Jr.
115 West Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Tucker:

Thanks indeed for sending me this stenographic recording of your appearance on "Face the Nation."

I noted your reference at the conclusion of that program to the desirability of establishing a "clearing house of experience."

In the absence of a formal clearing house, which would be difficult to arrange at this stage, my own object, in a modest way, is to serve a similar purpose.

In the case of my visit to Little Rock the experience was mainly one of instruction for me. I sensed that the situation was in admirable hands, and that Little Rock had had too many "consultants" already.

However, I find that school people, and others, in a number of cities are glad to have me tell them about the experience of Little Rock, Virginia, North Carolina, etc., and to counsel with them.

It is in that connection that I intend to make use of -- unabridged -- copies of this "Face the Nation" transcript. I assume that you will have no objection.

I think it is important to draw attention to the economic penalties of school-closing and disorder, but I am constantly impressed with the concern of Southern business leaders with the public welfare in a broader sense.

I am happy over Little Rock. The recovery there has perceptibly changed the whole climate in the South.

I hope I may be able to get to Little Rock again soon. I would like very much to shake your hand!

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

EVERETT TUCKER, JR.
115 West Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

September 21, 1959

Dear Mr. Muse:

It was nice to hear from you again and I have been wondering when your travels might bring you back to Little Rock.

I don't happen to have a transcript of my appearance on the "Dave Garroway Show", but a couple of days prior to this appearance, I was on the "Face the Nation Show" from Washington, and the CBS people were good enough to send me a stenographic recording of the entire show. Actually, I think this would be much nearer what you want than would have been a transcript of the Garroway appearance, as the Face the Nation performance went into a great deal more detail.

I do have an extra copy and I am happy to enclose it herewith. In whatever use you may plan to make of this material, let me caution you not to over emphasize the economic factors as causative agents in our determination to accept token integration in lieu of closed schools. Certainly in my own case, at least, this was a very important reason, but because of my position and some notoriety attached to it, it has been made to appear in some quarters — particularly the Deep South — that we compromised our principles here at Little Rock for a few lousy bucks.

I am not trying to minimize the part that economics played in the over-all picture, but it would be a mistake to conclude that this was the primary cause of our purported capitulation. As you well know, there are more and equally compelling reasons why Little Rock felt that it could no longer tolerate the situation which existed last year.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Everett Tucker, Jr.

ET:h

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

September 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Chattanooga, Sept. 23, 1959

Ben Hale Golden, president and publisher, Chattanooga Times.

"What the school board ought to do is take three or four Negro pupils -- carefully selected -- and go on and integrate them. Once the first Negro pupil is admitted, the crisis is practically over...."

Golden showed less feeling of danger in the Chattanooga situation than the others with whom I talked. He was positive and concise in his opinions. I spent only 20 minutes with him -- after a long talk with Martin S. Ochs, editor, Tuesday morning.

Ochs discussed many angles of the problem in Chattanooga and the South and was most cooperative and helpful. The Times had supported moderate Edmund Orgil, who was narrowly defeated by Buford Ellington in the race for Governor, but Ellington has since shown moderate tendency. From 2:30 P.M. to 4:30 P.M. I spent -- over coffee -- with Johnny Popham, managing editor, who, of course, is a magnificent fellow.

Ochs sent me to Kenneth B. Piper, vice president, Provident Life and Accident Insurance Co. (721 Broad St.) Popham escorted me with an exuberant introduction to Raymond B. Witt, attorney, Volunteer Bldg. (AM 7-3723).

For the record, Ochs suggested two prospects whom I did not see: William E. Brock, son of a former U.S. Senator, chairman of the Board of Trustees, University of Chattanooga; and Joe H. Lane, a liberal of Northern background, president Cavalier Corp. Ochs said that Ed Garland, chamber of commerce manager, was not very wide-awake or likely to interest himself in this problem.

Kenneth Piper is one of those business executives whom I meet now and then who scorn the self-interest approach. He is against segregation because it is "wrong and unchristian."

Piper is anxious to see organized preparation in Chattanooga, and, not merely "communication," but -- as he repeated several times -- "relaxed conversation" among white and colored leaders.

There is, in fact, an organization in existence in Chattanooga. Formed 18 months ago, it musters 25 or more at quiet meetings, held frequently, but not on regular schedule. After some debate on the question, it has recently become interracial. Its official, basic purpose is to assure "that the social change shall be effected in an orderly manner."

The "group," as it is called, appears to include some very substantial people and elements of the power structure. Piper disassociated himself from the group last January when he was appointed a member of the city school board nominating committee, fearing that his prominence in that connection might result in publicity and embarrassment for the group. He returned to the group at its last meeting.

Piper was anxious for me to come to Chattanooga again and arrange to spend an evening with him.

Raymond Witt, attorney, is a school board member apparently with some interest in politics. He is also, according to Pepham, a "protege" of Carter Lupton, multi-millionaire power in Chattanooga.

In a cordial, gripping conversation we discussed the problem in Chattanooga and the South. Two interesting points:

(1) Chattanooga is to a rare degree a "private school" city by custom and by tradition. Over 2,000 children go to (non-sectarian) private schools. It is "the thing to do" when parents can afford it. His own children go to private schools. Power structure children would not be directly affected by school-closing.

(2) The business community of Chattanooga is closely related to that of Atlanta and strongly influenced by what Atlanta business men think and do.

Witt appeared ready for further discussion and possible cooperation.

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED SEP 30 1959

September 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Ellis Arnall, Atlanta, Sept. 22, 1959

Sept. 22. Half an hour of conversation with former Gov. Ellis Arnall, who had only a little time before catching a plane and suggested that I call upon him later, with a few days notice, for a longer talk.

Some discussion of the political geography of Georgia and the "helpless" status of Atlanta. He said the rest of Georgia hated Atlanta and wouldn't worry much if public schools were closed in Atlanta only. But if schools elsewhere in Georgia were closed, the state would rise up.

His offering himself for Governor is based on a postulated schedule of Atlanta schools closing in 1960 and all schools closing in 1961 or 1962. School-closing in Atlanta would be the signal for a taxpayer's suit which would force the closing of all Georgia schools. All of this would happen unless the folly should be arrested at some point, presumably under his leadership.

He thought it was useless to try to do much until some schools were actually closed. The public would have to see it before they would believe it. People will vote for politicians who threaten to close public schools to prevent integration because they don't believe it can really happen. But when school-closing actually stares them in the face, they will turn to other leaders.

Arnall called himself, not a "moderate," but a "law-and-order and public-schools man." He had refused to support HOPE, for various reasons, including the argument that a movement of that kind would spend its force and tend to peter out before the crucial moment arrived. He said, nevertheless: "Our paths may yet converge."

Arnall objected to the Supreme Court decision on account of its language rather than the principle. He said its wording invited criticism and defiance.

He said Talmadge and Vandiver ("a nice fellow"), especially Talmadge, knew that Georgia would have to adjust eventually -- and that "closing schools would elect Arnall."

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 30, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 1 1959

MEMORANDUM

Knoxville, Sept. 23 — 25, 1959

Galen Martin met with me after my arrival Wednesday evening, Sept. 23, to discuss plans. He said apologetically that he didn't "know many big wheels," but he succeeded in getting me in touch with some very substantial people.

The Knoxville chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews had recently become aggressive and was the "prestige group" in Knoxville in the human relations field. Its president, Glen Otis Martin, of the Wesley Foundation, U.T., joined us for lunch on Thursday.

Other members who belong more or less to the power structure, mentioned for future reference were: Max Friedman -- (city council), former Senator and TVA actorney Pope, and Arnold Cramer, son of Russell Cramer (a politician close to Clement.)

Galen was particularly anxious that I should see George McGee, an official of Rohm & Haas (plastics and chemicals). Galen had heard him speak at a meeting of the Toastmasters Club, and he sounded like a liberal.

I spent about an hour with McGee, who is a "medium management" official in the great corporation, Thursday morning. McGee is an ardent desegregationist on moral and religious grounds. Wished more ministers would speak out. Had formed a little committee in his own church (St. Mark's Methodist) but it didn't amount to much. He had never heard of the Councils on Human Relations, wished there were an organization where people who felt as he did could get together. I told him about the Knoxville CHR, and alerted Galen Martin. (McGee's home address: 1308 Sumac Drive, Knoxville).

A luncheon, arranged by Galen at the UT Faculty Club included: Glen Martin; Arthur Jones, Zoology professor and CHR member; and Charles R. Moffett (residence: 466 Cherokee Blvd., Phone 8-4115). Moffett, able and dynamic, is dean of the evening school and a member of the Knoxville school board. He also has an interest in politics, was unsuccessful candidate for mayor in the last election.

A very stimulating general discussion of the problem, followed by what was largely a dialogue between Moffett and me: I urged the advantages of proceeding with desegregation of the Knoxville schools. The consensus was that the atmosphere in Knoxville is relatively good, though passive.

Moffett sensed a lurking fear in many quarters due to memories of the Clinton experience. Moffett bombarded me with earnest questions, and, at the conclusion, asked me to meet with the Knoxville school board. I said I would get in touch with him in regard to time and arrangements.

One would doubt the authority of one member to extend such an invitation, but I shall no doubt be able to talk with at least some of the school board members.

I also made brief visits to Paul Christopher, of our board, and William E. Cole, head of the sociology dept. and of the planning commission, U.T., and a member of the CHR.

Dinner with three CHR members: Dr. C. Merrill Proudfoot, of Knoxville College; S. Dave Freeman, a TVA attorney; and Rev. Crutcher.

Friday morning I called upon Loy Miller, elderly editor of the News Sentinel, who was very friendly. He is not sure he approves of democracy, but if we are going to call this a democracy there is no excuse for segregation. He believes in class distinctions, but the division should not be on the basis of color. (Nevertheless, his grandchildren, moving to Washington, will go to segregated private schools.) In the Knoxville situation he would like to see the school board go ahead quietly with gradual desegregation.

The News Sentinel takes no position editorially, believes in the minimum of agitation on either side. However, if the public order — or public schools — were threatened, he would take a positive stand.

Apparently sympathetic with my efforts, he concluded with: "Good luck to you."

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

March 8, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Student Protest Against Lunch Counter Segregation
Visit to Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro,
Wednesday thru Friday, March 2-4, 1960

I spent Tuesday night in Durham, visited U. N. C. Press at Chapel Hill Wednesday morning and arrived in Raleigh about noon -- in snow storm, which immobilized me for the afternoon.

Thursday morning I divided my time between the Wachovia Bank and Trust Co. and the News and Observer. In the afternoon to Durham for a talk with City Manager George H. Aull, Jr., thence to Greensboro. In Greensboro Friday I conferred with General J. R. Townsend, city manager, H. W. Kendall, editor, Greensboro Daily News, and Colvin T. Leonard, editor, Greensboro Record.

LeRoy B. Martin, vice president in Wachovia's Raleigh office, is an interesting example of a frankly moderate business leader taking an active part in public affairs. (Wachovia, with $600 million of resources, claims to be the biggest bank between Washington and Dallas.) Martin was described by Trust Officer R. E. Gaddy as the bank's "political man." He is a member of the Raleigh school board.

Bitterly anti-Hodges and anti-Pearsall Plan, Martin said the Governor had embarrassed school boards and prevented earlier, quiet desegregation. The Pearsall campaign agitation had poisoned an initially moderate atmosphere; Hodges' promises that "no Negro would enter a white school," and the threat of school-closing referendums, had made it almost impossible for school boards to act.

Otherwise a few Negroes would have been in predominantly white schools so long ago that people would have forgotten by now that they were there.

As for the suit over the single Negro applicant in Raleigh, Martin said that he was an obstreperous youngster who would have made trouble. The parents never came to confer with the school authorities, and the case was dismissed -- all the way up to the Supreme Court -- for failure to resort to administrative remedies.

Confidentially, the school board planned to assign "three or four" Negro children to a white school next September.

Martin said the whole school desegregation problem had been vastly exaggerated. If all barriers were down, the number of Negroes who would ask for transfer to white schools would be very

limited. In some North Carolina counties, he said, there would be no such applications "in this generation."

He felt that the Negro lunch counter demand would have to be met sooner or later, and better sooner. The greatest difficulty was that of finding a way to "bridge over" the initial break-down of segregation. One suggestion which he mentioned was that of dividing lunch counters at first into three sections: "White," "Colored," and "Integrated."

(A Winston-Salem Baptist Minister is proposing that lunch counters be divided into two sections: "Catering to White" and "Catering to Colored," with liberty for any one who chooses to sit with members of the other group.)

As for gubernatorial candidates, Martin thought Seawell unreliable. ("He would put sit-downs in jail.") Sanford would probably be pretty level-headed.

Robert E. Williams, associate editor Raleigh News and Observer. Williams took me to task immediately when I referred to the "restaurant" sit-downs. In an editorial (written by Daniels) that morning the News and Observer had drawn a sharp line between restaurants and department store lunch counters, taking the position that segregation was justified in the former, but implying that it was not justified in the latter.

Williams remarked that Raleigh ministers had addressed a letter to Woolworth and Kress urging lunch counter desegregation. He said also that the big industrialists in Winston-Salem, and to a less extent in Durham, were bringing some pressure to bear to the same end.

Further talk about this situation and North Carolina and Virginia politics.

Jonathan Daniels came in at 11:30. He doesn't think the student protest will peter out. On the contrary "it is a part of the world revolution." He thinks we may come through it without violence.

Most promising situations are those in this section of North Carolina: Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem -- the breakthrough likely to come first in Greensboro.

The good behavior of the Negro students had been tremendously effective. A friend of Daniels, an elderly lady, segregationist of the old school, seeing Negroes turned away from a lunch counter, exclaimed indignantly: "They've no business refusing such nice, polite young people!"

The situation was aggravated by indecision and lack of leadership in department store management. He was sorry for the local managers. They were just merchants. They had no experience in

meeting situations like this. The head offices expected them to be "statesmen."

Incidentally, Daniels would like to see well-to-do Negroes get together and start some big merchandising enterprise.

Lunch counters, however, were not North Carolina's greatest problem at this moment. The greatest problem, and the greatest "calamity" was the entrance of Beverly Lake (the Roy Harris of N.C.) into the race for Governor. (I notice that this feeling is voiced in some degree by almost the entire N.C. press. Governor Hodges had referred to this as an ominous possibility in my talk with him.) Daniels agreed that Seawell is Hodges' man. He also found Seawell unreliable. Daniels is not enthusiastic about Hodges. I gather he leans toward Sanford as a candidate for Governor. He thought Sanford had "strong backing."

George H. Aull, Jr., the new Durham city manager has been in office only about five weeks. He came just in time to face the lunch counter problem, which has been his chief concern. Aull is a South Carolina liberal; his father, a professor at Clemson, is a member of the board of Penn Community Services.

In a general talk about race, he seemed to have entirely our point of view. Apart from other phases, he was anxious to point to some things the Durham city administration was doing to give employment opportunities to Negroes. Of three city sewage disposal plants two are entirely manned -- and administered by Negroes, with a Negro, Robert L. Clemmons as chief operator. One fire station is operated entirely by Negroes.

He was very much in the thick of the lunch counter agitation. Woolworth's was on the phone "constantly," Wanted more protection. ("We pay our taxes, don't we?") Kress was not so excited. He found an appalling lack of leadership. Many people have the right feeling about the matter, but would not speak out.

Had a high opinion of J. S. Stewart, Negro city councilman. Stewart, he said, had written to the head office of Woolworth and Kress.

Not nervous, but gravely concerned over the danger of violence. His description of the trouble-makers: "about 200 young white roughnecks." If one of them should spill hot soup on a Negro girl, it might touch off a riot. His policy was to keep the police alert but inconspicuous. The mere sight of policemen draws a crowd. He puts no umiformed police in the stores, only a few plain clothes men. A score of policemen within the store could do little against a crushing mob, and they would be immobilized when needed for more effective work elsewhere.

Aull asked me to be sure to visit "his best friend," the Greensboro city manager, General Townsend. The General's answer to the merchants, he said, was, "Serve 'em!"

He was giving much thought to the question of how far a city manager should go in the matter beyond law enforcement. He made a very interesting speech on this point. The problem of lunch counter segregation was one of Christian morality; it would never be solved merely by laws or law enforcement. Leadership of another kind was needed. He had made up his mind to give some definite advice the first time a merchant asked for it. It would be this: negotiate with Negro leaders and secure their promise, that, at the beginning of unsegregated lunch counters, only 6 or 8 or a dozen Negroes would apply for service in one day.

Aull asked very earnestly that we give him any information, advice or suggestions that we may have.

General J. R. Townsend, Greensboro city manager, has a laconic, old-soldier approach, but is firmly liberal on the race question. He is a native of Burlington, near Greensboro. Chose to stay in the Army after World War I and retired about 10 years ago as a brigadier general. (He commanded a segregated Negro battalion.) Has been employed by Greensboro since, first as city engineer, then as city manager.

The General reviewed recent Greensboro race relations history, recalling the integration of municipal facilities step by step. Negroes and whites skate together at the municipal skating rink and visit the integrated municipal auditorium-theater ("My Fair Lady" last week) with never any trouble worth mentioning.

Expressed a high opinion of Waldo Faulkener, a Negro councilman, who, he noted, was elected by the city at large -- not merely from a Negro ward, as in the case of the Negro councilman in Durham.

Greensboro could take lunch counter desegregation in its stride, were it not for "200 long-haired white juvenile bums."

The Greensboro police force had not been augmented, but there was a "pretty good police reserve."

Working on the lunch counter problem now was a Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations, appointed February 25. Its nine members were chosen, three from the city council, three from the Chamber of Commerce and three from the Merchants Association. In answer to a question from me, he said there was no uncompromising segregationist among the nine. Councilman Faulkener gave the committee Negro representation.

H. W. Kendall, editor of the Greensboro Daily News, is a devout liberal, who is deeply involved in the present search for a solution to the lunch counter problem. We talked briefly about the race problem in general and came to the Greensboro situation. The mayor's committee is working earnestly with a view to solving the problem by lunch counter desegregation. It is conducting a poll, the results of which, it is hoped, will encourage the stores to take the step. It is giving much attention to the baffling problem of how to bridge it over, how to take the initial step with safety and public calm.

Thinking in terms of quiet, unannounced admission of a limited number of Negroes, by previous arrangement, to lunch counter service.

Concerned about a point of journalistic ethics, Kendall talked at length about his dilemma. He sat in with the mayor's committee. He frequently knew things that would make news but which he did not publish. In this situation, the public welfare came ahead of "the public's right to know."

Kendall urged me to come back to Greensboro (as I intended to do), and talk this thing out with him "along with some bourbon and branch water." My capacity is limited in the latter department, but I will do my best.

Calvin T. Leonard, editor of the Greensboro Record, equalled his morning colleague in the fervor of his liberalism on the race question. He did most of the talking in an hour's conversation. Some of his personal experiences and phases of the race problem not pertinent here.

He gave me sidelights on some Greensboro personalities and the names of some individuals whom I might see. C. L. Harris, the Woolworth manager, might be a little difficult; he refused to negotiate with the Negroes. He had been heard to remark, however, that he would rathr serve the Negro students than the "white bums" whom they drew to his store.

Leonard offered to help me in any way possible.

The Greensboro Opportunity: Because of a combination of favorable factors, Greensboro appears to be the best Southern city in which to work for a break-through in the lunch counter problem. This objective is worthy of the utmost effort. I believe that I can help in an unobtrusive way.

I propose to return to Greensboro next Monday, March 15, (leaving here Sunday) and settle down at the O. Henry for a week or more. I shall go by Durham and try to get a line on Greensboro Negroes from John Wheeler.

Well-disposed leaders in each of these North Carolina cities are groping for a "bridge," a formula for bridging over the desegregation of lunch counters quietly, with a minimum of disturbance. I will appreciate any information, or SRC thinking on this point.

Benjamin Muse

March 1, 1961

The Honorable Ben West
Mayor
City of Nashville
Nashville, Tennessee

My dear Mayor West:

Mr. John Hope has requested that we send you the enclosed Leadership Reports. You are being added to our mailing list for these reports and will receive them as they are issued in the future.

We will, of course, be happy to supply you with any materials that we may have.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

CITY OF NASHVILLE

BEN WEST MAYOR

NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

March 6th, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please accept my thanks for sending me the Leadership Reports, as requested by Mr. John Hope.

I am reading them with a great deal of interest, and appreciate your adding my name to your mailing list.

Sincerely,

Ben West

Ben West
Mayor

Pending

December 1, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Jr.
Parnassus Book Service
Route 6A
Box 33
Yarmouth Port, Mass.

Dear Mr. Muse:

This is something of a follow-up of the much appreciated services you rendered us in May of this year. At that time did we make it clear to you that, if possible, we would like the remainder of the Shakespeare volumes sent to Harold Fleming as they became available? (The books are to be sent to Harold Fleming, The Potomac Institute, 1501 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; the bills to the Southern Regional Council.) More importantly, is this arrangement possible?

Again, we greatly appreciate your assistance,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb

PARNASSUS BOOK SERVICE

RTE. 6A, BOX 33
YARMOUTH PORT, MASS.

May 5, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Reur letter of May 4. I am unable to determine the completeness of the various collected works of Shakespeare which you desire. However I have this morning dispatched letters to Yale and Cambridge to determine the completeness of their editions and will advise you by air mail as soon as I hear from them. If they reply by by return mail there is a strong chance we could have the set you desire by May 27.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Jr., mgr.
PARNASSUS BOOK SERVICE

I am still getting some letters about Virginia

The Greensboro Record

Established 1890

C. O. JEFFRESS, President

COLVIN T. LEONARD, Editor

FLOYD F. HENDLEY, Managing Editor

Saturday, December 23, 1961

Page A-4

Virginia Footnote

"We refuse to believe," writes the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, "that Sen. Harry F. Byrd will pronounce the appointment of Gov. J. Lindsay Almond 'personally obnoxious' to him, if Mr. Almond is named to a federal district judgeship or a seat on the U. S. Court of Claims by President John F. Kennedy."

Governor Almond has made gestures of reconciliation with Senator Byrd in recent days, and the *Times-Dispatch* may be right in its belief. The whole affair is a footnote to Virginia's "massive resistance" policy, a policy which Almond vigorously espoused after Senator Byrd had made it the keystone of the Byrd organization platform. When Almond saw that the policy was resulting in closed schools in Norfolk, Front Royal, Charlottesville and elsewhere, however, he reversed his stand. The commonwealth withdrew its massive resistance, and the schools reopened. The breach between Almond and Byrd remains, however.

Byrd would probably like to block Almond's prospective judgeship as he still could do—but Byrd is not a petty man, and it looks as though Almond will get his judgeship.

The appointment is deserved. Almond is a former state attorney general, and a distinguished lawyer. His championing of law and order in the school crisis gave a significant lead to Deep Southern states which had looked to Virginia for guidance. Governor Almond's decision to keep the schools open came late, but it came in the Virginia tradition of respect for law.

This is the lesson of a dispassionate study of *Virginia's Massive Resistance* by Benjamin Muse. Once a Virginia state senator and a Republican gubernatorial nominee, Muse is an astute commentator on Southern affairs. The book is published by the University of Indiana Press. This history of the massive resistance struggle in Virginia clearly shows how the issue of school desegregation was resolved "pragmatically into one of desegregation as ordered by federal courts or the closing of schools. The dreadful alternative of abandoning public education is now the single desperate road of defiance. In the last analysis even the Deep South will not go down that road."

Muse's excellent study tells, in detail and fairly, how the commonwealth sought to use every legal means of preventing desegregation. The measures failed because Virginians did not want to end public education. As Muse says, this may not be the loftiest idealistic ground for a resolution of the desegregation issue, but it is one on which a majority agreed.

The Muse book has been criticized by the *Lynchburg News* as lacking in color, yet the *News* termed it "an excellent, accurate outline of the struggle," which it is. Perhaps the florid oratory, the great emotions stirred in Virginia were not caught on the pages of the book, but by avoiding the emotions of the time, while yet mentioning them, the book stressed the political lesson.

The lesson springs from Virginia practice, but clearly Muse sees it as capable of regional application. Thus, while he notes the personal aspects of the quarrel, the flamboyant Almond and the organization chieftain Byrd, he stresses the broader meaning. He seems to be saying that whatever the personal ideosyncrasies of these Virginia gentlemen, their experience has shaped the issues for the Deep South to follow, and Virginia's experience showed, that: "It is through breaks in the political clouds that we must look for a change in the tone of public utterances, for the restoration of free discussion and for measures to make possible those beginnings of school integration in practice which cause imagined difficulties to disappear."

PR ✓
PA ✓
MMB - note + file

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

February 3, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am leaving Monday for a Southern tour of several weeks, and will be in Charleston, S. C. next Thursday and Friday -- at the Heart of Charleston, 200 Meeting St.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse - Field Trips - March 2, 1962

Charleston, S. C.

Savannah, Ga.

Atlanta, Ga.

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

Copy to Dave Freeman - 3/22

March 2, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

The 1961 Desegregation Initiative of the Catholic Bishops of Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta

On the first Sunday of Lent, February 19, 1961, the Catholic Bishops of Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta issued identically a somewhat sensational pastoral letter. The three and a half-page document contained a fine statement of Christian principles and the attitude of the Church in the matter of racial justice. The press fastened mainly upon the following two announcements:

> (1) Catholic pupils, regardless of color, will be admitted to Catholic schools as soon as this can be done with safety to the children and the schools. Certainly this will be done no later than the public schools are opened to all pupils.
>
> and --
>
> (3) During 1961 this diocese will undertake a program of preparation for its people. Pastoral letters, sermons, study clubs and school instructions will explain the full Catholic teaching on racial justice.

I visited the three dioceses in February to see what progress had been made in the implementation of this pastoral letter. I found that an admirable program of preparation was being carried out in the Charleston diocese, but that little or no progress had been made in the dioceses of Savannah and Atlanta.

Charleston

I was greatly impressed in my interview on February 8 with Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan, Bishop of Charleston (119 Broad St). He appeared to feel very strongly, and to have something like enthusiasm, about the campaign for racial justice.

Bishop Hallinan said there had never been any segregation of worship in the Charleston diocese. All Catholic churches were attended at times by Negroes, and some had a substantial number of Negro parishioners, although several

churches were attended almost exclusively by Negroes, except in that some whites in the neighborhood used the confessional for convenience.

He said that, although only two of the five Catholic hospitals had been open to Negroes in the past, all five would be open to Negroes by the end of 1962.

He recalled that one diocesan school had been integrated since 1954; a school at Rock Hill, S. C. included a dozen Negroes among its approximately 100 pupils. (There had been minor unpublicized integration in a parochial school in Greenville; a primarily Negro school there enrolled three white pupils, 1959-1960, and two, 1960-1961, but has no white pupils now, the family having moved away.)

Bishop Hallinan remarked with some pride that he had arranged with the Francis Marion Hotel to provide accommodations in the future (short of sleeping, but including eating) to Negroes attending integrated diocesan conventions of various kinds. The diocesan branch of the National Council of Catholic Women meets there March 3. It had been necessary in the past to hold such meetings in Catholic schools.

He said the pastoral letter of February, 1961, had "naturally" aroused some protest. About $35,000 of subscriptions to a $300,000 hospital fund had been canceled. There was an undercurrent of disapproval of his desegregation move, but little outspoken criticism. He knew of no segregationist "wild men" in the diocese. The majority were accepting his program loyally and he was pleased with the way in which the diocese had taken it. Letters received were about evenly divided between the approving and the disapproving.

There was very little abuse from the general public, only a few "desultory" editorials in the News and Courier.

The most disturbed people, the bishop said, were the pupils of the Charleston Negro high school, who were contented there and were apprehensive at the thought of transfer!

The promise to "undertake a program of preparation" has been carried out in the Charleston diocese. Schools are required to give "the full Catholic teaching on racial justice," in accordance with a syllabus, of which the bishop gave me a summary. A copy of this syllabus summary is enclosed with this report. Considered as a course of instruction in a Deep South state, this is a remarkable document, as will be seen from some sentences extracted and quoted below.

"Race prejudice cannot withstand the advance of Christ's truth."

"Every man has a right to equality before the law, before his fellow man, and before his employer."

"Racial segregation is unjust and immoral wherever it is found, North or South."

"Whatever we do to a fellow man in the injustice of racial segregation, we are doing to Christ Himself."

"The deep longing and need of the Negro people for recognition of their rights can be understood only by the constant exercise of Christian charity."

The current parochial school enrollment of the Charleston diocese is 9,387; about 2,000 of these are colored and less than half of the latter are Catholics. Desegregation, the bishop said would involve at the beginning only from 30 to 40 Negro pupils. This will come "perhaps next fall, perhaps later -- whenever it is safe."

"We are exerting constant pressure," Bishop Hallinan said, "and making steady progress."

It is significant, and a good augury for Catholic desegregation in the southeastern region, that Bishop Hallinan has since been named Archbishop of Atlanta, a newly established archdiocese, embracing the two Carolinas, Georgia and Florida.

Savannah

I was received cordially by others in the offices of the Charleston diocese, who appeared to share the bishop's concern for racial justice. My experience in Savannah (February 12) was a contrast in this respect. The chancellor, Monsignor McDonald, showed no desire to talk with me and did not encourage me to see the bishop or anyone else. I drove about ten miles, however, to the St. John Vianney School to call on Father Cuddy, the diocesan superintendent of schools. Father Cuddy was cordial, but he talked very much like a restrained Southern segregationist and only grudgingly conceded that segregation was wrong and should be ended.

In the afternoon I called again at the chancery (325 Abercorn St.) and was received at once by the Most Reverend Thomas J. McDonough, Bishop of Savannah. Bishop McDonough was most cordial and apologized for not having seen me earlier, owing to a heavy morning schedule.

I found Bishop McDonough deeply conscious of the wrongness of race discrimination and segregation, which we discussed from various angles. He was troubled over his inability to move forward. He had held three clerical conferences in which he had stated the Christian position on racial justice and the unalterable intention of the Church to end segregation. He was also obsessed with the difficulties and "danger" in this field. A Catholic church had been stoned because white witnesses attended an otherwise Negro wedding ceremony.

There are approximately 1500 Negroes (predominantly non-Catholic) among the 9500 pupils in the schools of the diocese. A Catholic hospital at Augusta and another at Columbus accept Negro patients; the Catholic hospital at Savannah does not, although an out-patient clinic is provided for them. The diocesan youth organization is racially integrated. He said that four Negroes had applied for admission to white schools in Savannah and one in Albany. (Father Cuddy had said: "No Negroes have applied!")

Bishop McDonough referred to the illness of Bishop Hyland, which apparently had been related to the failure to desegregate Atlanta parochial schools last fall. He suggested that when a new bishop should be appointed at Atlanta "we three (Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta) should get together and see where we are in this matter."

Atlanta

In Atlanta I did not see Monsignor Joseph T. Cassidy, who occupies the bishop's office; he was away when I called February 19. In the chancery (2699 Peachtree Rd.) I found an unwillingness to talk except "personally" and on a "Don't-quote-me" basis. The policy in the matter of school desegregation would depend entirely upon the new bishop, whenever he should be appointed. (There was much speculation in this regard -- "He might be any one of half a dozen.") Nevertheless, it was regarded as probable that desegregation would take place next fall.

Abusive letters had been received following the pastoral letter of last February, some of the worst coming from New Orleans. In the event of desegregation in Atlanta, St. Joseph's High School in the "fringe" area would be particularly affected, as well as the new Drexel High School under construction for Negroes. St. Joseph's Infirmary does not admit Negroes, although a "Negro" clinic is provided. St. Mary's Hospital in Athens admits Negroes, as does a cancer hospital. A new hospital is projected in Atlanta for Negroes.

Bishop Francis E. Hyland took ill and retired completely last October. I understand that he had liberal views on race relations, and that he suffered a nervous breakdown, in which the failure of Catholic schools to desegregate along with public schools was to some extent both cause and effect.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

INSTRUCTION ON RACIAL JUSTICE IN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

OF THE CHARLESTON DIOCESE

Syllabus: Racial Justice

As directed in the Lenten Pastoral Letter of 1961, our school instruction will include, as part of the religion course, the full Catholic teaching on racial justice. This Syllabus for grades 7-12 has been prepared by the Diocesan Department of Education for the teachers. It is being summarized in three installments for the readers of the Catholic Banner.

Bishop Hallinan

Part I -- Elementary Grades 7-8

1. The real reason for the term "catholic" (or "universal") is this: that the life the Church brings and communicates is of such a nature as to be capable of assembling the whole of mankind, and bringing all of it back to God.

2. The Son of the Eternal Father became man that men might regain their lost inheritance, and receive the power to become adopted sons of God and brothers of Jesus Christ. The brotherhood of Christ knows no color-line.

3. The Catholic Church is called the Mystical Body of Christ because its members are united by supernatural bonds with one another and with Christ, their Head, thus resembling the members and head of the physical body.

4. What we do against the Church, we do against Christ; what we do to any member, we do to Christ. This teaching of the Mystical Body must be applied to all, regardless of race.

5. Admit the truth of the Mystical Body, and men will move forward toward a reign of peace and love. Communism speaks of brotherhood, but Communism tears the world apart. Race prejudice cannot withstand the advance of Christ's truth. The color problem would disappear once humanity saw all men in Christ's love.

6. Many a man is content to accept the love of Christ, but unwilling to give his own love to his fellowman. Yet there cannot be one without the other. The young Catholic, whether white or Negro, who grasps the meaning of the Mystical Body, has progressed far in his own personal advance toward God.

7. Every man has a right to equality before the law, before his fellowman, and before his employer. He is entitled to receive what is his according to his human dignity.

8. The virtue of Justice helps society, by establishing a right order among men, based not on race or color or nationality but on man's basic rights as a person created by God. "Therefore all that you wish men to do to you, even so do you also to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets."

9. In the strict sense, Justice is the virtue that inclines the will to render unto others at all times what is strictly their due. The teacher should develop this definition with special application to the whole field of white-and-Negro relationship.

Part II. The Virtue of Justice (High School - Freshman Year)

1. Racial Segregation is a permanent condition or state, imposed by law or custom, on the members of a particular race, isolating them to a greater or lesser extent from other citizens, and limiting them in the exercise of their freedom as compared with other citizens, principally in the field of job opportunity, education, housing and public services.

2. In public schools, it has been declared unconstitutional (therefore in our democratic framework, unjust) by the U. S. Supreme Court.

3. "Legal separation, or any form of compulsory segregation, in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people." This sentence is from the Catholic Bishops' Statement of 1958, foreshadowed by the Statement of 1943.

4. Racial segregation is unjust and immoral wherever it is found, North or South. Voluntary segregation, based on truth and charity, does not enter into the concept of justice.

5. The argument over the injustice of Racial Segregation, is not an argument over the morality of past segregation. Circumstances can change the application of moral principles. Evil can sometimes be tolerated, but not condoned.

6. The gravity of the injustice of racial segregation is measured by the actual damage suffered by the individual or society.

7. The problem is deep-rooted and complex, historically, psychologically and politically. Therefore Justice and Prudence must both be used in its solution. Prudence, however, is neither rashness nor inaction.

Part III. The Universality of the Church (High School -Sophomore Year)

1. This concept includes two points: that the Church actually embraces as members men of all nations and races; that theologically, the Church is destined for all men.

2. In an age when people are conscious of man's equality with man, the Church of Jesus Christ cannot hide the full implications of her universal destiny. It would be abhorrent to any Catholic to suggest that his Church is a "private club" made up of "congenial people" in a membership reserved for a select few.

3. It would be abhorrent to any Catholic to suggest that some members of Christ's Church are relegated to a secondary position, or caused extreme embarrassment, or classified as "second class" Catholics because of their racial origin. It is obvious, then, that the Universality of the Church extends to white and Negro alike.

4. The Universality of the Church (in spite of the fine history of the Church's mission to the Negro) is necessarily hindered within a system which supports the injustice of racial segregation. Racism (whether Nazism or Fascism or anti-Semitism) has always been condemned by the Church.

5. In the Diocese of Charleston, from the time of Bishop John England, (1820-1842), the Church has steadily moved toward complete solution based on racial justice. Important steps were taken in the establishment of mission schools, the integration of lay societies at deanery and diocesan level, the integration of one parochial school in 1954, and the admission policies of the hospitals. The school policy was expressed in the Pastoral Letter of 1961:-

> "Catholic pupils, regardless of color, will be admitted to Catholic schools as soon as this can be done with safety to the children and the schools . . . The Negro schools will be continued as long as there is need for them. Their purpose is to reach and teach the Negro, not to segregate him."

6. Every Catholic has an obligation to present locally the Church as the church which seeks to embrace all men in an equal, unqualified way; to reject any system or attitude that results in an unjust and unfounded superiority based on race or color.

Part IV. The Mystical Body (High School - Junior Year)

1. This teaching of the Mystical Body elevates racial justice to a new level -- the supernatural level grasped by the Catholic through the eyes of faith. Nowhere does racial segregation appear so definitely immoral, and nowhere does it admit of a readier solution, than within the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ.

2. Because Christ is our Head, and we are the members, each is joined to each other in a union more real than even the physical union of living members in the physical body. This union permits of no exclusion, restriction or segregation owing to race or color.

3. Every Catholic must see, through faith, the living presence of Christ in a fellow member. In fact, he must see Christ Himself -- "whatever you do to these, the least of my brethren, you do to Me."

4. Whatever we do to a fellow member in the injustice of racial segregation, we are doing to Christ Himself.

5. Our regard for all people (those not of our faith) must be the same as our regard for our fellow members of the Mystical Body since all are potential members, many already share the life of grace, and especially because Christ made no distinction.

6. No Catholic can ignore the dignity and the obligations that brotherhood in Christ imposes with regard to the question of racial justice.

Part V. Christian Charity (High School - Senior Year)

1. The love of Christ and love of neighbor are contained in Christian charity. This goes beyond the demands of strict Justice, extends the implications of the Church's universality, and informs the life-thought of the Mystical Body.

2. Charity is an act of the will based on the recognition of another's dignity and worth, and resulting in the sincere wish for the goodness and happiness of that other person. It is the completion of our Catholic life.

3. Strict racial justice is not sufficient to solve the complex problems arising from the existing evil of racial segregation. Charity is needed to take the Catholic beyond the demands of strict justice.

4. Charity within the Mystical Body alone suffices to overcome personal feelings, prejudices and dislikes fostered by a segregated society.

5. The deep longing and need of the Negro people for recognition of their rights can be understood only by the constant exercise of Christian charity. Only in this charity can we understand the function of organizations to secure equal rights for the Negro, the need of inter-racial councils and movements, the charges against such activities by extremists who maintain "white supremacy."

6. In the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the Act of Love, we are all joined in this offering of Christ, and the offering of ourselves without discrimination or segregation. "By this shall all men know that you are My disciples if you have love one for another."

April 24, 1962

Ben Muse

LWDunbar

1. Please let me know about Monteagle.

2. I remember that you and I talked about Murray Cox and the value of his services in Mississippi. I cannot remember whether we decided anything.

BOYD CAMPBELL
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

May 7, 1962

Please return to BM

Honorable Benjamin Muse
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Upon my return to the office today after an extended absence, I found "Virginia's Massive Resistance" which you had so kindly sent to me.

Please know that I greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness and that I look forward to reading the volume later this week while on a flight to the West Coast.

Sincerely,

Boyd Campbell

Boyd Campbell

BC-bg

explicit help for BF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

May 15, 1962

Three Years of Operation of the Southern Leadership Project

I am submitting here a brief report upon our activities of the past year, and also upon the three years of operation of the Southern Leadership Project contemplated in the initial grant of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Actually, reports have been an important product of my personal activity. I have submitted many comprehensive reports on my conversations with individuals and my observations of the Southern scene. In addition to the Southern Regional Council and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, most of these reports have gone during the past year also to Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, and Harold Fleming, of the Potomac Institute, both of whom have expressed an interest in them.

I have also submitted several recapitulations of project activities, including reports on the part-time work of J. J. Brewbaker, public school consultant under this project. Mr. Brewbaker has continued to give about one third of his time to counseling with Southern public school administrators in the techniques and problems of desegregation. We have many evidences that Mr. Brewbaker is welcomed by public school administrators and that his services are definitely in demand.

During the past year an increasing amount of my time has been given to correspondence with friends made on my travels, to other writing related to our work, to race relations conferences and to counseling in Atlanta on the general planning of the SRC, with particular attention to the research department program of reports and publications. My conversations with leaders in various sections of the South suggest questions that need to be answered and information that needs to be supplied.

Two of my literary efforts, though written for other purposes, found their way to publication during the past year -- one in our own magazine New South and the other in Commonweal. My book, "Virginia's Massive Resistance," published last year, found more favor with reviewers than with the book-buying public. Only about 2,000 copies had been sold by January 1, 1962, and the royalties have not covered the cost of several hundred copies distributed gratis by me to individuals in the South. However, I have clips of 45 reviews. They included surprisingly favorable mention in newspapers in such places as Baton Rouge and New Orleans, La., and in Jackson, Miss. I know of the book having been read by some influential individuals in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana who should profit particularly by the experience of Virginia.

Being a Catholic, I have cooperated actively in the launching of a newly aggressive program in the South by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and am listed as a "consultant" to that organization. I have visited five diocesan offices and conferred with bishops and other Catholic leaders, seeking to encourage desegregation of parochial schools and other Catholic facilities.

In my basic activity of visiting Southern community and political leaders I travel now generally by auto, which keeps my schedule flexible and enables me to reach small towns as well as urban centers. Many important individuals live in small towns, as Coleman in Mississippi and Folsom in Alabama. My count of Southern editors visited to date is 70. Some of these have been visited repeatedly. I mention editors partly because they are a handy group to tally, but also because I think it is particularly useful to exchange information with these molders of public opinion and encourage constructive editorial attitudes. I have visited many politicians, lawyers, business men, clergymen, etc. I have visited some each of office-holders, candidates for office and ex-office-holders. (In the Deep South, significantly, the ex-office-holders are often the most accessible and congenial.)

I believe such visits are helpful in the case of three types of Southern leaders: (1) those who share our views completely on the race question and who need comfort and stimulation; (2) those moderates who want to see orderly adjustment to the inevitable and who have a deep concern for the public welfare and (3) individuals regarded as belonging to the enemy camp with whom the question can be discussed in a friendly spirit. With gentlemen in the third group I feel that progress has been made if some common ground has been found and friendship has been established, even though full agreement has not been reached.

I am fortunate in having a number of friends in the Deep South now who are increasingly hospitable and helpful in my work.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

PA
RHA

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

May 16, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have had a mild attack of my old trouble -- several days in bed and a week of in-and-out-of-bed, etc. I am rounding out what will amount to two weeks of half-duty. I charge one week to my 25% time-off arrangement. My doctor wants me for X-ray and other entertainment some time in June, which will probably account for my June off-week. I hope by working full time during July, August and September to accumulate three weeks of credit for my October trip to Europe. I suppose I should work out all this with Ruth Alexander.

Noted
RHA
6/6/62

My trouble isn't painful. Just knocks me out. Nothing like a slipped disk! And I'm fine again.

My little convalescence offered a convenient opportunity for putting together the enclosed tentative plan for a book on the ten years following the Brown decision, and I am sure the exercise had a curative value!

I have noted your exchange of letters with Reed Sarratt. However, in the event I am condemned to further periods of convalescence or rest during the coming year I am wondering what I would do without the ten-year story to work on.

Best regards.

Ben

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1962

June 1, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Paul Anthony said you would like to have a copy of the enclosed memo outlining SRC distribution.

Incidentally, a Mr. John Daily of the news service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference called today to tell us they were going to release the information in L-34 (parochial school desegregation) to their outlets, noting SRC as the source. He said some 60 to 70 publications got their wire service and they mailed to many others.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

June 6, 1962

BMuse LWDunbar

Brew's report seems to me worth transmitting, in large part, to Dave Freeman and I wonder if you would not prefer that this be done rather than that you condense it as you mentioned to me over the phone you were planning to do. It would seem to me that we could send a photocopy of the following:

pp 1-4, through the sub-heading "New Orleans, Louisiana?

pp 6, beginning "Sometime before starting" -8, through "conception of the L of WV"

pp 14, beginning with "Chamber of Commerce" sub-head - end.

- : -

June 22, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassus, Virginia

Dear Ben:

You may recall we gave Fleming - with the good help of your son - an incomplete set of Shakespeare on the occasion of his leaving. We planned to complete the set as the volumes became available from the publisher. Several inquiries to your son as to what volumes were originally given, how we could go about getting the rest, etc., have gone unanswered. I have the feeling your son has done us a good turn and now wants to be done with the whole thing.

The only catch is that once each six weeks since March, 1961, Les prods us on getting the matter straightened out. Therefore, would you sometime when you write or see your son bring the matter up with him.

Thanks,

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

via air mail

June 25, 1962

BMuse

LWDunbar

Will the Advisory Committee on Racial Discrimination in the Armed Forces have any staff, even if only temporary? I ask this question at the request of and in strong support of Dick Shapiro, Associate Staff Director of the Anti-Defamation League office here. Dick is well known to both Harold and Art, both of whom are also familiar with his need to re-locate.

-: -

LWD/mmj

June 28, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Today's mail brings two requests for the "more comprehensive material" referred to in L-35. I understand you are planning to send the materials back to us. If this is the case will you include with it any suggestions you have on how the "more comprehensive" information can be pulled together with minimum cost and work. I suspect we will have relatively few requests of this nature. But those may well be of significance to persons who want to establish or expand such a commission.

Les tells me you acted on behalf of Shakespeare. Many thanks.

Many

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 30, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am surprised at the quick response to L-35. It was my thought that the collection of literature would remain with SRC with the possibility that some CHR director or other community leader seriously interested in pursuing the matter might call at the office in Atlanta and go over it.

Your answer to the inquiries would depend on the writer and the nature of the letter.

There might be some questions which could be answered by reference to the file. If the writer is unable to come to Atlanta and a supply of the literature is desired, you might suggest that he write to one, or all four, of the commissions direct. The addresses could be given from the file.

In any case the writer should be informed of our desire to keep in touch and to cooperate in any promising effort to get a state commission or human relations setup in his state.

If either of your inquiries happens to be from a state governor, I will take the file to him!

I am mailing the file to you ~~herewith~~ separately.

Sincerely,

Ben

July 9, 1962

BMuse LWDunbar

q Attached is a draft which Jim Moss left behind of an L-Report which I believe you had suggested. I am enclosing also a copy of the November 1959 New South which contains an article we did on population movements.

I hade to ask you to do more on this, but I (a) do not regard the draft as being, in its present form, useable and (b) I am not sure myself exactly what your thinking was.

I believe if you would outline your idea, in a brief paragraph, of a needed L-Report, that I could turn it over to Miss Smith and have it done. Please return the draft.

July 13, 1962

BMuse LWDunbar

I have approved your time and salary plan as submitted July 11. I am worried, however, that you are not being fair to yourself, and I am asking Paul Anthony to review the whole matter with you when you're next in town.

-:-

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

PAV
MJ-file

July 16, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Committee on Equality of Opportunity in the Armed Forces

I was appointed a member of this committee by a letter from the President, dated June 22. The letter gave the committee "for inclusion in its consideration of the general problem" these two questions:

1. What measures should be taken to improve the effectiveness of current policies and procedures in the Armed Forces with regard to equality of treatment and opportunity for persons in the Armed Forces?

2. What measures should be employed to improve equality of opportunity for members of the Armed Forces and their dependents in the civilian community, particularly with respect to housing, education, transportation, recreational facilities, community events, programs and activities?

RECEIVED
JUL 17 1962

The press announcement June 24 named Gerhard A. Gesell, of Washington, as chairman and listed the following additional members of the committee: Dean Joseph O'Meara, of the Notre Dame Law School; Nathaniel Colley, a Sacramento, Calif., attorney; Abe Fortas, a Washington, D.C. attorney; John Sengstacke, editor-publisher, Chicago Defender, and Whitney Young, New York, executive secretary, National Urban League.

I am still without much definite information, but from visits to Gesell and the Commission on Civil Rights and from a communication from the American Veterans Committee I gather that three initiatives more or less converged.

The CCR had undertaken an investigation some months ago along the lines of question 2 above. Chairman Hannah had written Secretary McNamara and received an assurance of the Defense Department's cooperation. Several officers were designated as contact men for the CCR investigators. An investigating team of two CCR men recently returned from a two months tour of Air Force bases.

In the meantime the American Veterans Committee has been aggressively urging desegregation of the National Guard. A committee of the AVC called upon the President June 21 and was asked by the President to prepare "an outline of specific methods." I had been asked to serve on the President's Committee in a telephone call from Yarmolinsky nearly three weeks earlier, but had received no further communication. The White House letters may have been held up pending this visit from the AVC; they were sent out the following day.

Under date of July 13, I received a copy of the excellent 56-page document which the AVC prepared for President Kennedy, with a letter urging in effect that our committee include in its report a recommendation for desegregation of the National Guard.

When I talked with Gesell on July 3 I found him also somewhat in the dark as to the shape of our undertaking. Incidentally there had been a change, announced that day, in the Assistant Secretaries of Defense for manpower, whose office was directly involved in the President's Committee's formation. It appeared to both Gesell and me that coordination of the Committee's and CCR's activity might be the first business. Gesell suggested tentatively that he would ask for an office for the Committee in the Pentagon, manned by "some Defense Department lawyer and a secretary." Considerable mail for the Committee was already accumulating. He estimated roughly that our job would take about a year. He contemplated calling the first meeting of the Committee in September, although he would like to confer with me and Fortas (the other Washington member) in the meantime.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

July 24, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Under separate cover I am mailing today the "Chronology" you requested from Paul Anthony, and also some stationery, both the old letterhead for inter-Council memos, and the plain, not knowing which you preferred. Included, too, are some mailing list cards.

Unfortunately, we were unable to locate even a copy of the "Highlights from Recent Literature" which you have, much less an earlier or later one. I'm very sorry.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(mrs.) Barbara Patterson

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Date: July 20, 1962

Memorandum for: Paul Anthony From: B. Muse

Subject: "Highlights from Recent Literature"

I have the mimeograph, "Highlights from Recent Literature," II, December 1958, which states: "This is second issue of a continuing series of digests of newly published literature on desegregation, etc." I would appreciate receiving any earlier or later reports in this series.

Les mentioned a chronology of events in desegregation and race relations prepared by us through 1957 (?). I would like to have a copy of this chronology if it is conveniently to hand.

Regards. Ben

July 26, 1962

BMuse LWDunbar

Letter from Margaret McCulloch

I would be glad to have your comments regarding the enclosed.

-:-

July 31, 1962

B. Muse

L.W.Dunbar

You may wish to have the enclosed extra copies sent to me by Mr. Hunton.

- : -

Enclosures: Bishop Paul J. Hallinan's Pastoral Letter of June 10 to the Archdioceses of Atlanta.

August 17, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Leslie Dunbar asked that we send you the enclosed clipping on tuition grants from this morning's Constitution.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

August 23, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I am enclosing a bibliography on education and desegregation which comprises books we have on hand. We also have pamphlets, too numerous to list, but readily available. We will have the clippings, 1954 to 1958, in the mail in a day or sox

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

Sept. 6, 1962

Ben Muse Leslie Dunbar

Ten Year Review

I am enclosing one copy of chapters 1-3. The other copy we shall keep here. I am asking Staige Blackford (who reported to work yesterday) to read it and send you his comments. Staige, with his publishing experience, should be very helpful. I have marked up the copy which I am returning and, as you will discover, my comments are virtually all of a nit-picking variety. Generally, I thought you moved into the subject smoothly and interestingly. The background material seemed to me well selected and the handling of early events well done. Most importantly, I thought you took the first steps in fashioning a perspective with skill.

Bill Foster has completed his book which is to be published by Knopf. He has sent the draft to me for comment and I am presently engaged in reading it. I think you will find it of great interest and value, and as I finish reading I shall send it up to you. According to present plans, the book is to be published early next year and so you will have full freedom to cite from it or in other ways use it. Bill asked me to tell you that he would be ever so grateful were you to send him comments about it; he did not send you a copy of the draft only because of short supply.

Best wishes.

HOTEL-RESTAURANT
Austria
HAUS ERSTEN RANGES
WIEN I, WOLFENGASSE 3
52 62 21 (ECKE FLEISCHMARKT 20) 52 74 39

WBY
ML
MA-file

October 20, 1962

Dear Les,

Back last night from my four-day tour of American military installations in West Germany, which was a pleasant and exciting, if somewhat hectic, experience. Our Committee secretary was flown over to join me for the tour, and the ~~various~~ commanders having been duly alerted, I was accompanied by various liaison officers. We hopped from H.Q. to H.Q. generally by helicopter, which gave me an incomparable view of a very beautiful part of Germany. We passed very close over the castles on the mountain tops.

Though we found a few problems, I was mainly impressed with the magnificent job of racial integration which the armed forces have done. At command levels I found a fine determination to eliminate every vestige of discrimination, pride in what has been accomplished, real enthusiasm over the results of integration and considerable expressed liberalism on the broad subject "above and beyond the call of duty." It was an inspiring sight to see Negroes exercising command over white and Negro troops without the slightest difficulty on the racial score. There are actually more Negroes than whites in the NCO grades in proportion the total Negro and white personnel, and the comment is unanimous that

This feature has been a resounding success. A great deal of fine discussion with knowledgeable and intelligent people, including officers, Negroes. I did not hesitate to express very freely the armed forces, not only as a matter of principle, but as selling the race for the nation is a great moral reform. I hope all is well at Yaddo. Best regards to Ben

Muse file

THE JAMES J. HOEY AWARD

FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL PRESENTATION OF AWARDS

ROYAL BALLROOM

AMERICANA HOTEL

52nd Street and Seventh Avenue

New York City

FEAST OF CHRIST THE KING

OCTOBER 28, 1962

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF NEW YORK

THE JAMES J. HOEY AWARD

FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

The James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice was established in 1942 by the family of the late James J. Hoey, one-time Collector of Internal Revenue for New York and one of the organizers and first president of the Catholic Interracial Council. Each year on the Feast of Christ the King, the Catholic Interracial Council of New York confers a silver medal upon a white and a Negro layman who, in the judgment of the Council, have made outstanding contributions to interracial justice.

PRESENTATION OF AWARDS 1962

BENJAMIN MUSE
and
DR. EUGENE T. REED

Opening Prayer

"James J. Hoey Awards of 1962" ..... Lawrence W. Pierce
President, Catholic Interracial Council of New York

Address ..... Leslie Dunbar
Director of the Southern Regional Council

•

Citations ..... Rev. John LaFarge, S.J.
Chaplain Emeritus, Catholic Interracial Council of New York

PRESENTATION OF AWARDS

•

RESPONSES OF THE RECIPIENTS

BENJAMIN MUSE
Consultant to Southern Regional
Council, Atlanta, Georgia

DR. EUGENE T. REED
President, NAACP
Conference, N. Y. State

PREVIOUS RECIPIENTS OF THE AWARD

1942—Frank A. Hall, director of the NCWC News Service, Washington, D. C.
Edward LaSalle, Kansas City, Kansas

1943—Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Ralph H. Metcalf, Chicago

1944—Mrs. Edward V. Morrell, benefactor and promoter of spiritual and educational work among the Negroes, Philadelphia, Pa.
John L. Yancey, leader in church and civic activities, Chicago, Ill.

1945—Paul D. Williams, co-founders of the Catholic Committee of the South, Richmond, Va.
Richmond Barthe, sculptor, New York, N. Y.

1946—Richard Reid, editor of the "Catholic News", New York, N. Y.
Charles L. Rawlings, Catholic Interracial Council of Detroit.

1947—Julian J. Reiss, former member of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.
Clarence T. Hunter, Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis.

1948—Mrs. Anna M. McGarry, Catholic Interracial Council of Philadelphia.
Ferdinand L. Rousseve, former president of the Urban League of New Orleans.

1949—M. C. Clarke, Insurance Executive, Cleveland, Ohio
Dr. John J. O'Connor, Catholic Interracial Council of Washington.

1950—Hon. J. Howard McGrath, former U. S. Attorney General.
Lou Montgomery, Catholic Interracial Council of Hartford.

1951—Mrs. Roger L. Putnam, founder and president of Catholic Scholarships for Negroes, Inc., Springfield, Mass.
Dr. Francis M. Hammond, former chairman, Department of Philosophy, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N. J.

1952—Charles F. Vatterott, Jr. Catholic Interracial Council of St. Louis.
Joseph J. Yancey, founder The Pioneer Athletic Club of New York

1953—John B. King, Associate Superintendent of Schools, New York City Board of Education.
Joseph J. Morrow, Vice-President, Pittney-Bowes, Inc., Stamford, Conn.

1954—Mrs. Gladys D. Woods, Principal, The David D. Jones School, Greensboro, N. C.
Hon. Collins J. Seitz, Chancellor of the State of Delaware.

1955—Millard F. Everett, Editor, "Catholic Action of the South", New Orleans, La.
James W. Hose, M.D., founder, St. Roch's Clinic, Memphis, Tenn.

1956—Frank M. Folsom, President, RCA, New York, N. Y.
Paul G. King, State College, Nashville, Tenn.

1957—James W. Dorsey, Chairman, Fair Employment Advisory Committee, Wisconsin.
George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C.

1958—James T. Harris, Asst. Executive Director, American Society of African Culture, New York.
Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., President, Chicago Board of Education.

1959—John P. Nelson, Jr., Institute of Industrial Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans.
Percy H. Steele, Jr., Executive Director, San Diego Urban League.

1960—William Duffy, Jr., Founder, Catholic Interracial Council of Wilmington, Delaware
George Anthony Moore, Associate Director, Northern Ohio Region, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

1961—Mrs. Osma Spurlock, Vice-Chairman Mayor's Commission on Human Rights, Indianapolis
Ralph E. Fenton, Co-Director, Action for Interracial Understanding of the Third Order of St. Francis

November 2, 1962

MEMO TO BEN MUSE

FROM: Leslie Dunbar

I enclose a copy of "your" speech. Needless to say, I prefaced it with some remarks appropriate to the occasion. The dinner was most pleasant with about 300 persons paying $6.00 a plate in the sumptiousness of the Americana's gilded ballroom. I think you would have enjoyed it and I am sorry that you had to miss it. We sent you the other day your medal, which I carried back from New York, and the CIC office was to mail to you directly your citation, which was a little big for me to carry in an overnight bag.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

COPY

November 30, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I think it best to move along in preliminary draft and allow for considerable trimming when I can better see the shape of the whole book.

I will appreciate indication of places where the text is too prolix or too dry or downright wrong.

After examination of my outline, Viking wrote that I appeared to contemplate giving too much space to the Supreme Court decision and its background. I forwarded the first two chapters and received the enclosed comment. I am a little disturbed at the objection to "nonobjective words."

Regards.

BM

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlantic 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

December 12, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les;

I am finding James Graham Cook's The Segregationists (which I have on loan from Harold Fleming) very helpful, and would like to have a copy at hand for several months.

With your approval, I would like to buy a copy from RBF funds for SRC.?

You might want to reply on the carbon copy.

Regards.

Ben

12-13-62

Ben Muse Leslie Dunbar

10 years after; Birmingham report

Staige has read and commented on your chapters and as soon as I can I shall finish reading them. So I am the bottle-neck, but I promise you that I shall be writing to you before Christmas.

Staige asked me also to tell you that he will be responding soon to your inquiry about the KKK.

The enclosed is a memo filed by Claude Sitton with his editor after the Times decided, once again, that because of its court difficulties it could not carry an analysis of Birmingham. Claude let us have a copy on condition that we not, at any time, reveal the authorship. It seems to me a very clear and helpful summary of the present situation and I thought you would like to have it as background.

Enclosure: Sitton's report (copy)

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

SB

December 28, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

And a very Happy New Year to you and yours -- and the Blackfords.

I am gratified that both you and Staige are impressed with my production speed, but I calculate that the schedule will not permit of anything less, and I shall manage all right. If I bring any peculiar virtue to the task it is that of concentration; I dream about it.

My plan is shaping up like this: I divide the preliminary draft into six installments and count what I have sent you thus far as one. The remaining five will be sent you at intervals of about six weeks, so that the last will reach you by July 15.

In the meantime the work of correcting, trimming, supplementing, re-arranging, polishing, etc. of the second draft will go forward as time allows. This will be sent to you in a second wave of installments, the last to reach you early in August.

This means leaning heavily upon help from Atlanta, with, I am afraid, considerable demand upon your precious time. However, I cannot tell you how I value the corrections and comments of you and Staige. For one thing, I feel freer to advance some thoughts which, while better than half-baked, I would not like to bring to the table until they have been through the Forsyth St. oven.

Eventually, I would like to have Staige's advice and help in the matter of permission to quote. I would like to have his opinion as to how extensively we should write to authors for this permission, and perhaps, when the manuscript has firmed up, his secretarial staff can write the letters.

In returning the clipping files I propose to follow a process of gradualism -- returning small packages of folders for which I have no further need. This will aid my own systematization and may make the job of reconstructing your files easier. A "token" package is now going forward.

Sincerely,

Ben

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1963

February 22, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Under separate cover, I am returning -- reluctantly -- Bill Foster's Racial Discrimination in Public Education, which I read on the train. I hope I may have it back again in due course.

I don't think I mentioned the fact that I sent seven chapters of my preliminary draft to Dave Freeman.

It was good, as always, to see you in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

/

Dear Les,

You probably have received this direct. If not it may of of interest.

I can't make it of course.

Regards -

Ben

TA ✓
S BV
MS file

CONTINUATIONS COMMITTEE
GREENWICH CONFERENCE ON PRESERVING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

March 5, 1963

Dear Mr. Muse:

As an Eastern participant in the Greenwich Conference on Preserving the Democratic Process last year, we invite you to attend an informal diagnostic seminar on Friday, April 5, 1963 from 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. The meeting will be held at the Institute of Human Relations of the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y. A buffet luncheon will be served at a one-dollar charge.

At the Greenwich conference, one of the most frequently heard comments was, "We should have held this meeting at least a year ago. We're late getting started now." We all recognized that the radical right had made impressive gains, at least partly due to the failure of responsibile groups to cooperate effectively to preserve the democratic process. Fortunately, since that session, the radical right has suffered severe blows. But the forces behind the radical right have not been dissipated, nor have we yet isolated the social, economic, political, religious and psychological factors which have contributed to the phenomenon of the ultra right.

Your Continuations Committee met recently and proposed this April 5th seminar. The morning session, to be chaired by Reverend Dean M. Kelley, will include a critical review by Wesley McCune, Director of Group Research, Inc., of the past year's developments and present danger spots. He will be followed by Professor Alan Westin, of Columbia University, who will concentrate on those elements in our society which help produce predictably recurrent extremism.

The luncheon and afternoon session, to be chaired by Edwin J. Lukas, will be open for free-wheeling discussion of a prophylactic program to wipe out the threat posed by such extremism. It is our hope that such discussion will stress ways to develop an articulate "middle" in American life, with special stress on the problems of developing real dialogue between liberal and conservative groups on such issues as peace and the American economy. We will also consider whether or not an enlarged nationwide conference on the Ultra Right should be held later in the year.

Please notify us on the enclosed postcard whether or not you will be able to attend. ✓ No

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Sub-Committee on Next Steps

Edwin W. Davis
Rev. Dean M. Kelley
Edwin J. Lukas
Alan Reitman

P.S. Professor Westin will use Seymour M. Lipset's diagnosis of the ultra-right in the book, The Radical Right, edited by Daniel Bell (Doubleday, $4.95) as the jumping-off point for his remarks. He urges that you read Lipset's chapters, "The Sources of the Radical Right" and "Three Decades of the Radical Right: Coughlinites, McCarthyites, and Birchers," prior to our session.

eak

April 11, 1963

Mr. Edward H. Peeples, Jr.
3425 Powelton Avenue
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Peeples:

I was very interested in your letter of last month to Mr. Muse, and I hope you will be able to find a position in the intergroup relations field next fall.

I should also like to ask if you can make a copy of your report on Prince Edward County available to us when it is completed. It will, I am sure, provide much useful information to us here in the SRC research department. We will, of course, be glad to comment on the manuscript if you so desire. If we can be of any assistance in helping you complete it, please feel free to call upon us.

Your sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

March 25, 1963

Mr. Edwqad H. Peeples, Jr.
3425 Powelton Avenue
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Mr. Peeples:

Mr. Muse has forwarded to us a copy of your letter of March 13.

While we do not have an opening and know of none with other agencies, we are asked from time to time to suggest persons for positions in this field. For this purpose, would you send us somewhat more detailed information on your training and experience so that we will have it available should an opening seem appropriate for your interests.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

SB
PA
If either of you have any interest in Peeples file with Jeannie
return to MJ for filing

March 20, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter of March 13 from Edward H. Peeples, Jr., which could possibly be of interest to you from a personnel point of view. I do not know Mr. Peeples.

Long time no see. I am still plowing the long furrow.

Regards.

Ben

COPY

March 20, 1963

Mr. Edward H. Peeples, Jr.
3425 Powelton Ave.
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Peeples:

Thanks for your letter of March 13 and your kind reference to my writing.

A rather heavy book project is keeping me somewhat in seclusion this year and I am not in touch with personnel openings in the human relations field. However, I have forwarded a copy of your letter to Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

You may also wish to write or visit Mr. Heslip Lee, executive director, Virginia Council on Human Relations, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond 19, Virginia.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

3425 Powelton Ave.
Philadelphia 4, Penna.
March 13, 1963

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am a native Virginian and have for the last few years enjoyed and benefited by your various articles and particularly your book, Virginia's Massive Resistance.

Currently, I am in my last months of study for a Masters degree in Human Relations at the Albert M. Greenfield Center for Human Relations at the University of Pennsylvania and after a suggestion by Jean Fairfax at the National Office of the American Friends Service Committee here in Philadelphia, I thought I would write to you on two accounts. First is an inquiry as to whether you might know of any intergroup relations positions due to be open this fall in the South Atlantic, in Virginia and particularly the Richmond area? Second is at Jean's suggestion. She said that you or others at the Southern Regional Council might be interested in the work which I have been doing in Prince Edward County which, although still in a preliminary stage, has become my Masters thesis. The thesis will be completed in the next few weeks but it is my hope that the larger study shall be continued in the near future.

The study covers a number of different areas but the major emphasis has to date been on the study of county decision-makers in the study traditions lead by Floyd Hunter, Nelson Polsby, Robert Dahl, Raymond Wolfinger and all the others. The field work began in 1960-61 when I was in the county with a group of Richmond volunteers who I had organized to conduct educational and recreational activities on weekends for about 130 of the county's school-less youngsters. Additional field work was done on the study this past December and January after receiving a grant from the Greenfield Center. If you think my work could be of use to the Council I would most anxious to assist in any way.

With regard to my inquiry into intergroup relations job possibilities, I would be most appreciative if you would inform me if you know of something either in race relations research or on the action level which you might surmise me to be qualified and interested.

Thank you for your very valuable time.

Most sincerely,

Edward H. Peeples, Jr.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1963

May 6, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

As we approach the end of my fiscal year, I should give an accounting of that part of my time given to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces.

I started with the President's Committee on a without pay basis, but upon my assignment for the West Germany tour (conducted during a leave of absence from SRC), I changed to salary status.

During the subsequent seven months -- including May (there will be no further meeting before June) -- I have given the Committee ten days, at $50. per day.

These ten days may be computed as leave of absence. On the other hand, in my present routine, ten days might be considered offset by regular night and weekend work, and my own conscience would not be disturbed if the $500 were regarded as a bonus!

Sincerely,

Ben

May 13, 1963

B Muse

LWDunbar

I have your letter of May 6 which has been duly noted and filed.

I had meant to get a word off to you sooner regarding the Executive Committee meeting next week. There is nothing on the agenda which requires your attendance, and I would like for you to feel perfectly free to come or not, as you prefer. From our standpoint, at least, it is beneficial to have you come down once and awhile, but as you know Executive Committee meetings have disadvantages as well as advantages as opportunities for exchanging thoughts. Please be guided by your own decisions.

- : -

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

P.A. for LD

April 24, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have been working more or less on the assumption that the world will come to an end when this book is finished. Your draft of a letter to Dave Freeman asking for a renewal of the RBF grant is a reminder that this is not the case, and the thought of returning to SLP concerns is not an unpleasant one.

"....These, together with the imminent retirement of Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, the Project's School Consultant, suggest the value of outlining now the status and plans of the Project" -- in the second paragraph, does not seem to harmonize with the sentence beginning the last paragraph on Page 2: "Field activities, as in the past, will be directed by Col. Benjamin Muse, assisted on a part-time basis by J. J. Brewbaker, our Public School Consultant..."

As for my title, I can think of no better designation for my role than that of "consultant."

In the wording of the last sentence Paragraph 4, Page 3, I would suggest: "The present accelerated pace of reform --" rather than: "The accelerated pace of reform now existing."

I think you have outlined an admirable further program for the Project, and there is no part of it to which I would take exception. I shall have a little impatience now to overcome in getting back to my writing routine!

Sincerely,

Ben

June 3, 1963

BMuse LWDunbar

Just a word in response to your letter of May 16. I am planning to be on vacation from June 28 through July 15.

Would after July 15 be possible for you?

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 16,1963

Dear Les:

I was very glad to get your note. Executive committee meeting time is the least useful visiting time for my present purposes.

In my own scheduling, I would like to spend a few days with you, at your convenience, in late June or early July when we can best visualize the book as a whole and forecast the concluding chapters.

I hope you have a good executive committee meeting.

Sincerely,

Ben

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1963

June 3, 1963

BMuse LWDunbar

Enclosed are pages 189-263 with some notations by Staige and me. Mine were written on the train which was jerking about a bit, but I hope you can read them satisfactorily.

We, apparently, did not receive the footnotes for these chapters.

These are up to your same high standards. I raise the question with you, however, as to whether Chapter 10 is not too long. I find the quotations from the various principal actors as fascinating as you do, but you may want to consider whether their extensive use does not prolong the chapter unduly.

All the best.

June 4, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge your letter of May 29, 1963 and the enclosed check for $40,000 in full payment of the Fund's pledge of December 19, 1961; our official receipt is enclosed.

To express thanks yet another time seems redundant. And to blink at the brute fact of the words "final payment" is (not "seems") spine-stiffening, or something.

Coincidentally, we have just prepared a synopsis of Project activities for the past year, and are sending it enclosed. It gives, I believe, a picture of considerable activity; hopefully, it represents some achievements also.

Enclosed also is a summary report by J. J. Brewbaker of his three years as schools consultant for the Project. As you know, Mr. Brewbaker has now retired.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosures

SUMMARY REPORT OF THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT FOR THE YEAR JUNE 1962 - MAY 1963

Benjamin Muse, project director, devoted a major portion of his time to work on a ten-year history of the region's reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court public school decision. Approximately three-fourths of the first draft of this work has been completed and publication is scheduled for May 1954 by Viking Press. We believe this book will be a contribution of long-term value, and of particular use during the next few years as all of the Deep South and rural areas face the necessary and overdue transition from segregation to desegregation of the public schools.

In October 1962, Mr. Muse was presented the James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice. At the time of the award, Mr. Muse was touring U. S. military installations in West Germany for the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Services, on which he serves as a member.

J. J. Brewbaker, project public schools consultant, completed his final year of work with the Project. Because of the need and because of Mr. Brewbaker's particular skills almost complete emphasis was given superintendents and school boards in the Deep South, and especially to the medium and smaller cities in that area. It has been especially encouraging to

note the increased degree of acceptance and number of invitations extended to Mr. Brewbaker during this third year as compared with many of his initial experiences in the same Deep South areas. We think this is indicative,not only of the quality of Mr. Brewbaker's work, but also of the increased awareness on the part of school officials of the necessity for change.

The Reverend Elbert Jean will shortly complete his first year of work with the Southern Office of the National Council of Churches. This program of work with ministers in rural areas of the Deep South is partly financed for a period of two years by a grant of $10,000 per year from the Project. In addition to his field consultations, Mr. Jean is developing a special program for seminary students in their senior year. Ministers in difficult situations are brought to seminaries to talk at some length with students about problems they will soon face and how best to handle them. The initial program with three seminaries, using minister consultants from Mississippi has been very successful.

The experimental project with Friendly World Broadcasting to develop a series of programs for Alabama radio stations has produced good results for the modest funds expended. To date, 56 programs have been produced and have been or are being carried by 52 stations in Georgia and Alabama. The

The Project is considering another modest grant to Friendly World Broadcasting. The programs are now being evaluated by two competent media specialists. Their findings will largely determine whether or not further assistance is given.

The preparation of "L" Reports and their distribution to selected leadership groups in the region continues. During the Project year eight "L" reports were issued. A special report Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Project. This study of the degree of compliance by Plans for Progress signers with operations in the Atlanta area has had a great impact with employers and with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. A selected number of reprints, such as the article "Business-Next Target for Integration?" from the March-April 1963 issue of the Harvard Business Review have been mailed to appropriate persons.

Considerable work of an experimental nature has been conducted in the area of assisting local groups in preparing their communities for school desegregation. This program will receive major attention from the Project during the coming year and our initial efforts are encouraging. With specific help from project consultants, groups have been started in Jackson, Mississippi, and Mobile and Huntsville, Alabama, and

assistance is being provided to groups in Jacksonville, Daytona Beach and Tallahassee, Florida, and in Savannah, Rome, and Macon, Georgia. One of the organizers of the Atlanta H.O.P.E. movement maintains regular liaison with the Jackson group. Experienced persons from New Orleans and Little Rock have visited Mobile. Arrangements have been made to have Atlanta attorney James Dorsey, Chairman of the Republican Party of Georgia, speak to the Jacksonville group and counsel with business men of that community. While it is anticipated that consultant fees as well as travel expenses will be paid, it is interesting to note that the overwhelming number of these persons are happy to serve without fee.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Freeman, Mr. David F.
Rockefeller Brothers Fund

REGARDING:

LWD's letter to Freeman re: $40,000 final payment on its 1961 grant to Southern Leadership Project.

DATE

June 4, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:
Foundations: =
Rockefeller Brothers Fund - Dave Freeman

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

SBL
PAV
MT-file

June 5, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am forwarding under separate cover Chapters 13 thru 15, pages 264 thru 335. This leaves me with a survey of subsequent school desegregation, "Ole Miss," a catch-all, the contemporary scene and conclusions -- also much reshaping and polishing of earlier chapters.

I am leaving June 10 for Cape Cod, returning June 22. My address there: c/o Parnassus Book Service, Yarmouth Port, Massachusetts.

Unless some urgent problem should require an earlier visit to Atlanta, I shall plan to spend July 18 and 19 with you -- subject to change if some other time in the latter half of July is more convenient for you.

I addressed a letter on April 16 to Roy Wilkins, enclosing Chapters 1,2, 4 and 6 for scrutiny of my references to the NAACP (pages 10-17, 26-28, 38-39, 60-63, 125-128 and 134-135). I have never received any reply. I took my data mainly from Fight for Freedom and am not uneasy on this score, but if Wiley Branton has any time for it, I would be glad if he would check it. Brooks Hays has gone over Chapter 10 and Everett Tucker has Chapter 13 -- on Little Rock.

I attended an anniversary dinner of the AVC Saturday evening and had a few words with Bolte, of Viking (who is a leading light in that organization); I broached the matter of pictures. His first reaction was: "That costs a lot of money." However, he said: "Get a few pictures and let's think about it." I am making some inquiry as to suppliers of photos for this purpose -- Wide World -- and cost, and you and Staige may also wish to keep this in mind.

I hope you will let nothing short of an act of God interfere with your vacation. All best.

Sincerely,

Ben

COPY

THE VIKING PRESS INC . PUBLISHERS

625 Madison Avenue . New York 22, N.Y.

27 May 1963

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Denver Lindley and I have now both had a chance to read the manuscript you submitted so far, and this is simply a line to encourage you to continue as you have begun. It seems to us a good workmanlike job; our only concern at the moment is that the final manuscript not be too long. No doubt you will have this in mind as you continue with the writing.

We will look forward to further installments.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolte

August 12, 1963

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

At long last.

Chapter 17 represents my first substantive disagreement with you. I am not convinced that the Ole Miss fight was important enough for a separate, longish chapter. I see no evidence that it will be for Mississippi what Athens was for Georgia. I think a separate, and long even, chapter on the special character of Mississippi is very much in order, and I like pages 355-365. The subsequent detail seems to me unjustified.

I renew my promise to read the revised draft of the book promptly. Perhaps after reading it, I could, instead of mailing my comments, carry them to Manassas and spend a day with you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leallie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

August 16, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am sending under separate cover a revised draft of the first 12 chapters. ~~(Missing pages 54, 56, 57, 58 and 61 -- old 54, 61, 62, 63 and 66 -- were not changed.)~~ Attention is invited to these pages: 1-79, 89-105, 121-132, 134, 145, 149-165, 182-195, 202, 207, 208, 210, 217, 218, 238-249, 255.

I have just received chapters 13, 14, 15 and 17 back from you. Chapter 16 was sent to you two weeks ago. Chapter 18 will go forward next week. I want to leave chapter 19 (the last) until the dust settles over September school-opening, but send the rest to Viking by the middle of September.

I will work on a condensation of 17. I am inclined to welcome any criticism that makes for curtailment at this juncture.

I propose to preface the footnotes with a complimentary note about the Southern School News and the Race Relations Law Reporter.

There should also be an acknowledgement of help from individuals -- a dozen who have read all or part of the Ms.; a bibliography, and an appendix, containing the two Brown decisions -- what else?

Have you reached any conclusions on the desirability of using photographs?

I can think of no better title than "Ten Years of Brown," but I hope you have an inspiration.

It will probably be Labor Day before I have a revised draft of chapters 13-18 for you. But you will probably have to schedule your visit to me to fit into other SRC exigencies. Conceivably Labor Day itself will be your freest date -- if you are not going fishing on that day. Labor Day will find me at my usual routine. However, it is no problem to find a suitable day at my end. It would be ideal to give the book a final going over together in this seclusion, and it would be a pleasure for Beatriz and me to have you for a day -- and overnight.

Sincerely, Ben

January 30, 1963

Ben Muse

LWDunbar

I am forwarding Staige's comments on the latest chapters which you have sent down. I shall read them myself just as soon as I possibly can.

Incidentally, I had dinner with Dave Freeman when we both were in Chicago for the Conference on Religion and Race, and he remarked to me, maybe only half facetiously, that his reading these days was a great deal less interesting than it used to be. I wonder if he would like to see these advance chapters, or whether you would like for him to? They are not, of course, the kind of current "behind the scenes" comment which Dave (and I) miss so sorely. But maybe he would like to be offered them if done in such a way that he could gracefully either accept or demur.

One of the strongest impressions I carried away from my two days in Chicago was the evident backing which the Catholic Church was given. Matt Ahmann, of course, was the principal organizer and administrator. But, also, Archbishop Hallihan was one of the three vice-chairmen and was in attendance throughout. Cardinal Meyer was there for an extended time. I believe at least one other Archbishop got to some of the meetings, and Matt told me that twenty-nine (29) (as I recall) bishops would be in and out. There were priests and monsignors everywhere.

September 30, 1963

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I can't tell you how good is the feeling to know that you are back "in the field." Good luck in Danville.

Why don't you send me a copy of your letter of September 26 to Mr. Piper?

I know very little about the Southern States Industrial Council. I occasionally see one of its leaflets or other releases. It is an organization espousing a pretty far right position from an economic point of view, and frequently gets into racial overtones.

For your possible interest enclosed is a copy of an old publication. In the appendix you will see how we once excerpted Cooper v. Aaron.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

PA
VJ
SB
MJ - file
for

September 26, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for the copies of correspondence with Kenneth Piper and for your handling of the matter.

The comparison of the Colley and Gesell contributions to our Initial Report was ludicrous. Colley had less to do with the drafting of the report than several others beside Gesell. Temperamentally outspoken, Colley was active in hearings and discussions, but he was not very regular in attendance and complained that his busy schedule left him little time for this work.

The whole undertaking was very largely a one-man job on the part of the chairman. He gave it a great deal of time with the full-time executive secretary and staff doing spadework and with the "advice and consent" of the full committee.

Committee members were invited to undertake any personal investigations, and, had I not felt overburdened with my research and writing for the SRC book, I would have volunteered for more expeditions and enjoyed it. As it was my West Germany tour and a couple of over-night trips to bases in the U.S. -- which were expressly requested -- my personal investigating activity was probably more than that of any other member.

The whole group was useful as a panel in drawing out our numerous witnesses and we had some intra-committee discussion at each meeting. Preliminary drafts of the report were submitted to us for written comment and we spent a day and a half discussing it orally.

Apart from minor points, my chief concern, expressed at nearly every meeting, was the recommendation that a permanent office be set up in the Defense Department for the encouragement, enforcement and surveillance of equal opportunity for minority personnel. That an Assistant Secretary of Defense should be charged with this was somewhat better than we expected.

This sentence, on page 67 of the report, seems to have been overlooked by some of its critics:

"... The significant tradition of non-involvement by military authorities in local political matters will be unimpared if base commanders limit their concern to problems affecting the morale and efficiency of members of their commands."

I understand that Gesell and Larry Hewes are working now on a final report, on which we shall all get a chance to comment on in writing sometime in October, after which the committee will probably hold its last meeting.

Sincerely,

Ben

P.S. Is the Southern States Industrial Council a respectable organization?

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1960

GB

9/21/60 3

Dear Les —

I told you I intended to place the two Brown decisions and Cooper v. Aaron. I have decided to use only the two Brown. Cooper is several times as long.

I am anxious to hear from Viking about the length of the MS., which must have run from 5 to 10 thousand words over the order. I hope they will consider the excess justified by the post-Birmingham picture.

Regards

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

I am driving
to Danville Sunday
and will be at the
Danville Millner
Hotel most of the
week unless I
hear from Viking.

Ben

October 9, 1963

BMuse LWDunbar

I think the concluding pages are good, though I would like to see more on the school ppenings of this year. I think the events in Alabama might have a little more detail, the statistics of this year's increase may be gone into a little more, and the mushrooming of private schools might get a little more attention, but I leave this to you and Viking. I still think Viking must allow an opportunity for some concluding pages on the civil rights act, assuming there is one before the book goes to press.

On page 400 the white children of Tuskegee are boycotting completely now. On page 405, Robert Weaver is a former vice chairman of the Board of the NAACP, and is now Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

October 10, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have just read "The Exposed Nerve" for a second time with increasing admiration for your grasp of Southern thought and attitudes.

As I look for something to criticize, my own inadequate academic preparation and my complete innocence of sociology and philosophy need to be taken into account.

This comment applies to much writing about the South and may be an idiosyncrasy on my part: ~~However,~~ I do not think white Southerners have with much persistence "struggled to define themselves." A few scholars and writers have struggled voluminously to define them. White Southerners are not sufficiently given to self-examination. They cling to an outworn image of themselves and their struggle is to resist any re-examination of it.

Southerners are not the victims of history to the extent that many on both sides of the race argument would have us believe. You touch only briefly on the post-Civil War devastation and despair. The resiliency often displayed by European countries is a reproach to the South. France and Germany, successively crushed in World War II, were both proud and prosperous nations again within twenty years.

"There was 1960 and confirmation that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the country's highest decisions"—seems to exaggerate non-Protestant exclusion before that date. A Catholic presided over the Supreme Court in the twenties; non-Protestant members of Congress and such individuals as Farley, Frankfurter, Baruch, etc. shared in the highest decision-making power. In 1960 a non-Protestant reached the pinnacle.

"The South is a little place. It cannot act greatly, and its survival means hardly anything to the world." The point you make in this paragraph is good, but this premise is an unnecessary exaggeration. In area, population and gross product the South, if standing alone, would be a considerable nation.

What you say about the white Southerner's complete unconcern before 1960 with the "mind of the Negro," the Negro's subsequent seizure of the levers of social change, and on many other points is fine. The style is charming, and yet some sentences are like Browning when he is not at his best! The paper lacks the superlative clarity which distinguishes your writing for SRC.

Just a bit of labored fault-finding from one who would like to be able to write as good a paper.

Sincerely,

Allen

√ IW
SBN

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

Rec'd 10/16/63

October 14, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

When the last chapter was completed the contract deadline was three weeks past and the volume limit had been exceeded by at least 5,000 words. Your memo came two weeks after that.

It is still too soon to tell a rounded story of September school desegregation. Overall statistics are not yet available. I filled in temporarily with some pure guesses. I have kept in constant touch with Reed Sarratt by phone and letter. He has given me odds and ends but does not expect to have overall totals before mid-November.

We cannot expect perfection at the cut-off in a continuing story. My plan was to survey school desegregation at the stage reached in 1962 in Chapter 16 and take care of September 1963 with a brief but accurate glance. Personally, I would not want to do it very differently if I had another month. I think, in the midst of the fast-moving events of 1963, the reader's interest in details of the latest Southern school desegregation will have declined, and that to dwell on them in the concluding pages would tend to unbalance the broad picture of national crisis.

In re-reading the contract I find in Part Two, 2A, that index, photographs, etc., if "deemed necessary," "shall be prepared or supplied by the Author...."

Incidentally, in Part One, 6, "The Author grants to the Publisher the option to publish the Author's next book-length work of nonfiction...." I wonder which of us is bound by that?

I am leaving this afternoon for Danville, where I expect to be at the Hotel Danville ~~through~~ tomorrow Friday.

Sincerely,

Ben

COPY

COPY

October 14, 1963

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
Executive Vice President
Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

I was very happy to receive your letter of October 1 expressing approval of my manuscript.

I would like very much to have an idea of the approximate schedule of production to help in planning my time and movements during coming weeks, also in preparing for the insertion of late statistical or other items.

The book would be expected to include whatever action may be taken in Congress this fall on the President's civil rights program. I would like to know how late it will be possible to insert a few hundred words on that.

Both Dave Freeman of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and Leslie Dunbar of SRC urge the inclusion of a few of the outstanding photos from the desegregation turmoil, probably in the middle of the book. I would like to have your comment and suggestions and to know when this would need to be attended to. I am thinking of selecting a dozen photos from the offering of Wide World Photos, Inc.

I am inexperienced in all this. There is also the problem of indexing. I would like to have an idea of when this will have to be done, and any suggestions. I hope I can get a professional to do the job.

I am enclosing a list of corrections, indicating manuscript pages. I shall have a few more such items when more complete calculations are available -- in early November?

To make use of my time during this stand-by period I have become involved in a would-be mediatory role in the Danville, Va. unpleasantness. I am returning to Danville this evening for the remainder of the week. My address simply: Hotel Danville, Danville, Va.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

October 12, 1963

Corrections -- Prelude to Revolution

Page 179, last line -- delete "approximately 650"; insert: 773.

Page 235, line 4 -- delete "1943"; insert: 1942.

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund asked not to be mentioned in the Foreword. It does not ordinarily finance writing projects, and would not like to give other authors the wrong impression. I am adding the shortened sentence to the next paragraph. The second paragraph of the Foreword should read:

> The production of the book was a project of the Southern Regional Council. A year of research followed three years of travel in the South, and consultation, etc.

Page 405, lines 16 and 17 -- delete: "A former vice-chairman of the NAACP -- Robert Weaver -- is head of the National Housing Administration." Insert:

> A former chairman of the board of the NAACP -- Robert Weaver -- is Administrator of the national Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Slight changes have been indicated by late information in Page 400. These involve only a few lines, but I am enclosing a revised page for convenient substitution.

the affected schools in Mobile were allowed to open Friday without the Negro pupils. It was announced that all schools would be allowed to reopen Monday, September 9. On Monday state troopers barred the Negroes from the white schools in Mobile, Tuskegee and Birmingham, but they were allowed to enter and enroll in Huntsville. The same day five federal judges in Alabama's three judicial districts issued orders restraining Governor Wallace from further interference with school desegregation.

At this point Wallace decided to replace his troopers with members of the National Guard. Guardsmen surrounded the schools in three cities early Tuesday morning. But President Kennedy acted quickly; before the school bells rang the Alabama National Guardsmen had been called into federal service and whisked back to their armories. Twenty Negro children entered white schools in Mobile, Tuskegee and Birmingham. In little Tuskegee, under steady segregationist pressure moderate voices had been silenced and the attitude of whites had hardened during the week. Macon County, in which the town is located, has a population of about 22,000 Negroes and less than 5,000 whites. A few white children entered school at first along with the Negroes, but within a few days no whites were left in the school. They were signing up for a segregated private school which was being hastily organized. However, except for a week of abortive student boycotts, the immediate school crisis in Huntsville, Mobile and Birmingham was over.

Wallace said: "I can't fight bayonets with my bare hands!" But it was the governor who sent the soldiers to the schools and the President who sent the soldiers home. If Wallace expected the kind of local acclaim that greeted Faubus in 1957 and Barnett in 1962, he was sadly disappointed. His maladroit intervention against the wishes of city authorities drew criticism even from many of his former supporters. The Montgomery Advertiser, whose editor had enjoyed a close personal friendship with the governor, said: "The Advertiser must sorrowfully conclude that, in this instance, its friend has gone wild." The Birmingham News said: "...Birmingham was done a disservice by the governor."

October 19, 1963

Mr. Charles A. Womack
Womack Electric Supplies
513 Wilson Avenue
Danville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Womack:

I want to let you know how much I admire your courageous fight in Danville and the pleasure I had in this association with you.

On a brief visit to your city this week I was impressed with the good work of Thomas and Whipple. They seem to be doing about all that outside assistants could there. In view of a possible misunderstanding, I wish also to clarify my own status as a consultant with the Southern Regional Council. My activities in the race relations field are financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and no fee is charged.

The news from Danville just now is encouraging. I do hope that things work out for the best for your city and for your good self.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

File
"Southern Leadership Prog" - Ben Muse gen. correspondence

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

MS

Plimpty

October 25, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have used some of my time while waiting on Viking to draft the attached material around an idea which may be worthless, and yet which might contain the germ of something that could be done.

It is a plan to give form and mild glamor to a campaign to turn white patronage away from restaurants, etc. "for white only."

I have suggested a letter to Councils on Human Relations. The American Friends, ESCRV, ADL, Catholic organizations and some other predominantly white groups might also be able to do something with it.

Sincerely,

Ben

Dear Mr. (CHR President or Director):

We are enclosing a copy of a paper headed "Whites Against White Only," which is intended to encourage white people to withhold their patronage from restaurants and other eating places which deny service to Negroes.

Some of your members no doubt avoid such establishments now; others may feel that the attitude of a single individual is insignificant without a concerted movement. The purpose of the enclosed paper is to help develop such a movement among CHR members and their friends.

The paper gives a statement of principles and purpose, followed by a detachable slip containing a simple pledge. In view of circumstances which may arise, particularly in travel in the South, which may make it difficult to follow a hard and fast rule, it is desirable to ask only the minimum in a formal pledge. It is suggested that signed pledges be collected by way of measuring the progress of the movement.

Whites Against White Only is not an organization; it is merely a means of enrolling people of good will in a common cause.

_____ additional copies of the paper are being forwarded under separate cover. More may be had upon request.

Whites Against White Only

Any white person who adheres to the principles hereinafter stated, and who signs the simple pledge attached becomes a member of Whites Against White Only, or WAWO.

The exclusion of Negroes from restaurants, lunch counters, hotels, motels, etc. because of their race imposes an unjustifiable hardship on many of our fellow citizens. It is an affront to human dignity incompatible with the spirit of brotherhood and American ideals of justice and freedom.

It is appropriate to express our disapproval in the most effective way -- which is by withholding our patronage from establishments which persist in this practice and encouraging with our patronage those establishments which have ended it. It may not be practicable at this stage to follow this rule extensively in the case of hotels and motels in the South, but the withholding of patronage from segregated restaurants and lunch counters in many places could have a great, if not a decisive, effect.

Proprietors of restaurants often fear that, if they serve Negroes, they will lose the patronage of whites. A concerted effort on the part of right thinking whites can remove this impression and demonstrate the reverse.

The signer of the attached pledge is not asked to avoid segregated establishments under all circumstances. In areas of the South where none of the better hotels and eating places are integrated, a necessary business trip might be impeded or prevented by strict adherence to such a rule. White human relations workers in some instances would be handicapped in their efforts to meet with local community leaders. It is not expected that pledgers should withdraw from civic organizations where no meeting place is available except in a segregated restaurant. The pledge is limited, therefore, to the minimum, but it is expected that the pledger will go beyond this commitment in manifesting his disapproval of the practice of denying services and accommodations to Negroes.

The sign "White Only" is an insult to right-thinking white people as well as to Negroes. Such notices as "We Reserve the Right to Refuse Service to Anyone," have the same meaning and it is not mitigated by the circumlocution. With or without a sign to this effect restaurants which are known to deny service to Negroes should not be patronized.

Many of us have patronized segregated restaurants at times with repugnance, but saying to ourselves that the patronage of one individual makes little difference. If we join with others

in boycotting these monuments to bigotry it can make a very great difference. Thousands of WAWO's could go far toward bringing this evil to an end.

This is a segregated movement "for whites only" -- to end White Only!

If you agree with the foregoing please detach and sign this simple pledge:

.....

WAWO Pledge

I subscribe to the principles of WHITE AGAINST WHITE ONLY and pledge that I will give preference in my patronage of eating places, hotels and motels to establishments which serve all customers regardless of race.

Rec'd 12/17/63 SB

PW

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

December 13

Dear Les:

I go in latest figures from SERS and alittle about the death of Kennedy, Johnson's emphasis on civil rights and present status of civil rights bill.

Dedication: "To the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy."

Merry Christmas.

Ben

file: SRC - Southern Leadership Project
" Gen. Corresp.
Ben Muse

MJ - fyi
PA
✓J
MJ - file

ALBERT PICK MOTEL
3210 SOUTH BROAD STREET • AMHERST 7-0414
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

b/s
Rm 525

December 31, 1963

Dear Les and Paul:

We are temporarily snowed in here. Will move on toward Holly Springs and Oxford when the roads are clear. We expect to stay at the home of the John L. Kennedys in Holly Springs.

We shall be in Jackson at least January 9, 10, 11 and 12 (room reserved) at the Sun-n-Sand Motel, 401 Lamar St. (Phone Fleetwood 4-2501).

Happy New Year!

Ben Muse
Southern Leadership Conf

ALBERT PICK MOTELS MOTELS

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

PW
BP - HJ - pls. file; I'm housecleaning
LD

February 5, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Herewith my Mississippi report. I am enclosing 4 copies, to provide one each for SRC, Dave Freeman, Cong. Frank Smith and Bill Taylor. (I think the first such report should go to Taylor from you.)

I am sending copies as usual direct to Harold Fleming and Burke Marshall.

I am scheduling the last week in February in Louisville and a visit to Memphis after mid-March.

I would like for Barbara to send me material on Louisville first. You made rough notes on aspects to be covered. I hope you will send a copy of these and any other instructions.

The annual meeting and my visit to you were particularly enjoyable and stimulating for me. I hope you like your new palace!

Sincerely,

Ben

REPORTS ON SOUTHERN CITIES

1. Problems, past and future:

What the problems were as local people saw them.

What they did, how they handled.

Opposition...who and what.

What they learned.

How they see problems ahead.

2. Sources:

Officials, government and civic.

Editors, reporters.

Negro leadership.

Business leadership.

Biracial Committee people

3. Present Situation:

Schools.

Police.

Public Accommodations.

Demonstrations.

Biracial Communication.

Jobs (government and private).

Housing.

4. Public opinion:

Attitude of press.

Role of church.

5. Work and organization of the biracial committee.

Ben Muse to cover Louisville, Ky., and Memphis, Tenn. Pat Watters to cover Charlotte, N. C., Brunswick, Ga., Baton Rouge, La. Little Rock, Ark., a possibility later.

Other cities considered: Lexington, Ky.; Norfolk, Richmond, Va.; Mobile, Ala.; Nashville, Knoxville, Tenn.; Savannah, Ga.; Winston-Salem, Durham, N. C.; Charleston, S. C.; St. Petersburg, Fla.

Field study to be done by March 31...Writing by April 30... Drafts will be about 40 pages...With an introduction covering all the reports drawing conclusions, citing similarities...A pamphlet condensing these reports may be done...In each city, one or two local friends should be lined up to read the drafts for accuracy. Letters of introduction will be sought from Mayors Association Committee.

-File
S.L.P. - Ben Muse
Gen. Corresp. 1964

February 19, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Les from Mr. Reed Sarratt of the Southern Education Reporting Service which is self-explanatory. Les would like you to think about Mr. Sarratt's request and then call him (Les), because he is uncertain as to whether we should do what Mr. Sarratt asks.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

LWD phoned Sarratt 2/27.
mo.

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

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HENRY I. WILLETT
SUPT. OF SCHOOLS
RICHMOND, VA.

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FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENN.

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

MJ

Feb. 12, 1964

RECEIVED
FEB 12 1964

Dear Les:

As you know, Harper & Row next fall will publish the SERS book on the desegregation of education in the decade following the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Mr. McAdoo, the Harper editor who is handling our book, has read the announcement in Publishers Weekly about Ben Muse's book and has written me about the apparent resemblance of Ben's book to ours.

You and I talked about this in Atlanta before either of us launched our book-writing project. We agreed that there was a place for both books, since the approach would be quite different.

This leads me to make what I suspect is an unusual request. Can you send me, or arrange to have someone else send me, a set of galley or page proofs of Ben's book? We can obtain a copy of the book as soon as it is printed, but we would like to see it earlier, if possible, in order that we can avoid duplication. If you can do this, it would be extremely helpful to us, and since your book will be on the market at least several months before ours this shouldn't be injurious to you.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MJ - pls send copy to Ben & Ben. ask him to think about & then call me. Don't know whether we can or should do this.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

-Piece
Southern Leadership Proj.
Ben Muse
Gen. Corresp
1964

Feb.23,1964

Dear Les:

In an attempt to elicit some advance comment on "Ten Years of Prelude," Viking is sending galleys to Lillian Smith, C.Vann Woodward, Sen.Douglas and Roy Wilkins. (I am suggesting that they try also Burke Marshall, Secretary Hodges, Gov.Collins and Brooks Hays.)

My impression is that it is difficult to get people at NAACP to read anything lengthy. It might prompt Roy if you should write him a line saying the book is all right from NAACP point of view. It might also help for you to drop a line to Lllian Smith, whom I have never met.

Regards.

Ben

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			File S.L. Proj	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To BENJAMIN MUSE February 25, 1964

Street and No. c/o Sherwyn Hotel, 415 W. Walnut Street, Louisville, Ky.

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination*

Would you want to attend one-day conference in New York March 2? Follow-up to Greenwich conference of last year. Entirely up to you.

Leslie W. Dunbar

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

File
Southern Leadership Proj
Ben Muse corresp. 1964

April 21, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thank you so much for the Virginia Kirkus note. This is great!

Your corrected pages in the Louisville report have been received, and the corrections will be incorporated in the copy. Our present plan is to release Louisville and Charlotte together, and we still plan to do so as soon as we get back local comments from Charlotte. I am enclosing a copy of Charlotte for you.

I never planned to insert mention of the Louisville Defender. I just raised the question with you, and my understanding was that it was not to be inserted.

We are looking forward to reading Memphis. I think you should take your model from your Louisville piece.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Hotel Peabody · memphis · tennessee
(AN ALSONETT HOTEL)

April 7, 1964

Dear Les:

I have been lamentably vague and inconstant in the matter of my connection with the SRC staff, for which I must apologize. Last year I contemplated separation at the end of the SLP year, June 1; later I agreed to continue until the end of 1964 on a three-fourths time basis.

Now I feel that I should go back to the earlier date and bring my regular staff status to an end on June 1.

After sensing the tempo and the nature of the work developing, I have concluded that it is for a more dynamic generation.

I shall complete the Memphis study and will be available for any promotion activity that may be called for in connection with Ten Years of Prelude.

A further field job which would be possible would be a visit to Mississippi — on our comfortable travel plan. Mississippi is the most dan-

gerous state, and I have an unusual entree there. I would be glad to go back and spend some time in Mississippi during the summer, if this seems desirable to you.

As always,

Ben Muse

V. KIRKUS BULLETIN
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

MAR 15 1964

May 17

Muse, Benjamin — Viking

THE YEARS OF PRELUDE — $5.00

(YA) Subtitled "The Story of Integration Since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision," this is a retelling of events of which, one might be inclined to believe, none of us should need to be reminded. Yet even those Americans most actively interested in the cause of civil rights will be amazed at what a long and complex story--or rather, *beginning* to a story--it has been, and how much of it most of us have already allowed to become blurred and vague, if not forgotten. So many of the names--Governor Faubus, Autherine Lucy, James Meredith, even Medgar Evers-- have suddenly been metamorphosed from news into history. This book *is* history, and certainly the first successful application, of that discipline to the "American Negro Revolution." Mr. Muse has put the historians best tool to excellent use here: he quotes very well, and often. He has done a thorough, first-rate job of it all, and his eminently fair, cool, almost conciliatory tone throughout must be particularly commended.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

I received an extra copy, so this need not be returned.

BM

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

April 14,1964

Rec'd 4/15

Dr.Leslie W. Dunbar
Etc. Etc.

Dear Les:

I have back from C.H.Parrish my Louisville piece, which both he and Charlie Steele(Urban League) have gone over. They have made some notes, generally by way of amplification. I also have just received a new report of the Louisville Human Relations Commission, which was in process at the time of my visit. I shall send along some pages with revisions.

Incidentally, I am a little disturbed about your plan to insert a mention of the Louisville Defender at the top of Page 5. For two big newspapers to preach tolerance and liberalism consistently over the years is a noteworthy phenomenon. When a Negro papers crusades for Negro rights it is nothing out of the ordinary. I think the change would spoil a well-deserved compliment to the Bingham papers, and I would appreciate it if you would either leave the sentence as I had it or delete it.

Will you send me a copy of Pat Waters' report on Charlotte? I would like to have it as a model in composing my Memphis piece.

Sincerely,

Ben

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

SLP----Ben Muse -- General Corresp., 1964.

REGARDING:

Letter from Ben Muse, letter dated April 23, 1964---to Paul Johnston.
Re: Judgeship

DATE
4/23/64

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed uneder BOARD- Paul Johnston.

File
S.L.P. - Ben Muse - Gen. Corresp. 1964

via air mail

May 1, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I do hope you can attend.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (National Foreign Policy Conference Invitation)

P. S. -- Executive Committee meeting is scheduled for May 11. As always, your attendance is voluntary.

LWD

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 9,1964

Dear Mildred:

The freshly-typed lines at the bottom of the enclosed were omitted from Page 1 of my report on Memphis going forward to you.

Will you kindly type them in on your copies?

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

File
S.L.P. - Muse, Ben
1964 gen. corresp

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

MEMPHIS' HANDLING OF ITS RACE RELATIONS PROBLEM

Population, Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee.
(Shelby County is the Memphis Metropolitan area.)

	1950		1960	
	Memphis	Shelby	Memphis	Shelby
Total	396,000	482,393	497,524	627,019
Negro	147,287	180,185	184,320	227,941
Percent Negro	37.2	37.4	37	36.03

General

In view of its heavy Negro population and its Deep South location, the progress of Memphis toward the elimination of race discrimination is remarkable. Memphis lies only eight miles north of the Mississippi line; it is the metropolis of a large northern section of that state. Memphis is the apex of a strip of country along the Mississippi River, with Vicksburg at its southern extremity, known as "The Delta". The Delta is one of the regions of deepest anti-Negro prejudice and most stubborn resistance to change in the South. Memphis State University, which, without incident, has enrolled 110 Negro students along with whites, is only 60 miles from stormy "Ole Miss."

Memphis has made conspicuous, though still token, strides toward desegregation and equality of treatment in schools and employment. In the desegregation of public cultural and recreational facilities, of places of amusement and of public accommodation Memphis desegregation has gone well beyond the token stage. A dozen Negroes hold responsible positions in the city government. Furthermore, the movement toward equality of opportunity in Memphis is going forward with increasing momentum and with the support of the dominant white leadership and the approval of a large e lement of the white public.

6/1/64
File: Ben Muse
S.P. - Gen. Corresp
1964

Lvd
RHA

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 27,1964

Mrs.Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
5 Forsyth St.,N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Ruth:

I figured that I was square with the SRC in the matter of leave at the end of 1963.

Since then I have been working on a three-fourths time basis. I calculate that the non-SRC days have not exceeded one fourth of my time.

However, I have not taken any regular vacation leave in 1964. A few days of vacation leave should have accumulated in these (three-fourths of) 5 months to May 31. Let us say, 5 days.

Les' suggestion of per diem compensation for future odd jobs is fine.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Does this straighten it all out?
6/20.
RHA

File
S.L.P.
Sec-Sh.
Muse, Ben
Gen. corresp.
1964

May 19, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Yesterday, Leslie Dunbar and I discussed the matter of your total compensation due at the end of May at which time you plan to retire as director of the Southern Leadership Project. Today, I have gone over the correspondence and figures and find that Leslie is correct in stating that you are due one and a half months salary due to the mix-up last year, in addition to your May 31 salary check.

I would like to know if you have any accumulated vacation leave that you should receive compensation for. Could you let me have your records on the number of days you have accumulated since your last vacation.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs

6:X 1/4

T

22016
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22017

1.374.96 T

+3

1,374.99 T

1/2 mos.

T

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458.33

916.66 S

458.33

1.374.99 T

T

File: S.L. Project - Ben Muse
Gen corresp. 1964

May 18, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Memphis arrived. I shall read it as quickly as possible. We are in production of Louisville and Charlotte. They will be issued as special reports (off-set), with each of the authors having a by-line.

Your correspondence with Doubleday is promising. It will be indeed "a big job." I would be disappointed if you did not ask me to read the manuscript.

Your plans for the immediate future seem well taken, especially the vacation which I hope you enjoyed on Cape Cod. As to the office equipment, I am sure any way you want to handle this will be satisfactory. What remains to be settled is how we shall compensate you after you leave the regular staff. I would propose per diem compensation at the rate of your present salary, but I would like to have your own thoughts.

The RBF year ends May 31. In our exchange of last December 4 and 9 it was agreed that there would be a lump sum payment to you at that time to adjust

your total compensation due to the mix-up last year. As nearly as I can figure, we shall owe you by May 31 one and a half months salary (in addition, of course, to your May 31 salary payment). But I am asking Ruth to give this her expert attention.

With all best wishes. Viking's ad yesterday was good. I await eagerly the reviews.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 6, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The enclosed copies of an exchange of letters with Doubleday will give you an idea of my way of life during coming months.

I believe you remarked that what I am undertaking will be a "big job." It surely will be that. However, I plan to take plenty of time over it, and I find that time is a wonderful thing. The problem that baffles me today will often yield a week, or a month, later. I think by slowly laying the bricks I can erect a presentable building. At any rate, I must try.

I cannot ask you for any heavily time-consuming help in this, but I will value your advice, and maybe, at a far-off date, some reading of manuscript -- neatly typed and bound? Of course, I shall want to keep on getting SRC reports and to have access to the material in your research files.

I hope to mail my Memphis piece on Saturday. A Gesell committee meeting Tuesday, after which I plan to spend a few days on Cape Cod, getting back in time for the State Department Conference on the 19th. (I am glad to be going to have this experience.) After that I plan to take off some more of my accumulated non-SRC time (on my three-fourths time basis), while remaining available for anything that Viking might find for me to do in connection with the promotion of Prelude. I am looking forward to the trip to Mississippi during the summer. After that I will account for a few items of office equipment which I purchased with SRC funds. It may be more convenient at both ends to let me to take over these things at a price than for me to ship them to Atlanta.

I do not intend to lose touch with you, or with the Council. Incidentally, I assume that I can resume my status as a member of the board.

Since your treasured letter of April 21, my thoughts have drifted back again and again over the five happy and exciting years since I came up from my talks with Governor Collins and his boys and joined the staff. You yourself were at the beginning of your splendid SRC career. Our association has been inspiring to me -- and more, which I find it hard to express. Only let it be, not has been, but is.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Doubleday and Company, Inc.
27 April 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I have read the outline for your proposed book which was sent to me by Mr. Charles Bolte. After reading this outline and your letter of April 20th, I must say that the book sounds extremely interesting. The book seems to be one one which Doubleday would probably want to publish. You mentioned that you expect to submit a more detailed prospectus after action is taken on the Civil Rights bill. Since a more detailed outline would aid us tremendously in deciding to publish the book, I think that we might wait until we receive it from you. I am now in the process of reading TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE.

Thank you very much for your letter, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Respectfully,

Charles Harris
Editor

CH:lfh

April 20,1964

Mr.Charles Harris
Doubleday and Company
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr.Harris:

I have received a copy of a letter which Mr.Charles Bolte, of Viking, addressed to you April 15, regarding my writing plans.

I should add that my schedule is fluid and uncertain, depending on events still to unfold. I may deal less with events of the past two years than with those of the next year or two.

Although I shall survey and analyse from time to time, my book will not be devoted to an analysis of the situation as it may confront us at a given time. Literature of that type, of course, is invaluable, but we are being flooded with it.

My aim is to distill the essential information as the story develops, view it in perspective and build it with due interpretation into a volume of history. Apart from the flattery, Virginia Kirkus admirably expressed my aim in its comment on Ten Years of Prelude: "This book is history, and certainly the first successful application of that discipline to the "American Negro Revolution.'"

October,1965, may be too early for completion. I would not like to close the book midway in a crucial episode. A date will of course have to be fixed with due anticipation, but I would like to see the "revolution" rounding out in some manner before being more definite about the publication date.

I shall be able to give you a somewhat more detailed prospectus after action is taken on the civil-rights bill. You will no doubt be interested in the initial reaction to Ten Years of Prelude next month. In the meantime, however, I would like to hear that Doubleday is interested in the idea. I would be honored to work with your company and would value the opinion and advice of your editors.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

December 9,1963

Dr.Leslie W. Dunbar
Etc.

Dear Les:

With retirement in prospect next year I am awakening to the necessity for giving intelligent attention to my personal finances. I am glad the oversight has resulted in the accumulation of a little unexpected fund for the lean years.

I like the idea of restoration to full salary through next May, with terminal adjustment for the balance.

Beatriz and I are reading galley proofs this week. We are planning to set out for Mississippi at the end of the month.

Best wishes to you and yours,

Sincerely,

Ben

h 7- dec.
c 7 Salary

December 4, 1963

BMuse LWDunbar

I had meant to take this up with you when you were here for the Annual Meeting, but its postponement makes it advisable for us to dispose of this one without further delay.

After you asked Ruth to put you on three-fourths time for a while she discovered, much to her embarassment and mine, that we had never returned you to full salary in accordance with the plan outlined in your letter of July 11, 1962. Our embarassment is somewhat mixed with envy that you did not seem to realize that you had not been receiving full salary -- but we are terribly, terribly sorry.

Obviously the thing to do is to make a lump sum payment to you compensating you for the difference between three-fourths salary and full salary for the period November 1, 1962 through October 31, 1963. But before we do this I thought I had better write to you in case you would prefer some other arrangement. Perhaps as a tax matter you would prefer being restored to full salary through next May with a retroactive adjustment to compensate you for it.

Please let me know.

RHA

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

July 11, 1962

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ruth:

I am writing to submit my time-and-salary plan for the next few months, subject to Les Dunbar's approval.

OK
JMD

Beginning last December, by arrangement with Les, I gave the SRC only three-fourths of my time for some months, devoting one-fourth of my time to a writing project unrelated to our work. That writing was completed in the spring, but I calculate that on balance one-fourth of my time for seven months, through the month of June, was devoted to it.

OK
JMD

From July 1 I am giving full time to SRC work, but I propose that I be continued on the three-fourths-time salary basis in order to accumulate credit for my extended vacation in the fall.

I am planning to take the month of October and the first week of November for a trip to Europe.

I calculate that the credit for one-fourth of my time during the months of July, August and September, together with my regular leave, should carry me through this period without interruption in my salary payments.

OK
JMD

After this adjustment, I would like to return to full time and full salary.

I hope this is not too complicated and is otherwise acceptable.

Best regards!

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Benjamin Muse

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Nov, 62 — Oct 63

12 x 1/4

~~Nov, 63~~

6 x 1/4

6/4 1 1/2

Nov 63 — May 64

6 x 1/4

June 15, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

This being June, I finally got around to putting away Christmas cards. Among them I noticed the enclosed, which I thought you might like to see.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

file: SLP - Ben Muse Gen. Corresp, 1964

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 6,1964

Dr.Dunbar,etc.

Dear Les:

PA
MJ file

Thanks indeed for your letter of June 15, which I found on my return, enclosing a Christmas note with a very touching reference to my "Tarheel." I find the little book continuously handy to send to friends here and there, who generally seem to appreciate it. So I am not sorry to have gotten that book into print, though in a "bootleg" sort of way.

The reviews of "Prelude" that have come to us thus far are for the most part excessively favorable, but, of course, they leave many blank spots among the review media. I think it was less than crickett on Sitton's part to say there are "minor errors" without citing the errors. When you see Claude again it might be a good idea to ask him to put his finger on the errors in case there is a second printing.

I agree with you that Viking has been stingy with the advertising--especially in view of the fact that they are withholding royalties on the first 6,000 and in view of the accumulation of good letters of comment which they were so anxious to get and have not used. Advertising might be more effective at this stage than earlier. I hope you will give them a nudge.

We sent letter to Viking - July 8, 1964 filed in NM's file

I have a call in for an appointment with Burke Marshall, and will see him at the first opportunity.

Will also put together a regular report on my last Mississippi trip. I am crippled stenographically now, as my daughter has hired a housekeeper and taken a job in Washington. I have an arrangement with a young lady typist (Negro) to come out when I have an accumulation of work.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

File
Muse, Benjamin

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

MEMORANDUM August 6, 1964

To: Benjamin Muse

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

Perhaps you would like to reply directly to the enclosed.

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Frank Smith ltr. dtd. August 3, 1964 to LWD)

Copy

August 12,1964

Hon. Frank E. Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Leslie Dunbar forwarded to me your comment on my Memphis report. We are glad to get this additional light on the Commercial Appeal.

My purpose in the city study was to point up the immense value of cooperation by the local press.

Incidentally, I have resigned from the Southern Regional Council to do further writing.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

File: S.R.P.
Ben Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

MLV
MJ-file

The ad on the back of New South is quite exciting.

Regards
Ben

Editorial - file - Muse, Benjamin

MEMPHIS PRESS-SCIMITAR 8/6/64

Memphis--'Beacon of Reason and Decency'

Rarely has a report on Memphis so kindled our enthusiasm as does the Southern Regional Council's just-released report on the progress of race relations in our city. (See story on Page One.)

Memphis provides, in the opinion of the Council's director of its Southern Leadership Project, "a beacon of reason and decency for the Deep South."

The Southern Regional Council is itself qualified as almost no other organization is, to pass on the performance in race relations not only of Southern cities but cities anywhere. It is an old and experienced organization, Southern in origin and leadership.

Its report on Memphis was written by Benjamin Muse, a mature man, a former diplomat, a candidate for governor of Virginia on the Republican ticket 20 years ago.

Certainly, Muse says, Memphis cannot rest on its accomplishments. But it has the leadership—white and negro, public and private—to do an outstanding job thus far and to continue until the job is done.

Memphis seeks industry. We cannot think of a factor more important today to potential investors—not just in the South but in any American city—than a racial climate such as the Southern Regional Council credits to Memphis.

The Chamber of Commerce, the City Commission, the County Commission, Future Memphis—all these, collectively or separately—would be very well advised to digest and distribute the "Special Report" of the Southern Regional Council on Memphis' progress in race relations.

Miller, dentist,

ermantown, a worker
g out Paul Barret in-
tion cards to voters, was
tching out the name of Bill
urtis, candidate for sheriff,
nd substituting the name of

ach of the state's nine congressional districts are nominating Democratic and Republican candidates for Congress who will meet eye-to-eye in the national election Tuesday, Nov. 3, when Senator Barry Goldwater and President Johnson will be heading up the tickets.

Turn to Page 2—VOTING

m News, in a copyrighted story datelined Philadelphia, Miss., said FBI agents had been given the names of seven persons possibly involved in the slayings).

FBI STAYS MUM

The FBI declined comment on Gregory's statement. Neither would they confirm reports that arrests were expected "at any time."

Turn to Page 8 -FBI HAULS

y, North Viet Nam and Communist China were equally responsible for the present armed conflict.

Mine Union Benefits

By United Press International

WASHINGTON. — The United Mine Workers of America Welfare and Retirement Fund reported today it paid out $114,524,866 to 207,297 persons in various benefits during the 12 months ending June 30, 1964.

The fund said its income was $135,864,894.

By United Press In.

NEW YORK.
ring that allegedly
Brooklyn departmen
before it was detecte

U.S. Bomber Crashes

By Associated Press

SAIGON, Viet Nam.—U. S.
B57 Canberra jet bomber of th
flying to reinforce defenses of Sou Viet Nam
crashed and burned 10 miles east of Bien Hoa airport in territory controlled by Communist guerrillas. They said the two fliers aboard probably were killed.

Memphis Is Hailed as 'Beacon of Reason and Decency'

MEMPHIS PRESS SCIMITAR 8/6/64

By JOHN W. SPENCE
Press-Scimitar Staff Writer

Memphis "has begun to shine as a beacon of reason and decency for the Deep South" in the advancement of race relations, says the Southern Regional Council.

The council was organized by Southern white and Negro leaders years ago to study the South's economic and racial problems and to recommend improvements.

In a special report titled simply, "Memphis," Benjamin Muse, director of the Council's Southern Leadership Project, writes:

"The cotton capital of song and story, the great port of 'Ole Man River,' is moving into the new era in race relations irrevocably and with a speed which almost startles anyone returning to the city after a lapse of years. The change in three years has been striking, that in 20 years almost unbelievable."

Muse came to Memphis, interviewed scores of citizens, checked the newspapers' published reports, and wrote 49 pages telling the progress Memphis has made and how it made it.

A Prevailing Policy of Quiet

"A certain unity in the movement toward equal opportunity for Negroes, the prevailing policy of quiet, unsensational advance, and the rigorous but generally fair law enforcement have been mainly responsible for the accomplishments," says Muse.

The "high caliber of the leaders of the white community" had a lot to do with Memphis' progress, Muse thinks.

He names former Mayor Edmund Orgill; E. B. LeMaster, who was Chamber of Commerce president "when desegregation was getting under way;" Arthur McCain,

Editorial on Page 6

retired president of Union Planters Bank; Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of The Press-Scimitar; Squire George Grider and City Commissioner Hunter Lane Jr.

"It is noteworthy," writes Muse, "that the most conspicuous champions of racial justice in Memphis today, with a few exceptions, are more than 50 years of age."

NAACP Branch Is Praised

There is praise for the Memphis branch of the NAACP:

"The Memphis branch, with approximately 7000 members, boasts the largest membership of any Southern city . . . it completely dominates the field" among Negro action groups, and the NAACP is "ably led."

The NAACP's "well-ordered Memphis office is run by Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary, with several assistants . . . it is the busy office of a busy organization. The prestige of the NAACP among the public in Memphis, both white and colored, is enhanced by the personality and stature of its president, Jesse H. Turner . . . firm but militant in the Negro cause, yet courteous and understanding."

Commissioner Armour Is Lauded

Fire and Police Commissioner Claude Armour and the Memphis police won Muse's highest praise: "In some cities, the police have won notoriety . . . In Memphis the police and their commissioner have won distinction of a different kind.

"In few cities have the police been so largely and so favorably identified with the civil rights advance. . . . Order has been maintained, police brutality has been absent, but the police 'mean business,' and the public knows it."

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations, "a voluntary and unofficial group . . . has accomplished more than some so-called 'Mayors Committees,'" Muse reports. It has been the principal organization through which city officials, Negro leaders and the business community have negotiated the desegregation that makes Memphis a "beacon of reason and decency."

File - Ben Muse

September 2, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Thank you for the note which was here on my return, and best wishes for your European holiday. I look forward to seeing you in November, if not earlier.

Both the Nominating Committee and the Executive Committee meet late this month. Rather than putting your name before the Nominating Committee, my strategy will be to ask the Executive Committee to elect you for one of the two vacancies which do, as it happens, exist in the present membership, as the Executive Committee is empowered to do. This way you will become a member (again) of the Council for November, and will be eligible in full right to attend this year's annual meeting. I don't know about that leave of absence. There does not seem to be provisions for such in the By-Laws, and rather than open up the matter, I would rather take this other course. Inintend to have you back right away, though, as one of my "bosses," and I'll expect you to be a very demanding one.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 8/26/64

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

FAV
FWV
VEV
VJ

August 25,1964

VD

Dr.Leslie W. Dunbar
Etc.

Dear Les:

I am enclosing a letter from Frank Smith and enclosure which may be desirable for your files.

I hope you enjoyed the trip to the Grand Canyon, etc.--I hear from Vernon that you did--and returned full of vigor of mind and body--and with not too great an accumulation of stuff on your desk.

Little new in my life. I am researching and scribbling toward the next book--with no contract as yet. I have been reading Silberman(whose book I admire, with some reservations) Handlin, Golden, Isaacs, Ellison, Redding(whom I visited at Hampton), Baldwin and several others--finding myself knowing less and less about more and more.

I have attacks of nostalgia of course for the Southern Regional Council and of lonesomeness for the associations. I hope you will be in Washington and that you will give me a ring so that we may get together at least briefly before Beatriz and I sail for England September 23. Will I be admitted in some capacity to the annual meeting in November? I timed our return sailing with that in view.

Beatriz joins in warm regards to you and Peggy.

Sincerely,

Ben

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

August 17, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I appreciated your letter of August 12th. Despite my unhappiness with the Commercial Appeal, I concur with the general position that they have done a great deal of good by supporting the community effort within Memphis itself.

Here is a current report from Mississippi that might interest you. The man involved is a distant relation of mine who is in the process of losing his relatively prosperous insurance business.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

Acknowledged

Enclosure

Chronological events

7/2/64 - President Johnson signed Public Law 88-352. That weekend, Malva and I were in the Delta for a wedding. Were amazed at the lack of turmoil, and really very glad of it.

7/5 - 7/12 - In the course of my insurance business, I could feel a very definite build up of pressure in the area. Nothing specific, but any one who has lived in Mississippi most of his life knows what I mean.

There had been three homes bombed in the McComb area prior to the signing of the Civil Rights Law. I had written to "Bo" Statham and Erle Johnston asking that they prevail on Judge Stennis and Paul Johnson to issue some sort of statement - regardless of how mild - in favor of respect for law and order. My idea that these people performing the acts of terror should not continue to be heroes in the community.

During this week, a fourth bombing took place. This was the house where the COFO people were living. I had spoken by phone to two Negro leaders in the area. It is my opionion that neither of them have any association with any Civil Rights Group.

7/13 A meeting of local people was held at the home of our minister - Rev. Colton Smith - Episcopal. As a guest was Rev. Don McCord, Disciples of Christ, a graduate of Yale Divinity School and working for the National Council of Churches.

7/14 Got telephone call, entirely outside of channels, from friend in Washington advising that McComb was on the verge of martial law. Visited briefly with ministers of First Baptist and Presbyterian churches asking that Don McCord be allowed to speak with the Men's club of each church. Met with polite refusal. Went to Hattiesburg on business. When I returned, I advised the Mayor of my telephone call. (Had also spoken with the Pres. of local bank.) Keeping the Chief of Police completely informed of my contact with the two Negroes because all communication rapidly breaking down.

During the evening, Don McCord, Mendy Samstein - a SNCC representative -, a Baptist minister from California and his daughter, came by our home. Also local people were present. Conversation was of a general nature. Was very instrumental in setting up interview for Don with the sheriff for the following afternoon. Agreed to work in Magnolia and follow him back to McComb. These people are afraid to travel alone and I knew the meeting with the sheriff could not succeed with a group.

7/14 cont. We were also responsible in getting the Negro girls moved out of the house where they were staying.

7/15 Meeting with sheriff and Don McCord very good. I followed Don on back to our house. He stayed for spaghetti - our minister and others came in and joined us for supper (local people). Called the Chief of Police and advised him of the meeting and the fact that the story would be in the paper on Thursday.

from magnolia

7/16 Story of meeting released. Two FBI men came by my office. Jan had seen a car load of kids the previous weekend who were bragging about going up in the Negro section of town raising hell. They wanted to question her about this. Malva got an anonymous call advising us against association with "civil rights workers."

7/17 We planned to have our minister over for supper. There was a mixup on this. Don McCord was to come in latter to discuss meeting with the Mayor and Ch. of Pol. similar to that with the sheriff. This was primarily to take the pressure off the sheriff.

With the mixup on supper, our minister's wife had already started hers, we called Don to come on and eat. He said he wanted to bring a substitute for Mendy Samstein. While they were here, our daughter, Carla, called long distance from New York - Carla has a 10 week scholarship at a drama studio in New York - we used the name Dennis Sweeney in the conversation twice. She was already familiar with Don McCord's name from correspondance.

In the interval of time, our minister and his wife came in the house. The phone rang and a female voice asked to speak with Dennis Sweeney. Malva simply handed him the phone. The voice wanted to know how the civil rights work was coming and if he was a friend of the Heffners.

About 10 minutes later, a D. B. Dekle, neighbor and casual acquaintance, called and said the neighbors were upset and wanted to know whose car was in front of our house. Did not consider it any of his damn business, and still don't, but with the situation so touchy, I told him who and why.

7/17 cont. Traffic had begun to get very heavy around the house. The two boys began to get very edgy and it was decided that they had best leave. Our minister and his wife agreed to follow them on back to some place of safety.

When we walked out of the house, it was completely surrounded by cars, all with lights on. We had no idea who they were. The boys' car was blocked but they were able to back out. Our minister got right behind them. We had spoken with the FBI earlier about the strange coincidence of phone calls. Malva and I went back and called the FBI and local police.

7/18 All sort of rumors spread all over McComb. It seems that we had held an integrated cocktail party for the "civil rights workers" Except as a servant, there has never been a Negro in our home. At that time, we only knew 3 "civil rights workers."

Malva and I agreed that this was much to touchy and that the best thing for us to do was simply make any contact by phone. That night, I did load my pistol.

We learned the following afternoon that the Miss. Highway Patrol had gotten a tip that our house was to be bombed and had surrounded the area. We slept through all this.

An FBI agent was to come by and see about the phone calls. However, a church was burned on the night of 7/17 and he spent all day checking this out. We made arrangements for him to see us after church on Sunday.

7/19 Went to church. The FBI agent came by. Went out to the Holiday Inn to see gymnast exhibition. Malva stayed to swim and I came back and wrote a detailed report to "Bo" Statham. While at the Inn, she learned of the Highway Patrol guard we had had the previous night.

I kept her in a room out there that night and stayed at home on guard. We had started getting all manner of harrasment type telephone calls.

7/20 Jan came home from Forest. She was to ride in a parade of some sort in Magnolia that afternoon. The harrasment phone continues. Jan wanted to know if she should not have a bubble on her convertible.

Jan + Malva spend night @ Holiday Inn.

7/21 Jan and Malva left for the Miss Mississippi Pageant in Vicksburg. I discussed with Oliver Emmerich the possibility of putting a notice in the paper to calm down some of the rumors. We decided to sit on this. Phone calls continue. Got office eviction notice. No lease

7/22 Went by and worked out statement with Oliver. Mayor was in the newspaper office, but he would not participate. Calls continue.

7/22 Left for Vicksburg with dresses for Jan. Statement in paper this afternoon. When I got to Vicksburg, a reporter for Chicago Dailey News was waiting. Made no statement.

7/23 Went over and discussed the entire unfortunate incident with Erle Johnston in Jackson. Sympathy but no help.

7/24 - 25 Quiet time in Vicksburg. Jan went out of office as
7/26 Miss Mississippi. We left on Sunday and spent the
7/27 night in Jackson.

7/27 Returned to McComb. Very few calls today. Learned that the neighborhood vigilante committee had guarded house while we were gone. Sheriff puts statement in the paper that he was not informed about activities in our house. True. He had not been at home when I called, but he knew I had spoken with his wife.

7/28 Calls pick back up following sheriff's statement.

7/29 Rumors are so wild that they are unbelievable. Carla is said to be dating Negro in N.Y. - My friends that she is living with are known communists - just pure crap. Saw letter that Dennis Sweeney had written to Senator Morse in our behalf.

7/30-31 Went to Jackson. Discussed situation with my General Agent and Marx Huff.

7/31 Completed and sent Form 57's to Bo Statham. Saw copy of letter that Senator Morse had written to Gov. Collins for me. Met Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr. - Suffragan Bishop of Washington, D. C. (Episcopal). Had him in our home, but had to go through the ridiculous bit of picking him up at a neutral place. For his safety and our.

8/1 Moved out of office.

8/3 Had first adult McComb resident visitor since this all started.

8/3 to date - Rumors of our activities continue to persist. Business has completely stopped.

As of today, we have had exactly two adult McComb visitors. Learned that young man from Magnolia had been warned of consequences to himself and his mother's business if he persisted in coming over.

FBI seems interested in who is keeping this vendetta alive.

Jim Silver advised that you might be able to get us out of here.

Have to make a living. My clients are afraid to talk to us.

Am on my way to New Orleans so that Malva will be able to get a little rest.

Frank, I have cut this as much as possible but it is still much too long. It reads like a bad novel (don't believe that I would pay 35¢ for it.) Have started keeping detailed record of all that has happened so that I won't forget any of it.

Still have a deep affection for my South. Know that these people who have brought this to our door are essentially good people that are being fed a constant line of fear producing material. Never thought that I would want any sort of Federal job, but someone from an unassailable position has got to help the white as well as the Negro through this inevitable transition period.

You are an amateur in this thing only once. What has happened to Malva and I can happen to anyone with a desire to help from a vulnerable position.

This is why I want to work with the Community Relations Service. However, my financial position is such that should the pressure continue, I will simply need a job.

Red

Swan Inn, Grasmere, English Lake District

PWW VJ
ML BP
PA MJ-file

October 19, 1964

Dear Les,

Viking probably advised you of the sale of the English rights to "10 Years of Prelude" to Darwen Finlayson, Ltd. They expect to bring the book out — in a very different jacket — next week. This seems to be a small publishing house. It is located at Beaconsfield, outside of London. I paid a very interesting visit to Lord Darwen.

We are spending two weeks in the English Lake District — far removed indeed from the race problem, Mississippi, etc., far, it seems, also from Harold Wilson, Nonyguin, Goldwater, Jenkins and all the great events of last week.

This place is a thrilling discovery for us — beautiful, quaint and unspoiled in spite of innumerable inns. Peace — the loudest sound to be heard in the village is the birds singing. The chief sport, walking and climbing the small mountains (which I love to others). It would be fascinating even if so many of the literary great had not frequented the region.

Wordsworth spent most of his life here. His house Dove Cottage is in Grasmere and his grave, along with those of Dorothy and Mary, is in the village churchyard. Coleridge, Southey and DeQuincy also lived in the neighborhood. Many others were here from time to time. But it is the spirit of Wordsworth above all that hovers over everything here.

Best to you and Peggy from us both —

Ever Dear Beatriz

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

BEN MUSE

REGARDING:

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE

DATE

September 2, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

BOARD - General Correspondence, 1964.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

BEN Muse

REGARDING:

BM has been nominated to serve on the Board in the class of 1965.

DATE

November 3, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

WHEELER, RAYMOND - BOARD

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

Saturday

Dear Les,

This is an embryonic draft of the concluding chapter.

I hope you will have time to read it on the train Tuesday evening, so we can talk about it when you come.

I am loath to give you this slovenly text, but time is short and we may have little further opportunity to discuss it before the revision goes to Viking.

Will be seeing you at the Alexandria railway station Wednesday 8[53] A. M.

Ben

file

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS - SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

Surplus, June 1, '62 (estimated) - - - - - - -	$ 22,000.00
Grant, 1962-63 - RBF - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	40,000.00
Total on Hand - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 62,000.00

Estimated Expense:

Project Director-	
Salary - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 11,000.00
Travel and Communications - - - - -	$ 4,800.00
School Consultant -	
Fees - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 6,000.00
Travel - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 3,200.00
Grant - Nat'l Council of Churches - - - - - - -	$ 7,500.00
SRC Overhead - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 4,000.00
Printing and Distribution - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 5,000.00
Project Office Expense - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 1,500 .00
Other -	$ 500.00
	$ 43,500.00

Balance $18,500

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

April 4, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLEMING:

Visit to Tallahassee, Florida, March 29-31, 1959

My visit to Tallahassee (as well as my identification with the Southern Leadership Project) arose from a telephone call which I received on February 18 from Mr. John L. Perry, Administrative Assistant to Governor LeRoy Collins, of Florida.

Calling from Tallahassee, Mr. Perry began with a complimentary reference to my weekly column in the Washington Post, which he said "we" had read regularly for some time. He said that Florida's first integration move had been made in Miami, and asked me to tell him something about the Virginia situation. He inquired particularly about the effect of Virginia's school troubles upon new industry coming to Virginia.

After a few minutes' conversation, Mr. Perry asked if he could phone again from time to time. He had had difficulty in reaching me at Manassas via the Washington Post, and he asked my Manassas phone number, which I gave him. He sent me a transcript of Governor Collins' press conference the following morning, which apparently was slightly influenced by the information from me, and expressed appreciation.

You will recall that I related this incident to you, resulting in our sending further pertinent data on the industrial angle to Mr. Perry, and later in my visit to Tallahassee.

In the meantime I had occasion to visit Atlanta to fill a speaking engagement, when I had a chance to talk with you, and you broached the matter of my taking hold of the Southern Leadership Project. No decision had been reached on this point when I went to Tallahassee, but one purpose of my visit there was to study the possibilities of being helpful in that type of activity.

The Tallahassee situation was exceptional in that my help had been more or less invited, and in the extreme cordiality with which I was received there. It was, of course, exceptional also for the South, in that the Governor of Florida, and his assistants, were working for orderly adjustment to the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling.

Mr. Perry met me when I arrived at the Tallahassee airport Sunday afternoon, March 29. The Administrative Assistant for legal affairs, Mr. William B. Killian, was also waiting for us at the Hotel Duval. These two took me for a drive and dinner. We talked for several hours over dinner, then drove to the capitol, turned on the lights and explored the gubernatorial wing and talked for an hour or two more in Mr. Perry's office.

These were two most attractive young men, wholeheartedly liberal on the race question, and we struck up a warm friendship. We had many further talks, in between formal interviews with others, during my two days in Tallahassee. Three or four others came in to their offices casually or were invited in to join in the talks. I lunched one day with Mr. Perry and the next with two newspaper men. I had formal appointments only with the Governor, Superintendent of Schools Thomas D. Bailey and Assistant Attorney General Ralph E. Odum.

With Messrs. Perry and Killian I discussed a hundred different aspects of the South's Great Problem, with particular reference to Florida and Virginia. With Mr. Killian I had a brief talk about the so-called "Collins Plan" of desegregation regulated by state commissions—which is Mr. Killian's specialty. Mr. Perry was burdened at the time with work on the Governor's message to the coming session of the Legislature. He referred frequently to that, and I may have influenced the contents of his draft in some degree.

Mr. Bailey appeared to be an admirer of Governor Collins, though he is out of harmony with him in his advocacy of a tuition grant plan, of which the Governor disapproves. We discussed mainly the disastrous implications of closing public schools, and the importance of other states profiting by Virginia's experience.

Mr. Odum is a considerably more important figure in the Florida picture than his rank as Assistant Attorney General would indicate. He is a segregationist leader, in the camp of the opponents of the Governor's moderate policies. He is opposed, nevertheless, to school-closing, and has presented some cogent arguments against it in speeches, of which he gave me copies.

Governor Collins, in the midst of preparations for the session of the legislature, gave me only half an hour. He ordered coffee, but we both let it cool while we paced the floor. We discussed rather hurriedly the great damage which has been done by politicians in the South in exploiting race prejudice, the Virginia experience, prospects for the coming session of the Virginia legislature and his program for the Florida legislature.

In summary, my direct purpose in Tallahassee was to give whatever helpful information I could to those working constructively on the problem, and to learn what further information was desired and might be supplied by the Southern Regional Council. The Virginia experience and the story of Governor Almond's "capitulation" were of unfailing interest to all (including Mr. Odum).

Mr. Perry was extremely interested in the economic penalties of school-closing and threatened school-closing. He asked me repeatedly about its effect upon industry in Virginia. I am sure that more information on this subject would be effective in many places in the South.

Mr. Odum asked about the situation in the integrated public schools of Norfolk, with respect to extracurricular activities and the general tranquility and contentment of pupils.

Interest was expressed in the possible advantages of public school desegregation by grades, beginning with the first.

There was general interest in the progress of the movement for establishing private schools as an escape from public school integration.

Advice may not always be welcome on the policy-making level, and I judge that it should be given with diffidence and tact, if at all. In the exceptional situation in Tallahassee, however, I found it possible to offer something in the nature of advice on two points.

There is some criticism of Governor Collins on the ground that he is too aloof from segregationist politicians, some of whom might be helpful to him in specific moderate objectives. I stressed the effectiveness, so often demonstrated in Virginia, of the outspoken segregationist when he reaches the point where he takes a moderate position on a given issue--such as school-closing. I think that was the key to Governor Almond's success in Virginia in carrying both legislature and public with him in his retreat from "massive resistance."

I urged more emphatically that Governor Collins offer a broad program of legislation apart from the segregation question. Apparently, most legislators are descending upon Tallahassee now, obsessed with the segregation issue--and prepared for impulsive action. I thought anything to divert their attention from this issue would be wholesome. Especially, it seemed a good time to stress Florida's industrial development, which is an incidental argument against tampering with public schools.

I made this suggestion directly to Governor Collins. He said that his message was now being drafted and that he intended to offer such a broad program, mentioning half a dozen matters to be included in it. He added the observation that the last session of a Governor's term in office seemed to him a better time than the first in which to present a broad program for his state.

In addition to information--and discreet advice on occasion--there is a third way in which a service can be rendered. Mr. Perry was kind enough to remark to me: "You have certainly been an inspiration to us."

Inspiration is little needed among Governor Collins' group, but it could have considerable importance in other places in the South. The backbone of lonely moderates can often be stiffened by a visitor with messages of encouragement from elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

April 6, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hal:

There are a number of ladies in Arlington County who have done excellent work in investigation and research on this problem for P-T A's, lunch groups and other local organizations during the past four years--and have frequently consulted me.

One of them has done a very good series of articles on the success of public school integration in Montgomery County, Maryland. It was the result of a study made by a committee from the Arlington Congregational Church and was published in the Northern Virginia Sun.

I don't think any of these ladies would leave Arlington, but I believe I could get competent help from some one of them on a Virginia or Washington assignment. Is this a good idea?

For the moment I have in mind a particular collection of facts on the Washington school situation to be culled from Washington newspaper files.

Sincerely,

Ben

P.S. I have in mind paying for two small file cases from the revolving fund, as I can probably make a saving by paying cash.

I am reading "Action Patterns in School Desegregation" — which seems a most valuable thing. You may have seen the New Republic series, but I am sending along a copy in case —

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

April 6, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hal:

Thanks for your letter of April 3, together with the Council's check for $200 for opening a revolving fund for operating expenses.

The arrangements set forth in your letter are satisfactory to me, although I would suggest spelling out provision for travel expenses, apart from air transportation covered by air travel card. This might be done in a supplementary letter.

I understand that travel expenses will be covered whether by plane, train, bus or private car--the last at 8 cents per mile. I suggest limiting this to travel more than 35 miles from my home. Fairfax and Arlington Counties and Alexandria and Washington should be considered "home" territory.

With respect to per diem, the $12 should apply only to an overnight stop. In the case of a one-day round trip from here you might stipulate $2 where lunch is involved, $4 when it involves both lunch and dinner.

I dislike itemized accounting. Also I am addicted to coffee breaks, and my eating habits are rather ragged.

I shall address a letter to Mr. Dabbs as you suggest.

I am glad to confirm my acceptance of this assignment. I particularly appreciate the Council's consideration in making adjustments to my personal situation.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

April 8, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLEMING:

Conversation with Ted Dalton, April 6, 1959

Virginia State Senator, and Republican National Committeeman, Ted Dalton is one of my closest friends. I have known him since, as a young man, he took a little part in my campaign of 1941. In recent years I have given him a great deal of help and support in the Washington Post.

Dalton attracted some national attention by his sensational run for Governor in 1953, when he received 45 per cent of the vote in this traditionally Democratic state.

In his second run (1957) Dalton took a moderate position on the segregation issue and was badly beaten. He advocated local option and a pupil assignment plan, which Almond has now embraced.

Dalton now plans to fight (with little hope of success) for more moderate legislation than that contemplated in Almond's Perrow Commission plan.

Dalton's attitude is far removed from ours. It is like this: "I am personally for segregation, but I know the law of the land when I see it." However, he was with me at the meeting of church leaders in New Orleans last year.

We lunched together Monday at a Richmond restaurant. Unexpectedly, we were joined by State Senator Harry Byrd, Jr.

Almond's present position in the middle of the road was pointed up by the fact that these two, extremist Byrd and Virginia's most conspicuous moderate, found common ground in criticizing the Governor.

The cordial relations between Dalton and Byrd also are an interesting commentary on the tendency of personal friendships to survive political throat-cutting in Virginia. During the luncheon they planned to go to Washington together to attend the opening game of the baseball season.

When he finished eating, Byrd tactfully left us to our private conversation. I told Dalton about the Southern Leadership Project, and we talked about it for an hour or more. (We were almost alone in the restaurant at this time.)

His first reaction was to stress the need for caution. "You'll have to work mighty quietly," he said, "and keep out of sight as much

as possible. Your activity will have to be known to as few people as possible...Better not let people know you're on the Council's payroll if you can help it...Don't let anything happen to your column in the Post. Keep it up even if you haven't time to write anything any good. If you drop out of the Post, they'll start rumors and embarrass you."

After that, however, Dalton expressed growing enthusiasm for the project--so much so that I almost thought he would like to be identified with it.

He promised to send me a copy of a speech of his touching on the effects of school troubles on industry. He told me of a speech on the subject by Stuart Saunders, president of the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Also suggested looking up a speech of _____ Woodward, of Suffolk. He cautioned me against approaching Vernon Kemp, executive secretary of the Virginia Chamber of Commerce--"in the wrong camp."

Dalton asked me to call upon him for any help he could give, said he would really like to "put himself out" to help. I asked if he would be willing to travel if occasion should arise. He said he would be glad to take a trip sometime if there were anything he could do.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

April 15, 1959

POSSIBLE L REPORTS

The Private School Movement

We are neutral in attitudes toward this movement insofar as it does not involve the abandoment of public schools or a lowering of educational standards. We deplore the fact that attachment to ~~the~~ segregation leads to resort to this expedient, but realize that within certain limits it may be a useful cushion to the shock of desegregation at this stage.

At the same time our research should reflect the legal, financial, administrative and other difficulties, the lack of really substantial progress and the practical impossibility of accomodating any large fraction of the school population in private schools in the forseeable future.

In any case we should be able to discuss the problem intelligently and supply comprehensive and accurate information to leaders looking toward a constructive solution of the desegregation problem.

The situation in Arkansas requires study, as also the budding private school iniatives in other states, but by far the most illuminating exhibit now is in Virginia.

I propose engaging a research assistant here to work on the Virginia phase. In the meantime I have voluminous data on the Virginia Phase, still in the form of newspaper clippings.

Committees to Preserve Public Schools

We can render a particular service in this field as a reporting agency and link between the committees in various states, as well as in supplying the committees with material for use in the combating efforts to undermine or abolish public schools.

I have asked William M. Lightsey, Secretary of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, to put the Council on the list to receive all their circulars and releases. I have also asked him to send the Council 50 copies of his comprehensive report, of which he had an over supply. This may be of interest to leaders in public school committees elsewhere.

It might be a good idea for me to ask Lightsey or Mr. J. L. Blair Buck, President of the Virginia committee, to prepare a paper, ORGANIZING A PUBLIC SCHOOL COMMITTEE, noting some of the problems involved and suggesting ways to meet them.

Benjamin Muse

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia
RECEIVED MAY 4 1959

Friday

Dear Hal:

Just a line to say that I am now working toward the plan of going to Miami Saturday or Sunday (May 9 or 10) from Atlanta.

Will see you Thursday morning May 7) at about ten.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED MAY 19 1959

May 15,1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Miami--The Danger of a White "Boycott" of Orchard Villa School

I became acutely conscious in Miami of the danger that no white children will attend Orchard Villa School when it opens next September.

When (for reasons other than aversion to racial integration on the part of many) the Warren County High School in Virginia opened last February without any white pupils, the result was disastrous from a publicity and psychological point of view. The incident was widely reported as a "unanimous boycott" by the white people of the county, who allegedly"stood like a stone wall" against racial integration, etc. Segregationist extremists hailed the people of Warren County as latterday Confederate heroes.

The effect was largely offset in Virginia by the resounding success of the desegregation in Arlington, Alexandria and Norfolk. But the incident tended to encourage resistance, and planning for school-closing to prevent integration in many sections of the South.

The embarassment which could result from a failure of any white pupils to enter Orchard Villa in Miami next September cannot be overemphasized. (The danger arises in this instance from the fact that for some years the area served by Orchard Villa has been changing steadily into a "Negro neighborhood.")

Many with whom I talked in Miami did not seem to sense this possibility, but assumed that enough white pupils would be left at Orchard Villa to make it an example of integration. On the other hand, I was told in such divergent quarters as the Police Department and the Council on Human Relations that it was virtually certain that no white pupils would attend the school.

Above all, Dr.Joe Hall, the superintendent of schools, was deeply concerned. He saw little chance of avoiding an integration fiasco at Orchard Villa.

The all-white enrollment at the school had fallen from 450 four years ago to 243 last Septmber and 170 last March. Dr.Hall interrupted our conversation to phone the Orchard Villa principal and learned that the enrollment figure now stood at 132.

The natural thing to do, Dr.Hall said, would be to fill up Orchard Villa with pupils from an overcrowded Negro school nearby--a step which probably will be taken if no white children enter the school next September.

I had hoped vaguely that the repercussions of such an incident could be neutralized and the good faith undertaking made effective by some school desegregation elsewhere in Miami. I was glad to find that Dr.Hall had exactly this in mind.

Dr.Hall said that he planned to discuss with the school board the possibility of quietly carrying out token integration next September in some other schools. He described several situations in which this could probably be done "without any trouble at all" as far as the affected schools were concerned. In fact, the assignments might possibility be made without any publicity until the Negro children were actually in school.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

May 15,1959

MEMORANDUM

Miami--Conversations with Mrs.Lyle Roberts, School Board Member, and Dr.Joe Hall, Superintendent of Schools

Mrs.Roberts had been described to me as the "key" member of the school board, and my conversation with her tended to bear that out. I spent an evening with her (8-10 PM., May 11) at her home in Coral Gables.

Mrs.Roberts said the board was made up of four "segregationists," two "moderates," and one "integrationist" (Mrs.Anna Brenner Meyer). She was one of the two "moderates;" her actual views on the moral issue,she said, she kept to herself. She was an ardent admirer of Gov.Collins.

She also admired Editor Baggs of the Miami News, on all but one point. She fiercely resented his statements that the Governor had a part in the board's decision to desegregate Orchard Villa, which she termed a "lie." (She and Baggs, with whom I talked later, gave completely different accounts of this incident.)

She gave a blow-by-blow account of the Sunday evening meeting in which the plan was adopted, a step for which, it appeared, she was mainly responsible. Her delicate manoeuvering had been made more difficult by the "extremists" on both sides, among whom she included the Council on Human Relations. However, she spoke with particular anger of the pro-segregation fanatics and presented me with some of their literature. She boasted of her own carefully balanced middle-of-the road position.

Mrs.Roberts asked my opinion of a plan which she was considering forthe school board to employ a security officer of its own. This officer would study attitudes and tensions from the school administratio end and serve as a liaison with the police. She had mind a possible man for the post, by the name, I believe, of John Tyler--a former FBI agent.

My reaction was that the idea seemed a good one, provided the security officer and the police were congenial.

Dr.Hall, with whom I talked the next morning, was expressly eager for advice and help. He had many questions to ask about the Norfolk experience, and was keenly interested in our proposal that he visit that city, at the expense of the Southern Regional Council, and talk with Superintendent Brewbaker. He said several members of the school board might also wish to make the trip, and I said the invitation would include them.

My conversation with Dr.Hall is further reported in my memorandum on the Orchard Villa problem.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

May 16, 1959

Dr. Joe Hall
Superintendent of Schools
275 N.W. 2nd. Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Dr. Hall:

This is to further spell out the suggestion which I made in our conversation last Tuesday.

The Southern Regional Council, in the hope of facilitating the quiet and orderly carrying out of public school desegregation programs, is undertaking to finance consultation between school authorities in districts which have desegregated and school authorities which are planning to do so.

In this instance it seems that consultation on the part of Miami school administrators with those of Norfolk, where conditions are similar in so many ways, could be particularly helpful.

The proposal of the Council includes the payment of travel and subsistence expenses, plus $30 for each day spent by the school official on such a consultation errand. An advance will be made when we are informed of your plans. It is desired that the undertaking should be at no cost to the officials concerned.

We are glad to extend this invitation to you and hope you will extend it also to members of the school board. If you think such consultation would be helpful to any member of your staff, we would be glad to finance a trip to Norfolk on his part.

C O P Y

I talked today with Brewbaker. He, as well as members of the Norfolk school board, will be glad to see you and to help in any way. Mr. Brewbaker says he will be away the first week in June, but he expects to be pretty regularly in Norfolk for the rest of the summer.

Of course, all of this activity is off the record. I assume we would want no publicity in connection with it.

I greatly enjoyed meeting, and talking with you.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

May 16, 1959

Mr. William C. Baggs
Editor
Miami News
1001 N.W. 7th. Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Bill:

I am glad you are going to give the Miami area the Virginia story, and I look forward to your visit to me in Manassas.

You might want to come on a Sunday, when other contacts are difficult, spend the evening and night with me, and go on from here Monday morning. On any day of the week, with due notice, it will be a pleasure for me. I will meet you at the airport.

Warren County is 50 miles west of Manassas and Washington 30 miles east. Alexandria and Arlington, of course, are suburbs of Washington.

I hope you will have time to look into the unfortunate and widely misrepresented situation in Warren County. Best contact there: Edward T. Broomfield, editor of the (weekly) Warren Sentinel, Front Royal, Va.

There are a number of people at the Washington Post who follow the Virginia situation closely: notably Managing Editor Al Friendly, Editorial Page Editor Bob Esterbrook and chief Virginia reporter Bob Baker. You probably will want to start off with Phil Graham.

In Norfolk your best contacts will be at the Virginian-Pilot, Editor Lenoir Chambers and editorial writers Bill Meacham and Bob Smith are all good contacts. (Meacham writes editorials on the South for the New York Times.)

The Charlottesville situation may be less instructive because the schools there have reopened and will be desegregated only next September. A good contact there, if you catch him at home, would be Francis Pickens Miller, a liberal and anti-Byrd leader who made a sensational run for Governor in 1949--address: Farmington, Charlottesville, Va.

Let me know if you wish any other information or help. I look forward to resuming our too-brief conversation on the Great Problem.

Sincerely,

COPY FOR MR. ANTHONY

May 16,1959

Virginia Committee for Public Schools
Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Va.

Dear Mr.Lightsey or Dr.Buck:

This is in pursuance of conversation with Mr.Lightsey, but I understand that he may be away at this time.

Bill advised me that you have surplus copies of circulars indicated by the number marked on the upper right-hand corner. Please send us 30 copies each of the circulars enclosed herewith.

We are prepared to pay for this material at the rate of 15¢ for each mimeographed page, plus 50¢ for handling each circular. Thus 30 circulars Questions and Answers, March 20, 1 sheet memeographed both sides, would be 60 pages x 15¢, $9, plus 50¢: $9.50. March 23 circular, mimeographed one side, would be 30 x 15¢, $4.50, plus 50¢: $5.00.

You may bill us for the material previously sent us, together with material here ordered, according to the above schedule.

As further circulars are issued, please send one copy of each to me here, and I will advise if copies are wanted for the Council.

The circulars ordered above in bulk should be addressed to the Atlanta office, and your bill should also be sent there.

I appreciated two recent notes from Dr.Buck. I hope to have an opportunity to talk to you both soon.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

May 16, 1959

MEMORANDUM

The Save-the-Schools Movement in Miami--Conversations with Haskell L. Lazere and Charles E. Gottlieb

The save-the-schools movement in Miami is reflected in the attitude of many organizations and strong public sentiment, but is sporadic and unorganized. I talked with two leaders: Haskell L. Lazere, director of the American Jewish Congress; and Charles E. Gottlieb, chairman, Dade County Committee for Better Schools. Lazere's objective is desegregation, with combatting school-closing only a phase; Gottlieb's direct concern is only with schools.

Lazere (714 Congress Building, Miami 32) is an ardent crusader for civil rights all down the line, lobbies in Tallahassee against all "racial" bills, book-burning, etc. Was active in bringing about participation of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Conference of Christians and Jews in a desegregation resolution. Also active in circulating an anti-school closing petition initiated by the Miami Beach Junior Chamber of Commerce. Said over 1,000 had attended anti-school-closing meetings. Lazere emphasized the value of the economic aspect of the question and wished all the material we have on the subject.

Mr. Gottlieb, vice-president of Stevens Markets, Inc. (6209 N.W. 27th Ave.) is a dynamic individual and apparently something of a figure in the business world as well as in civic activities. He was eager for information and help. He lunched with me on May 12th., the day of my departure, and insisted on staying and taking me to the airport, in order to continue the conversation. He wants all the material we can send him, particularly on the economic aspect.

He summed up the points on which he wanted help as: the economic aspects of the problem, the techniques of organization, money-raising and the availability of a professional organizer.

He said that Roy E. Larsen, president of Time Magazine, was a close friend and he planned to ask him for help.

Gottlieb was full of enthusiasm, and yet uncertain about going ahead. He felt the danger to public schools in Florida was not yet clear. No one would know until the Legislature adjourned whether or not a save-the-schools movement would be necessary.

"We don't want to get steamed up," he said, "to fight a dead dog."

I agreed that it might be wise to sit tight until the Legislature adjourns and we know where we are, while getting ready to launch a full-scale movement, if necessary, then.

He said there was no save-the-schools organization as such, with a membership list, in Miami. Meetings and other activities had been conducted by a number of organizations, working together.

Mr. Gottlieb, and others, mentioned William S. Paley, capitalist, former ambassador and head of the Miami Transit Co., as an active opponent of school-closing.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED MAY 18 1959

May 16, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Law Enforcement, Miami--Conversation with J. J. Youell, Assistant Chief of Police

Walter Hadley, the Chief of Police, was out for the day when I called, and I never met him. I asked about him in conversations with half a dozen others and received an uniformly good account of him. He was described as able and devoted to law and order. No one seemed to know his personal views on segregation, although moderates and liberals had a favorable impression of him.

I have had doubts about the reaction of law enforcement people to suggestions or offers of help from us. I was not encouraged in this by John Perry.

However, I decided to broach the idea at least casually, and did so in a conversation with J. A. Youell, Assistant Chief of Police, in a conversation on May 12. I said that I knew of the high reputation of the Miami Police Department and had no doubt of its ability to take care of a desegregation situation.

However, I remarked that Chief Harold Anderson and the Norfolk police had been through school desegregation and had done a wonderful job. If Chief Hadley or Assistant Chief Youell should be interested in going to Norfolk to talk to Anderson, the S.R.C. would be glad to finance the trip.

Mr. Youell's reaction was entirely negative. "We know Harold Anderson," he said. "If we wanted any information from him, we wouldn't hesitate a minute to pick up a phone and ask him."

In further conversation, Mr. Youell said approximately: "There isn't going to be any disorder in Miami. We are going to see to that. We can handle it all right. We have an 125-man riot squad. I don't think it will be needed, but it'll be ready."

With regard to the Orchard Villa school, he seemed to be sure that only Negroes would attend it in September.

Some of Mr. Youell's remarks were disturbing. "Law and order is our business," he said, "and we are going to attend to it--just law and order. The rest of the business (desegregation) is not our affair, but I don't mind telling you I don't believe in it."

When I remarked, more or less as a conversational item, that Anderson had assigned a couple of officers to keep an eye on the home of each integrated Negro pupil during the critical days, his reaction was a little alarming.

"Guards? --" he said, "Guards? They aren't going to get any guards from us. If they ask for trouble, they needn't come to us for guards." He said more in the same vein. He seemed to feel more resentment against the Negroes than against the fanatics who might molest them.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Harold,

Copies of memoranda on Orchard Villa and conversations with Yowell, Roberts & Hall were sent to Perry.

I will be on hand for the executive committee meeting June 3.

Regards.

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED MAY 20 1959

May 19, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Tallahassee, May 9 and 10, 1959.

I was in the hands of John L. Perry, Administrative Assistant to Governor Collins, during virtually my entire stay in Tallahassee.

Perry met me at the airport Saturday afternoon, left me at my hotel for half an hour to dress, then called and took me to his home for dinner. After dinner we attended a football game for two hours, then returned to Perry's home, joined by three other couples, for a light supper and a talk which lasted until 1 a.m. Sunday morning. The entire group was interested in the segregation problem, and wholly on the liberal side.

Sunday afternoon I spent driving, sight-seeing and talking with Perry. I had only an accidental meeting, and no serious conversation, with Governor Collins. We found him unexpectedly at home when we visited the Mansion, and the Governor courteously insisted on showing me around.

When we stopped for coffee during the final hour before he took me to the air port, I asked Perry what we could best do to help the Governor and the good cause in Florida. His answer was prompt and definite, suggesting that it had been previously considered.

He said approximately:

"Concentrate on Florida. This is the key state now, and you can do more here than anywhere else.

"Come back here and act as a liaison between the Governor and some people that need talking to. There are things the Governor can't say to them, and it isn't politically feasible to send any one from here to talk to them.

"See some of these people and tell them about Virginia. Give them the information they need. Tell them the stuff you told us when you first came to Tallahassee."

He used the expression "liaison between the Governor, etc." I suggested that it would probably amount to my making some visits to moderate leaders on leads from the Governor's office, but he did not explain further. I said the plan needed study, but that I would certainly be happy to cooperate with him and Governor Collins.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED JUN 19 1959

June 17, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Virginia Situation -- Conversation With Albertis Harrison

As a glance at the attached clippings will suggest, Governor J. Lindsay Almond is becoming more emphatically a moderate leader. I shall try to renew an old friendship with him at the first opportunity. He has been away from his office for several days.

In the meantime, on June 12, I called on Attorney General Albertis Harrison, Almond's staunch ally and closest adviser--who is now widely regarded as his most likely successor as Governor.

The atmosphere seems propitious now for approaching Virginia leaders in various sections somewhat after the manner of my Florida consultations. I shall avoid involvement in current contests for the General Assembly in my SRC capacity, but the actual contests are limited in number. Otherwise I shall try indirectly to strengthen the Governor's hand by encouraging the moderate view.

I also hope to visit each of the desegregating districts and those where desegregation moves have been initiated, i.e., Lynchburg, Staunton, and Floyd County. Ted Dalton should be able to help in his next-door county of Floyd. Floyd is staunchly Republican.

Albertis Harrison, 52, was elected State Senator in 1948 and Attorney General in 1957. He is from Brunswick County, in the heart of the "Black Belt." I had only a very slight personal acquaintance with him when I called (without appointment) last Friday.

Harrison received me at once and was most cordial. He seemed, in fact, eager to talk about our problem. He recalled that I had formerly represented a county adjoining his own in the State Senate and should know how nearly impossible it would be to desegregate schools now in that area.

He said he and I disagreed about the "wrongness" of the Supreme Court decision, but that it was now the law and had to be obeyed. On the rest of it there appeared to be little difference in our views.

He said the Supreme Court decision had to prevail. In principle no thoughtful person could wish otherwise.

He was emphatic in his belief that no adequate system of private schools could be set up. Public schools were indispensable and in time they would have to be integrated. Pupil placement laws were only a temporary means of evasion and delay. In Southside Virginia, looking ahead, nobody knows how long, to the day of good faith compliance, the only hope lay in "voluntary segregation." Once the principle had been established, he believed nearly all the Negro pupils would prefer to stay together.

Changing the subject, he asked "What is the truth about the Washington schools?" I gave him a brief answer, and I shall send him a copy of our L Report on the subject with a personal letter.

He asked also about "the white people leaving Washington to escape integration." I have in mind an L Report on this also.

We talked longest about the "Four-Track Plan" of the Washington schools. I thought some such plan would help when integration should come to Southside Virginia. Harrison was interested, and he remarked that a kind of "two-track" plan was already very common in Southside Virginia schools.

I feel more and more that a report, or a brochure, on the Four-Track Plan is in order. Such a work should discuss, not only the working of the plan in Washington, but how the principle could be applied in smaller, and poorer, school systems. Dr. Hansen's "A Third Year Evaluation Report on the Four-Track Curriculum," (about 50 mimeographed pages, with charts,) is a comprehensive formal and technical discussion of the plan.

Ben Muse

Benjamin Muse

The Washington Post and Times-Herald. June 14, 1959

Almond Takes Stand as Head Of Moderates

Governor Champions Schools Against Last-Ditch Southsiders

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

The moderates of Virginia have a new leader experienced in political infighting and possessed of persuasive oratorical splendor.

He is Gov. J. Lindsay Almond Jr.

Many moderates say they knew all along that Almond eventually would be at their side. Others, remembering well the Governor's past bitter speeches on the school desegregation issue, were never sure.

But the Governor now has taken his stand.

He has vowed to fight to keep the State in the public school business. This means a vigorous contest in the General Assembly next January.

The Governor knows it. He is taking his fight to the people and asking their help.

Third Phase Begun

Actually, this is the third phase of Virginia's gradual and painful accommodation to the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of 1954.

The first phase which lasted two years, was the comparatively moderate time of the Gray Commission's recommendations which envisioned some integration.

The second phase came in mid-1956, with the rejection of the Gray Commission plan in favor of "massive resistance"—a State policy coined by Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.), enacted under the auspices of Gov. Thomas B. Stanley and inherited by Almond when he took over as Governor in 1958.

With the collapse of "massive resistance" last January, Almond led the State into its present "freedom of choice" program. In a special session of the General Assembly, he successfully, but narrowly, won deferral of a strongly backed proposal aimed at doing away with the State public school system by constitutional amendment.

The big battle now, from the viewpoint of Almond and the moderates, is to keep that proposal deferred until it no longer is a threat.

A Two-Vote Margin

The Governor faces a big order. His two-vote majority in the State Senate on the issue earlier this year could easily be reversed by the Democratic primary next month.

His House majority could be lessened vitally.

Thus, his recent speeches embracing the public school system and his appeals to Virginians for help are, in effect pleas for support of legislators who support his efforts.

Attuned to working under pressure, Almond has indicated by his firm stand that he will use all the weapons at his command to win. These include the prestige of his office, patronage and support of other legislation dear to individual lawmakers' hearts.

They include the power to veto disliked bills, with the prospect unlikely that opponents could muster the two-thirds vote necessary to override him.

The proposal to abandon the State public school system would be a resolution not subject to his veto; but here Almond would unlimber his biggest weapon of all—his vigorous oratory—and take to the stump in opposition.

Chance of Stalemate

The tumult may create a sort of stalemate, a period of status quo with the State public school system still a constitutional requirement and still breathing.

The Governor's opposition then would use that period as an opportunity to groom their man to succeed Almond as Governor in 1962. If successful, they would renew their efforts to abandon the State school system.

The Governor's men would use this period to drum up and solidify public support for the State school system.

Depending upon which side wins, the fourth phase of Virginia's accommodation either will be complete local autonomy with no State public school system, or the maintenance of a State system and an eventual positive program dealing with school desegregation.

Change of Issue

For Almond and his followers to win, two conditions are necessary. First, the issue must change from the question of integration or segregation to the question of public schools or no public schools.

Almond apparently is convinced the public school question is at hand and the time to fight it out is now. An ardent segregationist, he nevertheless is showing he is even more ardently a public school man.

Secondly, the traditional political structure of the State must undergo a change. That is happening as the traditionally powerful Southside Virginia political forces, angry at the Governor for his present views, have aligned themselves against him, and he has drawn upon the rest of Virginia to isolate the unyielding Southsiders as a minority.

Other Southern governors and political leaders are watching the maneuvering in Virginia with intense interest. They will face a similar situation and will want to see if Almond can pull it off.

The Richmond News Leader, June 12, 1959

The Governor's Speeches

Almost four and a half months have passed since Governor Almond made his now famous January speeches. On the 20th, he was full of fire: "I will not yield . . . " By the 28th he had suddenly cooled: "The time has arrived to take a new, thorough and long look at the situation which confronts us . . . "

What happened to the Governor in these seven days remains Virginia's leading political mystery. We do not believe, as a number of readers have suggested, that a group of influential businessmen suddenly "got to" the Governor. It is true that in this period, a group of business and professional leaders in Norfolk publicly urged that Norfolk schools be reopened, but they said in essence no more than what many others had said before them. Neither do we believe that motives of personal political ambition came into play overnight.

We are inclined to believe, after reading Mr. Almond's speeches from the time of his campaign in 1957 up to the present, that his statements since January 28 do not represent any "new" Lindsay Almond, but simply another side of this harassed and lonely man. We have commented upon the Governor's divided personality before. One side of him is lawyer, former judge, former attorney general; the other side of him is politician, Governor, native Virginian. One side of him is influenced by his childhood, when he attended a one-room public school on a muddy road (an experience he referred to as recently as Wednesday at Bainbridge Junior High School); and the other side of him is influenced by his adult convictions on the evils of racial integration.

Thus pulled and hauled, the Governor is at once obedient to the Supreme Court, and strongly antagonistic to it. His every professional instinct is to obey established law; his every personal and political belief, so far as integrated schools are concerned, cries out against this. He is a public school man; and he is also a firm adherent to the view that, in many localities, forced integration will destroy public schools.

These opposing pressures within the Governor came to a boiling head in January. His television address of January 20, read anew today, testifies eloquently of strong emotions at last at the breaking point. There was a snapping then, a last crash of thunder, a violent explosion from the heart: *Catharsis*. And then it was done with. A far calmer Lindsay Almond piloted the Perrow program through the Assembly; and now we find the Governor, still feeling the effects of the January crisis, speaking with so changed an emphasis that old friends have deserted him and cries of "traitor!" are heard across the State.

This newspaper does not intend to desert Lindsay Almond. He is more to be pitied than censured. But we do want to say this: So sudden a shift in emphasis and approach on the Governor's part has created bitter misunderstandings that the Governor, with a little more attention to proper balance, could have avoided.

His personal travails to one side, the Governor unintentionally is helping to divide the State into two opposing camps, composed of sincere people who may not truly oppose one another at all. By his sudden emphasis upon the preservation of public education, he is causing it to appear that those who believe in essential segregation are *ipso facto* opposed to the preservation of public education, and this is not necessarily so at all.

Almost every Virginian, we suppose, believes in the preservation of public education. It is like believing in motherhood, or believing in majority rule. In Prince Edward County, you will not find a community leader who does not believe deeply in the maintenance of public schools. But motherhood can go wrong, and majority rule can be abused, and a point can be reached, as it has been reached in Prince Edward, where public education cannot be preserved. The people there believe in public schools, *but they do not believe in public schools at any price*. They do not believe in the sort of public education that would mix 470 whites and 480 Negroes intimately together in the county's two high school buildings. *And Mr. Almond does not believe in this either.*

He is failing to make this clear. When he speaks to the graduating class of Warren County's private school, and exhorts his audience to greater endeavors in behalf of publice education, he fails to emphasize the important role that private education must play in the State's future —a role the Governor many times has lauded in the past. When he talks of the need for preserving public schools, and fails to emphasize that he is talking only of efficient and satisfactory public schools in which a high level of education can be maintained in an atmosphere of tranquility, he is playing into the hands of his false friends on the liberal side and he is sorely disappointing those who have supported him right along.

We beg the Governor to return more militantly to the wars. Surely Virginia must maintain public education—wherever it can be maintained with the consent and support of the people. But the important thing is not necessarily *public* education; it is education. And beyond the importance of maintaining education lies the imperative necessity of permitting society to make its own social changes voluntarily, and not by compulsion of law.

The war in which the South is engaged can yet be won, but it can be won only over a long period of years, and it can be won only behind leadership that unites and does not divide. Unhappily, Governor Almond's public utterances since January have created not new unity, but only new divisions.

LWD
Let's discuss after you've read.
HCF

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

June 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Thomas F. Boushal, President, Bank of Virginia

I had a long and most satisfactory talk June 23 with Tom Boushal, president of the Bank of Virginia, at his office in Richmond.

We covered a great deal of ground, and I got, I think, a valuable insight into what is probably typical thinking on the subject by a moderate and public-spirited business leader.

Not all of his views would pass the SRC test. He said at the beginning that he believes segregation is best for both races. He is annoyed by "slander" of the South in the North. He makes a specialty--in arguments with clergymen--of a theory that this is not a "moral" issue (else "all who died before 1954 would have gone to hell.")

He fell naturally into the old Southern master-servant way of talking about Negroes, and a casual assumption of Negro inferiority. He seemed to have had little contact with cultivated Negroes.

Yet I found upon longer discussion that he was concerned with the moral angle in many ways, and did not seem to believe in segregation as a permanent thing. He said it should be eliminated by "evolutionary" degrees.

I pointed out the fact that there are many white children in the schools who are as backward and uncouth as any Negroes. "In eastern Virginia the poor and dirty ones are generally colored; in western Virginia they are white." I gave him the information that there are twice as many "poor whites" in Virginia as poor Negroes. (This line of argument, I think, is effective, and we might do more with it.)

He agreed that politicians had made an enormous problem out of one that could have been solved by gradual adjustment to the satisfaction of the courts and without great public disturbance. (He said Governor Hodges, of North Carolina, was a close personal friend.)

Of course, school-closing was bad for business. "Industry isn't going to come here unless it knows it's going to have schools for its people." I think he will use his influence in this field.

Before I left he said: "I don't think we disagree on anything!" He asked where I could be reached, and was most cordial.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Harold,

This was done on the plane. I shall put together some reports on the whole trip over the week-end.

Regards
Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED JUL 6 1959

July 3, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Governor Orval Faubus, June 29, 1959

An entire morning (June 29) was devoted to seeing Governor Faubus (10 minutes) and his administrative assistant (30 minutes), but several hours' observation of the conversation and the goings and comings in the Governor's offices was not without interest.

Rolla Fitch, the chief administrative assistant, seemed slightly more reasonable than the Governor. He agreed that the importance of limited integration in Little Rock high schools had been vastly exaggerated. He thought it would be better to go ahead and have token integration. "But I'm just a routine administrative man. I don't have anything to do with these questions."

In further conversation he echoed much Faubus talk. The trouble with token integration, he said, was that it would soon become mass integration. Then there would be "white and colored falling in love. Look what's happening in Washington!"

I told him there had been only one case of interracial marriage among over 100,000 pupils in four years of integration in Washington.

He said he would like to see the whole matter settled "for the sake of the Governor's health." He said the "strain" was telling on the Governor. "His hand shakes like that."

I talked to him briefly about Almond's performance--which was the one thought I hoped to get over in some degree to the Governor.

Faubus arrived late and was running half an hour behind his appointment schedule. Although this would be the only opportunity to see him, there were others still waiting ahead of me and at about 12:15 I decided to give up.

I carried copies of two of Almond's key speeches (January 28 to the General Assembly and June 9 to the Warren County private school patrons). I went in with these again to see Fitch.

I told Fitch that Virginia exhausted the possibilities of legal resistance last January; a similar situation had now been reached in Arkansas. These speeches, I said, would show how Almond met his crisis and might contain some thought which would be helpful to Governor Faubus.

Fitch said: "The Governor ought to have them. You ought to hand them to him." Then he more or less pushed me into the Governor's office, announcing: "This is Mr. Muse from Virginia."

Faubus was in a conference with an earlier caller whom he rather rudely neglected as he turned to me. He shook my hand and asked: "How are you getting along in Virginia?" There followed about ten minutes of eager conversation on both sides.

Some of it was approximately as follows:

Me: "There's been a change of policy in Virginia."

Faubus: "I know. I didn't like it. I had admired Almond before."

Me: "Nobody fought integration harder than Governor Almond, but he came to the point where there was nothing else he could do. He was just up against Federal power, and he couldn't do any more. That was last January. The same thing has happened to Arkansas now. Arkansas has come to the same point."

Faubus: "We haven't come to any such point. We can keep on fighting. The whole South can keep on fighting. We can make the Supreme Court reverse its decision."

Me: "They don't see any hope of that in Virginia. Almond is a lawyer. He struggled with the courts over this thing for seven years. And he doesn't see any possibility of a reversal of the decision. He decided that Virginia had to adjust in some way.

Faubus: "So you enforce integration with state police."

Me: "The police had hardly anything to do. There wasn't any trouble. We now have what Almond calls a "Freedom of Choice Plan." Nobody is compelled to go to any integrated school, and there are tuition grants for those who go to private schools."

Faubus: "The courts are going to break that down--the tuition grants. That's what worries me. Poor children won't have the money to go to private schools."

Me: "Almond got his stuff through the Legislature and got a good reaction in a newspaper public opinion poll. These two speeches will give a pretty good idea of how Almond explained the situation and got the idea across."

Faubus: "I'd like to have them. I want to see what he said."

The Governor glanced at the neglected earlier visitor at this point, and I terminated my visit.

I had assured Fitch that anything said by him or the Governor would be "off the record."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 6, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Little Rock, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, June 28-30, 1959

I was generally lucky in being able to see the people I wished to see in two days, although Harry Ashmore was away. (My visit to Governor Faubus is reported separately.)

I had an hour and a half Monday with Hugh B. Patterson, Jr., Gazette publisher, in one of the conversations which I value most in my recent experience. We discussed Little Rock, Arkansas, and the South. He was sure Faubus would run for a fourth term. He became very much interested in this Leadership Project and offered to cooperate in any possible way.

Patterson felt keenly about the importance of the role of the business community in the solution of this problem. It is dangerous for the individual business man to "stick his neck out," he said, but when they act together they are fairly safe. "If 100 of the leading business men of the state would unite in signing the right kind of statement," it would do wonders in Arkansas. It was business men who were saving the situation in Little Rock now. Even some business leaders in Eastern Arkansas were bringing pressure to bear. He talked about the great job done by the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce.

I made something like headquarters at the Chamber of Commerce (115 W. 6th. Street). Boyd Ridgeway is an attractive, ebullient young man from Greenville, Mississippi ("but I came under the influence of Hodding Carter.") I paid two visits to his office and joined in a long coffee break with Ridgeway and several others.

In Ridgeway's enthusiastic account, the chamber had been chiefly responsible for the election of the three moderates to the school board and for the recall of the other three. It was actively concerned with the situation now. I gather that the chamber is also close to the new city administration, and is encouraged by the preparations for law enforcement next September. Dean Dauley, city manager, and Eugene Smith, chief of police, have the confidence of the chamber and of moderates generally.

Ridgeway likes our L Reports and will be glad to cooperate in any way.

Significantly, the new president of the school board, Everett Tucker, Jr. was chairman of the industrial committee and is a leading light in the chamber. His office is in the same building. His business is the Little Rock Industrial Development Co., which he heads. I talked with

him in Ridgeway's office and again alone. Tucker believes, I think, quite strongly in segregation and is critical of the Supreme Court, but he is firmly determined to keep the schools open with whatever integration is required.

Tuesday I also visited Granger Williams, the chamber president, at the National Old Line Insurance Co. building. A quietly dedicated man, Granger seemed the most earnestly concerned of all with the problem of getting the schools reopened and integrated in an orderly manner.

Granger said the plan of integrating both Hall and Central High--which he believes is now agreed upon--would decentralize the agitation and be advantageous in other ways. The Hall school patrons being on a higher economic level, it would refute the argument that the wealthy children were escaping integration. He said there is a more liberal atmosphere at Hall anyway and integration should have been tried first there.

Williams was also proud of the chamber's accomplishment, but he insisted that credit should be given to the women of the Emergency Committee, without whom his work would have been impossible.

Former Governor Sid McMath (Tuesday) was a little unbending, but extremely friendly. He offered to help in any way he could in this project. Went over much of the same ground as others. "The harm that man (Faubus) has done is incredible." Impressed with the good work of the chamber of commerce, but observed that some business men went along with Faubus. The Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Co. backed Faubus financially, and utility rates stay high as a result.

In the case of all these business men with whom I talked I was impressed with the fact that they like to feel that they are acting on a high plane in the school crisis. There was a sort of good-natured resentment about the suggestion that this was a matter of business and self-interest. Ridgeway: "It's not a matter of business with these men, it's a matter of good citizenship--a matter of principle." It was a matter of "moral principle" to Williams.

They agree, nevertheless, that school trouble is damaging to business, and that is, of course, a cogent argument. I was repeatedly told that "not a single new industry had come to Little Rock since September, 1957." Incidentally, however, business in general is said to be good in Little Rock just now.

I paid a brief visit to Nat Griswold, and had a pleasant evening with Reverend C.S. Cartwright.

I found generally among those with whom I talked a hopeful belief that the schools will open in September without very great disturbance.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 6, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Nashville, June 30-July 1

In what amounted to only half a day in Nashville I saw only Walter Sharp and Coleman Harwell, editor of the Nashville-Tennessean. Sharp accompanied me on the visit to Harwell, who was an old friend of his.

Harwell was discouragingly cold for the first ten minutes, but warmed gradually to the conversation and to the project. At the end he followed us to the outer door and it was difficult to get away. He told me to make myself at home in the Tennessean offices, offered me any facilities and asked me to call on him whenever he could be of help.

A little discussion of Tennessee politics. Governor Ellington not naturally an extremist, but inclined to go as the political wind blows. Nashville Mayor Ben West regarded as a moderate on the segregation issue.

Creed Black from ~~his~~ Harwell's staff has just gone to Savannah to become executive editor of the two papers there. He will be a good contact for me.

(Incidentally, Harwell asked me to try to find him an editorial writer--a good spot for a young liberal.)

I was particularly impressed by our discussion of the break-down of communication between the races. Harwell reflected that, perhaps, he had been remiss, and made a note to call soon on the new president of Fisk. More significantly, however, he noted a sort of boycott of his office by Negroes.

"As well as I can remember there hasn't been a Negro in here for four years. Formerly I had visits from Negroes every few days."

Yet Harwell is a dedicated liberal, known to be friendly to the Negro cause. He said he missed their visits. Sharp said he would mention this matter to some of his Negro associates.

We concluded that Negroes are overly afraid of embarassing their white friends. In this instance they would certainly have been welcomed by an influential editor. This diffidence accounts for some of the break-down of communication.

Harwell said he also had detected a certain tone of wavering on the part of previously inflexible resistors in the South. When I told him about Ellis Arnold's move, he jotted down notes for possible editorial reference.

In a long talk, including luncheon, with Walter Sharp I was amazed at his acquaintance among the Nashville "power structure", including Mayor West and most of the financial and business magnates. I believe many of these know him socially and through his role in civic activities in the artistic field.

He mentioned Dan May and Macklin Davis as committed liberals. Many leading business men, however, had avoided the issue and never expressed themselves on either side. In this list were: Albert Werthen, Malny Jarman, Victor Johnson, Fred Harvey, John Sloan and Vernon Sharp.

We planned somewhat enthusiastically a future "campaign" in Nashville in which I could meet these people and others under favorable auspices.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 7, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Knoxville, Wednesday-Friday, July 1-3, 1959

In Knoxville I saw only a few of my intended prospects, due in part to the impending holiday and in part to sheer bad luck--which must be expected from time to time. The mayor was coming in only for one meeting Thursday before taking off for the holiday, a school board member could only be seen a half an hour before my scheduled departure Friday, and the chamber of commerce president could be seen only at the same hour as my appointment already made with another prospect, etc., etc. (Paul Christopher was away all the week.)

However, I had a cordial talk Thursday morning with Charles Herd, manager of the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce.

Herd is a quiet, cautious type, whom Galen Martin and others regard as a moderate. He seemed very much so to me. He said the school segregation question had never been discussed in a meeting of the Knoxville chamber but that it had, of course, been discussed informally among members. He did not believe there was an extremist in the chamber. As far as he knew none of them would favor closing schools to prevent integration. In any crisis, he was sure, the Knoxville chamber would be a force for stability and order.

He was interested in the performance of the Little Rock chamber, said the Knoxville chamber would probably do likewise in similar circumstances.

I visited George R. Dempster (political and business leader, former Knoxville mayor, chairman of the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission, etc.) at the Dempster Bros. plant near Knoxville Thursday afternoon.

We had a long pleasant talk. He is an elderly gentleman with a fondness for reminiscences and funny stories. He appeared to agree with everything I said. He is a reliable liberal and liked the idea of alerting business men. He anticipated little trouble in Knoxville. "No respectable person in Knoxville would favor closing schools."

(A secretary reminded him that he was lunching with Senator Kefauver Friday.)

Mr. Dempster showed me his huge cafeteria, where, he said, white and Negro employees were completely integrated. He gave me a ticket good for 100 meals--a favorite gimmick. (Perhaps I had better hang on to this. One never knows.)

Wednesday evening and again Thursday evening Galen Martin rounded up a group which gathered for dinner, or coffee, with me at the Farragut Hotel. These were mostly human relations people. Martin succeeded in getting only one from the business community, Clifford Seeber (insurance man and brother of the mayor of Clinton) who came Thursday, along with Reverend Leo Earl Acuff. In the Wednesday group were: Dr. Forest Lacey, of U. T. Law School; Reverend Bob West, Unitarian Minister; and Ken Kennedy of the TVA information office. We talked until nearly midnight each evening.

Mayor John Duncan, whom I did not see, was generally regarded as a moderate. Knoxville was somewhat excited over the arrival of Brooks Hays to take over his TVA duties. He should be a good influence there.

I found much difference of opinion regarding the two newspapers--depending partly on matters other than racial. The Dempsters despise the Journal. However, Galen Martin says the Journal is as good as the News-Sentinel on the point of school desegregation--neither of them inflammatory. I was unable to make connections with Loy Miller, News-Sentinel editor.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED JUL 20 1959

July 18, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I went to Richmond yesterday to lunch with the Blair Bucks, and Lightsey, at the Buck home, and had a further talk with Buck after Lightsey left.

Of course, we are happy at the results of the Democratic primary, as I have said more extensively in my Washington Post column.

Lightsey's manuscript

Lightsey brought me a copy of his story of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, which you had already sent me. He said he wished I or somebody else would turn it into a story which might be accepted by a national magazine. Even if I had the talent, I doubt if the theme is of that quality.

I told him that I had recommended its purchase by the SRC for publication in pamphlet form. Later he remarked to Buck, when we discussed the Committee's financial troubles, that I had indicated "we might get something out of the SRC for that story." The Committee's deficit of $740.71 being mainly on account of Lightsey's salary and expenses, I presume that anything we pay will be credited to the Committee and then passed over to Lightsey.

The Committee for Public Schools

The state Committee for Public Schools, after a period of doldrums, sprang into action during the last two weeks of the recent campaign, and its call for support of the right candidates did considerable good. It now plans one last (?) 6-months' campaign to keep the public schools safe for the session of the Legislature which opens next January -- provided a little money can be raised. Lightsey has agreed to work 15 days a month for $2,000. for the 6 months.

Lightsey and the P-TA's

After that the Committee may fold up. The hope is that the state P-TA organization will carry the ball from there on. Lightsey is working to keep the right elements on top in the P-TA's and (as he has confided to me) to win election to the office of state president. A P-TA statement a few days before the election, partly instigated by Lightsey, also contributed to the success of moderate candidates.

Lightsey said he had definitely turned against segregationist Cong. Broyhill and wants to see a strong Democratic candidate fielded against him next year.

Public Education Officials

Buck knew the present Superintendent of Public Instruction Davis Y. Paschall very well and had enthusiastic praise for him. He said Paschall could be counted upon to do and say "just the right thing."

He noted that the State Board of Education had been "stacked" during the massive resistance period and now comprised five extremists to two moderates. One member (W.J. Stony) is a rabid racist and Defenders organizer. Incidentally Stony, an Almond appointee, is now viciously anti-Almond.

Apathy of Business Leaders

Throughout his fight for public schools Buck had found a depressing reluctance on the part of business leaders to take any part. Some, who contributed a little, did so in cash to avoid leaving a checking account record ~~receipt~~. Many said they were in sympathy but could not afford to offend associates and customers. Tom Boushell had "never give a cent." Many went along with massive resistance. He estimated that 80 per cent of the members of the Rotary Club were massive resisters.

I think he was recalling his hard uphill fight of last year, and exaggerating somewhat. He agreed that "things will probably be better now."

He gave me the names of a few Richmond business men that "one can talk to." I note them for future reference:

Claiborn Robbins, pres., Robbins Pharmaceutical Co. (an outright contributor)

Mallory Freeman, public relations director, above

William H. Trapnell

Bill Thalhimer, pres., Thalhimer Dept. Store

Irving May, vice-pres., above

Webster Rhoads, pres., Miller & Rhoads

Harry Swarzchild, pres., Central Natl. Bank

J. Malcolm Bridges, exec. sec., Richmond Chamber of Commerce

Vernon Kemp, exec. dir., State Chamber of Commerce

Lewis F. Powell, attorney, (Electric Bldg.), chairman, school board

Little Rock Chamber of Commerce

Buck said the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce story, which I tell everywhere, is the best possible message to use among business men all over the South. He wished it could be "written up."

I do too. I believe there is top drawer material there for a magazine article. The Little Rock business men may or may not want to see it in print, but it might be done in a way which would make them proud. There is also the hitch that the battle is not yet over. Central High has not re-opened yet. All the same, there is a thought here that you might want to pass on to some of the writers who come your way.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

"McCarthyism under the Magnolias" in Progressive was splendid. I recommend it for New South reprint.

Best regards —

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

July 30, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Del. Joseph H. Poff (R.), Floyd, Va., July 26, 1959

Floyd County, from present indications seems likely to be a center of integration agitation and action next September. It is a small (pop. 11,351, -- 4.2% Negro) heavily Republican County in southwest Virginia.

On May 11, the day after 14 Negro students applied for admission to the county's two white high schools, the county's representative in the House of Delegates, Joseph H. Poff, issued a statement probably unprecedented in the South.

"I think it would be better to admit the 14 than become involved in a suit," Poff said. "We have a high-type Negro here, and I don't think we would have a bit of trouble."

One school board member agreed, another disagreed and the other four remained non-committal.

However, the situation subsequently hardened into the familiar pattern (due largely, Poff told me to School Superintendent James H. Combs.) The school board "unanimously" expressed disapproval and found technical reasons for delaying action. Finally the applications were forwarded to the State Pupil Placement Board with unfavorable comment. Meanwhile the county school appropriations were placed on a month-to-month basis.

In spite of all this, Del. Poff, whom I visited in his home, was not pessimistic. He doubted if the school authorities would make trouble after a Federal court decision. He said there were few extremists in the county. He was renominated by the Republicans, with only slight opposition due to his "integrationist" statement. If there had been strong feeling on the issue, there would have been Democratic opposition, but the Democrats did not even put up a candidate.

I was greatly impressed with Poff, high-minded and devoutly in favor of desegregation -- with plenty of courage too. An old Negro man has attended his (Lutheran) church in Floyd for many years and is a member of his men's Sunday School class. He said the Floyd county Negroes -- mostly professional people -- were much superior to many of the mountain whites.

Floyd, he noted, will have no case at all in court. The county has no Negro high school, its 34 Negro high school students being expensively rounded up by bus daily and taken to Christiansburg in Montgomery County.

We agreed that peremptory desegregation orders might easily come by September. In Warren County last year Negroes first applied for admission to the white high school on July 18, the applications were rejected by the State Pupil Placement Board on August 29 and the final desegregation order with refusal of stay came on September 12. (The Governor ordered the school closed the same day.)

Benjamin Muse

PR ✓
PA

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

RECEIVED AUG 28 1959

August 27, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Immediate School Plans in Florida--Conversations with:

John L. Perry
William Durden
Floyd Christian
Mrs. Lyle Roberts

In Tallahassee

My object in our Tallahassee stopover, August 12, was to make some return for the earlier hospitality of John L. Perry, the Governor's Administrative Assistant, and others there, and compare notes with them.

William B. Killian, Legal Assistant, who had invited us to have cocktails at his house, had suddenly snatched an opportunity for a two-weeks leave and left town. Perry had arranged for Killian's place to be taken by William Durden, the third member of the Governor's "official family."

I was glad to have this opportunity to get acquainted with Durden, whom I had barely met before. Durden, Executive Assistant, is the senior member of the trio. He is an older man, with a mischievous twinkle in his eye and laconic in conversation -- liberal on the race issue. We had cocktails at the Durdens' and after dinner Durden insisted on our returning to sample some of the seven varieties of liqueurs which he had collected while in Puerto Rico and St. Thomas with the Governor.

The Perrys and Durdens were guests of my wife and me at dinner at the Hotel Duval. I noted a change in Perry's attitude since the anxious days of the Legislative session. I had the impression that he felt that the Governor's office had met its greatest challenge and no longer needed my help or wished to confide.

In the matter of the unfinished business of actual school desegregation I gathered that the Governor is in close touch with the situation privately, but would like for it to appear that, if desegregation comes, it will be the business of school boards only. He apparently would like for it to be regarded as the simple operation of Florida's pupil assignment law and no direct concern of the Governor as long as public order is preserved.

I remarked that Gov. Collins is praised throughout the Nation and in liberal circles in the South for his temperate approach to the segregation problem, but that there is always a qualifying -- "but he has kept Florida segregated." I said that it would be important for his record as a high-minded leader if actual compliance with the Supreme Court decision should begin in Florida before the end of his term.

It was at this point that Perry took me aside and made the remarks which I conveyed in confidential notes to Harold Fleming.

On the morning of August 13, I attended a brief press conference, where Gov. Collins greeted me cordially. We then proceeded to St. Petersburg.

In St. Petersburg

Floyd Christian, the Pinellas County superintendent of schools, is definitely a moderate, and I gathered from my conversation with him, August 14, that he would favor admitting a few Negro pupils to mixed schools without waiting for legal action. When I suggested this, he appeared to agree himself and added that some of the school board felt the same way. He expected little trouble in St. Petersburg when desegregation should come. However, he said: "No Negro children have applied for admission yet."

In Miami

I telephoned Friday evening, August 14, and made an appointment with Mrs. Lyle Roberts for Monday morning, August 17. Mrs. Roberts had been described by Perry as the "key" member of the school board and I had spent an evening at her home on my earlier visit to Miami. She had been exceedingly friendly then and was so again when I spoke to her over the phone. She volunteered that she would come to my hotel for our talk Monday at 10 a.m.

at 8:20 a.m.

Monday at the Columbus Hotel I received a message -- she did not call me directly -- saying: "Mrs. Roberts regrets that she will be unable to meet her appointment."

After a few minutes thought, and recalling my conversation with John Perry, I felt that I saw the picture and understood why Jane Roberts had changed her mind. I know her well enough to appreciate her nervousness at this juncture. People "in the know" with regard to this desegregation move are extremely reluctant to talk about it on the eve of the event.

I also decided not to attempt to see Superintendent Joe Hall. Both Hall and Mrs. Roberts, being prepared for me by the Governor's office, had confided to an extraordinary degree on my previous visit. At this point it would be impossible for them to talk frankly and it would be embarrassing not to do so. Moreover, with plans made and the stage set, I could be of no help.

I sent Mrs. Roberts a card -- "Best Wishes" -- from the airport on my departure.

How I spent the remainder of my day in Miami will be reported in separate memoranda.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Harold,

I would like to know the date of the executive committee meeting as soon as it is more or less certain.

Hope you are keeping reasonably cool. The heat is much more oppressive here than in Florida!

Regards.

Ben

Mailed Friday

JC ✓
LWD ✓
PR ✓
PA ✓

File Return to HCF ✓

RECEIVED AUG 31 1959

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

August 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Editors, August 8-24

Charlotte	Tampa	Savannah
St. Petersburg	Orlando	Durham

I am increasingly impressed with the value and convenience of visits to editors and publishers. They are not only molders of opinion but often a part of the power structure and closely related to the business community. I also find them easy to see, even when merely passing through a city.

I like to promote the concept of a confraternity of liberal editors, striving to lift the South out of the morass; to carry news of one editor to another, as well as to bring encouragement and information to further the good cause. I also hope to bring more members into the "club", and I believe something can be accomplished among the segregationist editors.

Charlotte, August 8

C. A. ("Pete") McNight, editor of the Charlotte Observer, regretted the tendency of the Southern objective to freeze into one of merely "getting the courts off our backs," and regretted the failure of North Carolina to move faster under the Pearsall Plan. Disappointed particularly in the refusal of the Charlotte school board to integrate more than one Negro pupil this year. He said people were getting a little tired of talking and writing about segregation. "Even Tom Waring is getting bored with it."

In the larger picture he said leaving enforcement to the courts was a distortion of our constitutional system. He regretted the failure of Congress to act. "Collins plan?" -- "Some plan," he replied. Leaving to catch a plane for Atlanta, he was unable to enlarge on this theme.

St. Petersburg, August 14

Nelson Poynter, Editor and President of the St. Petersburg Times is also publisher of the Congressional Quarterly. We quickly found a mutual friend in Francis Pickens Miller, Virginia liberal and anti-Byrd leader. Mrs. Miller, a writer, is giving half her time to the Congressional Quarterly. Poynter was also interested in hearing of my talk with Hugh Patterson and others.

An enthusiastic liberal, Poynter said the St. Petersburg Times came out against segregation 20 years ago.

Poynter is an important figure in the business community. I am reporting more of his conversation in a separate memorandum on business men.

Tampa, August 15

Saturday afternoon, I saw only Carl Johnson, editorial page editor, Tampa Times (liberal on the race issue). Nothing will happen this September in Tampa. The school board was rather segregationist, and the NAACP lawyers not handling their case very well. Race relations were very good in the city, but Hillsborough differed from Pinellas in that the former contained a strongly prejudiced rural element. On the whole he thought desegregation would be carried out without disorder in Hillsborough when it came.

On the outlook for the 1960 gubernatorial race in Florida, Graves, like others, felt the situation was still too fluid to permit of any firm prediction. He thought Haydon Burns, mayor of Jacksonville, looked strong at present. Burns' position on segregation was uncertain. He thought State Sen. Doyle Carlton, the known moderate, was also strong. Others with whom I spoke put Carlton in front. Graves did not think Cadwell ~~Carlton~~ or Beasely would actually run.

Orlando, August 19

The Orlando papers were the most strongly segregationist that I visited. Martin Anderson, publisher of the Sentinel, Star and the Florida Magazine, is an extremely influential figure in central Florida. He had been away for several months. The publications were in the hands of William G. Conomos, General Manager.

Conomos outlined the papers' views on segregation, state rights and Supreme Court iniquity with 1 - 2 - 3 precision. The Orlando papers' emphasis is on these things. Only upon my questioning did he concede that they would prefer some desegregation to the closing of schools. "We've said so," he said.

It is a tribute to LeRoy Collins' political agility that Conomos concluded: "You can put us down as supporting Gov. Collins' policy."

For a more extensive discussion Conomos took me to Ormund Power, editorial page editor of the Star. Power was most cordial and I could go far with him. I suspect that he personally would like to take a more constructive stand if free from owner restraint. He did not think desegregation would cause much trouble in Orlando. He found practically no sentiment among responsible people in favor of closing schools to prevent desegregation.

Savannah, August 20

I was extremely fortunate in that our visit to Savannah coincided with a staff dinner to welcome two new city editors to the Savannah papers.

When I telephoned from St. Augustine, Creed C. Black, Vice-President and Executive Editor, invited my wife and me to join the party at his home. Present in addition to the Blacks and ourselves were: Alva H. Chapman, President-Publisher; Lloyd G. Eder, Vice-President and Business Manager; John L. Sutlive, Editor, Evening Press; Burger, City Editor, Morning News; and Steve Hall, City Editor, Evening Press -- each with his wife.

All gave the impression of being liberal on the race issue, except the Sutlives. Sutlive, a pompous, old-fashioned man-about-town, is the only holdover on the management level from the old regime. He seemed to disagree with the others on various subjects, and he was sometimes addressed as: "Sir." Apparently this link with the past was found indispensable in the reorganization of the two papers.

The change began two years ago, when the Chapman interests took over and Alva (a man apparently about 40) came from the St. Petersburg Times to be publisher. Reorganization began on the business end. Black has reorganized the editorial end since his arrival two months ago. Now 12 out of 13 department heads are new (the 13th being Sutlive).

Black is a dedicated liberal. Says 90% of the Nashville Tennessean editorials on the school issue were his.

For the present Black said the two editorial columns would stop making the wrong kind of comment; the right kind of comment on this issue would come gradually. They had a more important immediate task in backing Savannah's "fine" new mayor (W. Lee Mingledorff) and fighting the reactionary machine in the county.

Black found more quiet moderates and liberals in Savannah than he expected. City Editor Hall is trying to organize a Savannah branch of HOPE.

I had a chance for some talk with each man and took part in general conversation on the segregation question, Georgia politics and the possibility of pushing Savannah into the 20th century.

Durham, August 24

I visited the greatly enlarged offices of the Morning Herald and Durham Sun for the first time in 40 years. (I had been a teen-age cub on each paper).

I had been an associate of C. C. Council, about 5 years my senior, as an advertising go-getter in 1915-16. Council is now a genial old gentleman and more or less owner of the two papers. He was amused at my visit -- recalled that I did him out of $3.00 43 years ago -- but was hard to interest in the race problem. He remarked, however, that race relations were good in Durham and he didn't expect much trouble when desegregation came.

I was very much impressed with "Steed" Rollins, executive editor of the two papers. (I had worked for his father.) He was extremely cordial and emphatically liberal. The Herald had reprinted one of my columns a few weeks before. I had also noticed an admirable editorial in the Herald of the day before on violence and the NAACP.

Rollins would like to see more progress in North Carolina and specifically in Durham. He agreed that planned voluntary desegregation would be better than the court-enforced variety. But the school board didn't have the nerve to go ahead. He spoke of Durham's "fine, outstanding Negro leaders," among whom he classed Asa Spaulding as No. 1 and John Wheeling as No. 2. He said there was very little organized segregationist activity in Durham; the DUPEC had petered out. An ardent admirer of Gov. Hodges. As for the present gubernatorial outlook in N.C., there was no candidate yet in sight "whom I would feel like supporting."

A cordial conversation with H. C. Bradshaw, associate editor, threw no new light on the Durham situation, but a little on the situation in Prince Edward County. Bradshaw is a native of this Virginia county and goes back on the average every other week-end to his farm there. He said the "unanimity" of Prince Edward whites in favor of school-closing was vastly exaggerated. The moderates were intimidated. The results of a secret ballot would be doubtful. He also said there was danger of deterioration of the hitherto tolerable race relations in the county when September comes with no schools for Negroes. Negroes were beginning to show resentment.

Bradshaw said the prejudice and hostility in Southside Virginia were far worse than in the neighboring N.C. Black Belt -- due, he believed, largely to the Richmond News Leader. He said the N.C. press was moderate without important exception.

We dined Sunday evening with my nephew, Arthur Bradsher, a surgeon, who took us for a drive through the Negro residential section. We were impressed by the many handsome homes.

Arthur is eager to invite a group of the power structure to dinner whenever I go back. It would be easy to reach people in Durham, but probably not worth while to spend time there in the near future.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Copy

August 31, 1959

Mr. Boyd Ridgeway
Executive Manager
Little Rock Chamber of Commerce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Boyd,

I often recall my pleasant visit to you near the end of last June, and, of course, I have been thrilled at developments in Little Rock.

I have talked to a good many business men and chamber of commerce leaders since then, especially in Georgia and Florida, and found them intensely interested in the great job done by the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce in the school crisis there. In several instances (in Atlanta, St. Petersburg and Miami) people have expressed the wish that you could come and tell them about it.

I don't know whether these suggestions will reach the point of a formal request or when such a visit by you would be most helpful. It might be more appropriate some months hence.

However, in case of further discussion, I would like to know if you would be willing in principle to make the trip and talk to small groups -- probably privately -- in one or more of these cities.

The Southern Regional Council would be willing to defray expenses and pay an honorarium of $50 a day to prevent such trips from being of any cost to you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

copy

August 29, 1959

Mr. Everett Tucker
President
Little Rock School Board
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Tucker:

I often recall the pleasure I had in talking with you last June. I have followed your performance since with the utmost admiration.

I have heard of a recent television appearance by you on the Dave Garroway Show in which you discussed the school crisis and the better outlook now for new industry in Little Rock. I would greatly appreciate receiving a transcript of this if it is available, also any other statement which you have made with reference to the business angle.

I have found intense interest in the great job which you and the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce have done in other chambers which I have visited.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Sept. 3, 1959 PR ✓ LWD ✓ VC ✓ PA ✓ File

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

August 31, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Odds and Ends, Trip August 7—24

Sarah Mitchell, Atlanta, Aug. 9

Talked with Mrs. Sarah Mitchell, president Atlanta League of Women Voters at the Hayes' dinner. She was convinced the Atlanta school board chairman was "all right."

Mayor William Hartsfield, Atlanta, Aug. 10

Mayor "Bill" Hartsfield was in a fine, expansive mood when I talked with him. Talked like an allout liberal on the race issue. He "hoped" the school board would be "all right." Apropos of the united action of business men in Little Rock, he said: "We have the making of something like that here."

Little chat with "Skipper" Burns, the mayor's elderly secretary. Most cordial. Observed that his father was buried in Blanford Cemetery, Petersburg, Va. But an old-fashioned segregationist at heart.

Williams, Eisenburg, Miami, Aug. 17

Due to cancellation of Mrs. Roberts' appointment, I spent the morning with W. K. Williams, ex. dir., Florida CHR, who tried intermittently over the phone to make some appointment for me for the morning or for luncheon. He finally got Ira Eisenburg, from TV Station WTVJ, to join us for lunch. Eisenburg and his stations very liberal, but might have been helped by the conversation.

Little Mention of L Reports

I think Gottlieb was the only contact who mentioned the L Reports spontaneously. Editors, when I asked, replied "I may have seen one or two" -- or "They probably have been coming to us but they have not come to my attention."

Southern Regional Council Prestige

Among the people I visited I found no evidence of anything but respect for the Southern Regional Council. Some did not know about us. Others confused us with the Southern Education Reporting Service. Others said, "They're the people who do the studies on Negro voting" -- or "who got out the report on violence."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

PA ✓
JC ✓
PR ✓
LWD ✓
HF

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

August 31, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Business Leaders, August 10 --19

George Goodwin	William Clapp
Morris Abrams	Cody Fowler
Phil Hammer	Ralph White
Nelson Poynter	Charles E. Gottlieb
Flannagan	Linton Allen

Goodwin and Abrams, Atlanta, Aug. 10

Harold Fleming joined in luncheon with these in First National Bank dining room. Goodwin is an official of the bank. Abrams was candidate for Congress.

Abrams made a very interesting proposal. He urged that efforts be made to bring about an investigation by a committee of Congress, preferably of the Senate, of the present situation in the desegregated schools of the District of Columbia. The value of the report on such an investigation, if conducted with reasonable objectivity, would be obvious. It would inevitably reflect vast improvement over conditions described in the earlier Davis Committee report. Even assuming the Davis Committee report to have been accurate, it would be reasonable to ask Congress to take a second look and see if, after three or four years, improvement has been made. However, all agreed that it would be extremely difficult to get such an investigation launched.

Phil Hammer, Atlanta, Aug. 11

Lunch with Harold F. and Phil Hammer, who is a member of the board of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. We discussed the problem of uniting the chamber, or Atlanta business leaders, in a move of opposition to school-closing and in favor of orderly compliance with court-ordered integration. It was agreed that it would be desirable to have Boyd Ridgeway, executive manger of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce come to Atlanta and confer with groups of Atlanta chamber members. When would be the best time for such a step remained a question.

Nelson Poynter, St. Petersburg, August 14

Nelson Poynter, publisher of the St. Petersburg Times and the Congressional Quarterly, discussed mainly the business and economic aspect. Avidly interested in the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce story. He thought the St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce or the "Committee of 100" should send somebody to Little Rock --"or maybe somebody from the Little Rock chamber would come here." I told him Boyd Ridgeway might. Here again was a question of timing.

(A remark of Poynter's, which I should have included in my memorandum on editors, I have used elsewhere: "Our liberalism hasn't hurt us, because we give 'em a damn good paper!")

Clapp and Flannagan, St. Petersburg, Aug. 14

William Clapp, whom Perry described as man of great influence in the business world, is president of the Florida Power Corporation and chairman of the Florida Development Commission.

When I called for an appointment to discuss the school segregation problem, he was very courteous and said, "We would like to talk to you. I will have Shank and Hines meet with you. They look out for the corporation interests in such matters (!) On second thought, he said, "Come to see Flannagan, our vice-president, at two o'clock. I will try to get in there before you go."

Mr. Flannagan proved to be a humanitarian with liberal propensities. He was active in civic work for better race relations, Negro housing, etc. Despised extreme segregationists. Was interested in the Little Rock chamber story. Believed business men in St. Petersburg would be solidly opposed to any school-closing shenanigans.

He took me in to see Mr. Clapp. The latter was guarded in conversation but quite cordial. He seemed to enjoy hearing how the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce beat Orval Faubus.

Then after a pause, Clapp asked: "What are we going to do about a mess like that in the Washington schools?"

I gave him my usual reply to that question, and I mailed him later a copy of our L Report on the Davis Report, etc.

Cody Fowler, Tampa, Aug. 15 and 18

Cody Fowler was described by Perry as "best bet" among Tampa business men. He is head of a law firm, including a long list of lawyers, occupying three floors of the Citizens' Building. Former president of the American Bar Association, member of Florida's Fabishinski Commission.

A big, rough-hewn man, he received me gruffly, but after 10 or 15 minutes was overwhelmingly cordial. In fact, he more or less took me in hand and caused me to spend a good deal of time on a matter which was not my direct concern -- the Negro housing problem.

Fowler was a liberal and more emphatically a humanitarian, a leading exponent of Fabishinski Commission moderation. He deplored the delaying tactics of the Tampa school board. "They're afraid of a little abuse. I get some letters, but all that is insignificant."

I called Saturday morning. He wished he had known I was coming. He would like to have been able to spend the afternoon with me. Had I ever heard of Progress Village?

"Can you come again Monday? We are having a board meeting Monday and I would like for you to come to that."

I told him of my schedule to be in Miami Monday, but agreed to come back Tuesday morning. He said he would ask the Negro members of the Progress Village board to meet with me Tuesday.

Progress Village, a housing project (not "Negro," but intended for Negroes) is Fowler's obsession and his joy. I have copious data on it which has no place in this report, but it is a wonderful thing and I shared some of Fowler's thrill when I got acquainted with it.

Progress Village was born when a new expressway and urban renewal threatened to displace many of Tampa's already crowded Negro residents. $50,000 of non-profit initial capital was raised in 80 small loans from white and colored citizens. Substantial profits are inevitable but they will be put back into landscaping, etc.

13,000 acres, contemplating 4,300 houses (at $8,000 - $9,000 on easy FHA terms) to accomodate 16,000 people. Plans call for 4 lakes, golf courses, playgrounds, shopping center, churches, etc. 300 houses are nearly completed, more under construction.

I talked half an hour with Fowler Tuesday morning until James F. Goodrich, project director, came to take me on a tour of Progress Village. Fowler had arranged for me to meet alone with the Negro board members at 11 a.m., and he asked me to phone him their comments later. Fowler is president of the corporation. I talked with N. H. Martin, Negro vice-president and other Negro board members.

As I phoned Fowler afterward, they were enthusiastic over Progress Village. Of course, they said, all Negroes would prefer seeing race ignored in housing as in everything else, but in existing circumstances they were proud and happy with this project. The NAACP regarded it as apart from, rather than in conflict with ~~their~~ its main objective, since there was no restrictive aspect. These Negroes believed that some day white people would come into Progress Village; one said he knew of two white families who were considering applying for houses now. They said further, in answer to questioning, that they, and nearly all Negroes in Tampa supported the NAACP and favored school desegregation. They said, however, that the white people would be surprised to find how few Negro pupils would actually want to go to white schools.

Martin, who drove me back to my hotel, made the further interesting remark that it had been a fine experience for him to be associated with the other (white) members on the Progress Village board, and that he had learned much, especially from Mr. Fowler.

Ralph White, Tampa, Aug. 15 and 18

Ralph White, a member of Fowler's law firm and attorney for the Hillsborough County school board, is a bitter and obnoxious segregationist. He accosted me three or four times to make an unpleasant crack, and at one point Fowler almost found it necessary to separate us.

Charles E. Gottlieb, Miami, Aug. 17

I have an ~~old~~ odd friendship with this business leader, on whom I reported also in a memorandum of May 18 last. He is head of the Dade County Committee for Better Schools and of Stevens Markets, Inc.

Impulsive and given to "big talk," he seems well acquainted with the power structure and is not an insignificant figure. Three supermarkets in operation, two under construction and two more projected. The Miami News on the day of my visit reported Stevens Market, Inc. "sales of $11,498, 067 for the 24 weeks, etc." An architect went out with his drawing boards when I came into Gottlieb's office.

He is an enthusiastic liberal. He said he had reason to believe that a dozen Negro children would be admitted to white schools in September in addition to the 4 at Orchard Villa.

Fascinated with the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce story. Would like to have Boyd Ridgeway come at once to Miami. I told him we could finance such a visit by Ridgeway in due course.

Linton Allen, Orlando, Aug. 19

Allen, described as "key business man," is president of the First National Bank of Orlando. A gentle, elderly man, warm friend and admirer of Gov. Collins, humane and moderate on the race question. He knew of no one in the Orlando business community who would go along with school-closing.

"We have some fine Negroes and they are making progress. See that colored lady opening an account over there? That happens all the time."

When I mentioned Progress Village, he said, "We've had one of those for years."

Before leaving Orlando, my wife and I drove out to Washington Shores, a Negro housing project of several thousand houses. ~~Several~~ Negroes with whom we spoke seemed very proud of it, but I think it is considerably less attractive than Progress Village will be. I did not look into the financing and other arrangements of Washington Shores.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Have talked to the Post about a new column.
Decision will await conference after return of Executive Editor Wiggins middle of next week.

Regards.

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

September 5, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Visits to Virginian-Pilot and

Ledger-Star, Norfolk, Va., Sept. 2, 1959

Lenoir Chambers — Robert Smith
William Meacham — Perry Morgan

I had a very happy conference in the forenoon with Lenoir Chambers, editor, and Bill Meacham and Bob Smith, associate editors, of the Virginian-Pilot. Reminiscing over the war of "massive resistance," it was like a reunion of buddies who had shared the same foxhole.

We also talked about Virginia politics and the desegregation situation, without bringing out much that needs to be reported here.

No desegregation disturbance was anticipated in Norfolk, but the situation had worsened, and Superintendent Brewbaker's troubles had been increased by the appointment of three more or less antagonistic members to the school board, which formerly was unanimously cooperative.

Mayor Duckworth is still obstructionist on the desegregation issue, though his ability as mayor was otherwise praised. Vice-Mayor N.B. Etheridge was said to be much more congenial. I had a few words with Etheridge later in the hotel lobby, and he talked like a moderate.

Perhaps the SRC should be better acquainted with the Virginian-Pilot men, who are wholeheartedly liberal and are interested in the broad desegregation problem. Meacham writes most of the N. Y. Times editorials on the South, and Smith is writing a book about desegregation.

The best news I had from them was of the change of editors of the Ledger-Star. The Ledger had been a supporter of "massive resistance" under editor Joe Leslie, who has retired. The new editor, appointed three months ago, is an able young liberal, Perry Morgan, from the Charlotte News.

I had a fine talk with Morgan in the afternoon, and enrolled him privately in my "club." He talked frankly about his problem of moving the Ledger-Star away from its policy of "abject Byrdism."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

COPY

COMMUNITY BETTERMENT COMMITTEE BY-LAWS
(Approved: September 12, 1959)

(1) NAME: This Committee shall be known as the Committee for Community Betterment.

(2) AUTHORITY: The Committee shall operate under the auspices of the Laurinburg Chamber of Commerce and shall seek to relate its objectives to those of the parent organization.

(3) PURPOSE: (1) It shall be the purpose of this committee to encourage through whatever means it deems appropriate the social and economic betterment of all the people in Scotland County and to foster better understanding among the racial groups in the county.

(2) The Committee shall serve as an agency for the free exchange of information and ideas among citizens of Scotland County with a view toward better understanding of the others needs and points of view. To achieve this, members of the Committee should explore problems of equal or like concern to all races and in which a greater degree of understanding and cooperation can bring improved conditions for all the people of our County. In addition, the Committee should explore areas in which one racial group may need the understanding and help of others in achieving better conditions for all.

(3) It shall be the further purpose of the Committee to undertake from time to time such projects for encouraging social and economic betterment as may present themselves and in which a specific need may best be met by cooperative action.

(4) MEMBERSHIP: The Committee shall consist of ten (10) Negro citizens of Scotland County and ten (10) White citizens of Scotland County. They shall serve for a period of two (2) years, one-half of the members of the committee to be appointed each year. Members of the Committee shall be appointed in June and shall assume their duties July 1 of each year.

(5) METHOD OF APPOINTMENT: Not later than May of each year, the Scotland County Ministerial Association and the Scotland County Ministerial Alliance shall be asked to recommend five (5) White citizens and five (5) Negro citizens, respectively, to serve on the Committee. If these persons are approved by the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber shall then appoint them to serve on the Committee, provided they are able and willing to serve. When a vacancy occurs on the Committee, the appropriate Ministerial group will be asked to appoint a successor. The Committee shall declare when a vacancy exists.

(6) OFFICERS: At the July meeting each year, the Committee shall elect a Chairman, a Vice-chairman, and Secretary and an Assistant Secretary. These officers shall assume their duties at the August meeting and shall serve until the following July.

(7) MEETINGS: Meetings shall be held monthly on the second Thursday at 8:00 P. M., the place to be designated.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM September 24, 1959

To: The Executive Committee

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Re: Attached Report on SRC's Southern Leadership Project by Mr. Benjamin Muse.

At the October 5 meeting, one of the matters before you will be the terms of Mr. Muse's continuance as director of the Southern Leadership Project. From the last Annual Meeting and other meetings of the Executive Committee, you will recall discussions of this program aimed at reaching uncommitted decision-makers in the South, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Mr. Muse has prepared the attached report as a summary of the project experience to date and a basis on which to plan for the future. I pass it on to you in advance of the meeting with my heartiest endorsement. If I have any reservation at all, it is that Ben Muse has described too modestly the initial achievements and the evident promise of the project. In oral discussion and in later program reports, we will undertake to present more of the concrete evidence on which rests the staff's enthusiasm for the project and Mr. Muse's direction of it.

Meanwhile, I hope you will find time to read the attached report as background for our discussion on October 5.

THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT - AFTER FIVE MONTHS

September 1, 1959

The undertaking which we call the Southern Leadership Project was described in the original proposal to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, on December 13, 1957, as "an intensive and systematic program aimed at 'moderate' leadership," and as "a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership in achieving orderly desegregation of public facilities."

In a subsequent letter, addressed to the Fund last April, the Council observed: "Business and industrial leaders, in their quiet and reluctant fashion, are increasingly spurred by the prospect of economic damage to make their influence felt." The Council noted that recent developments had made it increasingly important to emphasize the economic penalties of school uncertainty and public disorder, particularly the deterrent effect upon industrial prospects of actual, or threatened, closing of public schools.

Meanwhile, the Council did not, of course, imply, "that advocacy of desegregation on moral or democratic grounds is useless or should be abandoned."

The Council stressed the importance of personal consultation, and it set forth certain proposed techniques, some of which were no doubt expected to be modified or discarded with changing situations, in the process of trial and error and upon knowledge gained from actual contact with Southern leaders. The pattern of method and emphasis needed also to be adapted in some degree to the background and personality of the individual directing the project.

In the spirit and within the broad framework of the objectives set up by the Council, after five months of identification with the project, I have come to view it and its possibilities in the following terms:

Editors, public-spirited business and professional men, school administrators, public officials, politicians and others who already are working for orderly adjustment can be helped with information on the experience of other communities and states and with other data which the Council can supply.

This service is rendered continually both by correspondence and by personal visit. A notable instance was the considerable time spent last spring in bringing to the Governor of Florida and his official staff information on the experience of Virginia to help them advance a policy

of compliance with the Supreme Court's school decisions. Assistance has also been given in a variety of ways to organizations in Virginia and Georgia fighting for the preservation of public schools.

Together with assistance in the form of information and advice, moderate leaders who are taking risks and preservering against odds in the good cause can be comforted and strengthened by a friendly visit. Here the work, in a wider and more varied field, resembles that which Paul Rilling is doing so ably among the Councils on Human Relations. It is a work to be carried on in matter-of-fact, often jovial, fashion, less by exhortation than by inference and by sheer companionship, but I consider it a function and a challenge of the first order. Modestly approached, it is in the spirit of the poet's ideal, to --

> "... move through the ranks, recall
> "The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
> "Praise, re-inspire the brave!"

The project of necessity is largely a matter of "playing by ear." It may be estimated, however, that the director should spend approximately one half of his time in travel and in visiting influential leaders in Southern communities. In five months, during which I had undertaken to give three-fifths of my time to the project, I find that I have spent 44 days away from base. Some of this time was spent in consultation with the Council staff in Atlanta, and the travel period included several Sundays.

However, visits were made to, and conversations were reported with, 48 leaders, who may be classified as follows: 15 editors, 14 business men, 6 school officials, and 13 other public officials, including two state governors, the Virginia state attorney general and the mayor of Atlanta. Some of these leaders were visited several times. There were also half a dozen group discussions, in which reporters, professors, ministers and professional men took part.

Supplementing this personal contact, a series of reports is distributed regularly to several thousand addresses in the categories mentioned above. All of the research and publication services of the Council are available when needed by this project, but the mimeographed "L Reports," in handy form for a business file, are especially designed as an auxiliary to it.

Approximately one half of the director's time needs to be spent in planning for trips and briefing himself on the situation in the areas to be visited, in reporting

after each trip, in suggesting material for L Reports, in some cases, editing these reports, in miscellaneous correspondence incident to the project and in a continuing study of the desegregation problem in the South.

Both in conversation and in published report, we have found it most effective to stress the following points:

1) the demonstrated futility of "massive resistance;"

2) the damaging economic effects of uncertainty, disorder and school closing;

3) the impracticability of using segregated private schools as a substitute for desegregated public schools; and

4) the harmlessness of school desegregation and the ease with which it has been accomplished in many communities.

It has been found important at the same time to correct, or combat, some of the widespread misconceptions and distortions of fact, with reference particularly to:

1) the alleged "mess" in the Washington, D. C., public schools;

2) the innate ability of Negro pupils; and

3) inter-racial marriages in desegregated school districts.

Conversations with deeply interested individuals sometimes develop into long discussions of many aspects of the race problem. At such times it is helpful to draw attention to notable examples of Negro excellence and to the dramatic burgeoning of Negro talent and achievement which we are witnessing today on the national scene.

Practical economic considerations appear to be the most effective at the present stage in drawing the attention of business leaders to the advantages of orderly compliance with the desegregation ruling. The project is business-like in its approach.

But it would be a mistake to assume that the business man is not concerned with the moral question. Too often on this issue the busy executive is not convinced that a moral principle is involved. But he is happiest when good business and righteousness coincide. Scratch beneath the surface of a Southern business leader and one is likely to find both a patriot and a humanitarian.

In the Council's original proposal it was concerned with the need for consultation between school administrators anticipating desegregation steps and others who have had experience in desegregation. We have found a way to meet this need by engaging the services of a school superintendent with experience in desegregation as a part-time consultant beginning next July. We believe this will be a most important activity during the crucial summer months of 1960 and thereafter as desegregation is undertaken in an increasing number of Southern communities.

In the business field, we have arranged to make some use of the services of an admirable consultant in Mr. Boyd Ridgeway, executive manager of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Ridgeway has agreed, whenever called upon, to visit business and chamber of commerce leaders elsewhere in the South and tell them of the Little Rock experience and the remarkable achievement of the Little Rock chamber in helping to restore stability to that city.

In tenatively undertaking this project, my chief doubt was as to the possibility of reaching the ear of leaders over wide areas of the South. I was uncertain as to the willingness of such individuals to discuss this subject freely, and even of my ability to gain access to them. After five months my doubts on this score have been removed.

I have been helped in this respect by members of our own group and other friends, and my own political and journalistic background have been of some assistance. Often, however, even without these aids, I have found it possible, as a stranger, to make appointments with influential leaders and to engage in cordial and earnest talks with them.

Beginning, as I have been doing, generally in more congenial quarters, I intend increasingly to visit Southern leaders whose attitude is one of resistance to desegregation, but who are hospitable to new information and rational discussion.

I believe the project offers a promising opportunity for service to the cause, which will increase progressively as more and more contacts and friendships are established in more and more sections of the South.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ BENJAMIN MUSE

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED SEP 30 1959

September 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Ellis Arnall, Atlanta, Sept. 22, 1959

Sept. 22. Half an hour of conversation with former Gov. Ellis Arnall, who had only a little time before catching a plane and suggested that I call upon him later, with a few days notice, for a longer talk.

Some discussion of the political geography of Georgia and the "helpless" status of Atlanta. He said the rest of Georgia hated Atlanta and wouldn't worry much if public schools were closed in Atlanta only. But if schools elsewhere in Georgia were closed, the state would rise up.

His offering himself for Governor is based on a postulated schedule of Atlanta schools closing in 1960 and all schools closing in 1961 or 1962. School-closing in Atlanta would be the signal for a taxpayer's suit which would force the closing of all Georgia schools. All of this would happen unless the folly should be arrested at some point, presumably under his leadership.

He thought it was useless to try to do much until some schools were actually closed. The public would have to see it before they would believe it. People will vote for politicians who threaten to close public schools to prevent integration because they don't believe it can really happen. But when school-closing actually stares them in the face, they will turn to other leaders.

Arnall called himself, not a "moderate," but a "law-and-order and public-schools man." He had refused to support HOPE, for various reasons, including the argument that a movement of that kind would spend its force and tend to peter out before the crucial moment arrived. He said, nevertheless: "Our paths may yet converge."

Arnall objected to the Supreme Court decision on account of its language rather than the principle. He said its wording invited criticism and defiance.

He said Talmadge and Vandiver ("a nice fellow"), especially Talmadge, knew that Georgia would have to adjust eventually -- and that "closing schools would elect Arnall."

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

September 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Chattanooga, Sept. 23, 1959

Ben Hale Golden, president and publisher, Chattanooga Times.

"What the school board ought to do is take three or four Negro pupils -- carefully selected -- and go on and integrate them. Once the first Negro pupil is admitted, the crisis is practically over...."

Golden showed less feeling of danger in the Chattanooga situation than the others with whom I talked. He was positive and concise in his opinions. I spent only 20 minutes with him -- after a long talk with Martin S. Ochs, editor, Tuesday morning.

Ochs discussed many angles of the problem in Chattanooga and the South and was most cooperative and helpful. The Times had supported moderate Edmund Orgil, who was narrowly defeated by Buford Ellington in the race for Governor, but Ellington has since shown moderate tendency. From 2:30 P.M. to 4:30 P.M. I spent -- over coffee -- with Johnny Popham, managing editor, who, of course, is a magnificent fellow.

Ochs sent me to Kenneth B. Piper, vice president, Provident Life and Accident Insurance Co. (721 Broad St.) Popham escorted me with an exuberant introduction to Raymond B. Witt, attorney, Volunteer Bldg. (AM 7-3723).

For the record, Ochs suggested two prospects whom I did not see: William E. Brock, son of a former U.S. Senator, chairman of the Board of Trustees, University of Chattanooga; and Joe H. Lane, a liberal of Northern background, president Cavalier Corp. Ochs said that Ed Garland, chamber of commerce manager, was not very wide-awake or likely to interest himself in this problem.

Kenneth Piper is one of those business executives whom I meet now and then who scorn the self-interest approach. He is against segregation because it is "wrong and unchristian."

Piper is anxious to see organized preparation in Chattanooga, and, not merely "communication," but -- as he repeated several times -- "relaxed conversation" among white and colored leaders.

There is, in fact, an organization in existence in Chattanooga. Formed 18 months ago, it musters 25 or more at quiet meetings, held frequently, but not on regular schedule. After some debate on the question, it has recently become interracial. Its official, basic purpose is to assure "that the social change shall be effected in an orderly manner."

The "group," as it is called, appears to include some very substantial people and elements of the power structure. Piper disassociated himself from the group last January when he was appointed a member of the city school board nominating committee, fearing that his prominence in that connection might result in publicity and embarrassment for the group. He returned to the group at its last meeting.

Piper was anxious for me to come to Chattanooga again and arrange to spend an evening with him.

Raymond Witt, attorney, is a school board member apparently with some interest in politics. He is also, according to Popham, a "protege" of Carter Lupton, multi-millionaire power in Chattanooga.

In a cordial, gripping conversation we discussed the problem in Chattanooga and the South. Two interesting points:

(1) Chattanooga is to a rare degree a "private school" city by custom and by tradition. Over 2,000 children go to (non-sectarian) private schools. It is "the thing to do" when parents can afford it. His own children go to private schools. Power structure children would not be directly affected by school-closing.

(2) The business community of Chattanooga is closely related to that of Atlanta and strongly influenced by what Atlanta business men think and do.

Witt appeared ready for further discussion and possible cooperation.

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Collins Aide, Ex-Tampan, Quits To Go Into Business

TALLAHASSEE, Sept. 8. (AP) — Gov. LeRoy Collins announced today that John Perry had resigned as his administrative assistant, effective Sept. 18.

Perry has been a member of Collins' official family for four years.

He will enter private business.

Collins said Perry's service "has proved of great value to me and to the state.

"I shall sorely miss him, but the challenges and opportunities of his new undertaking are such that I can only congratulate him and wish him well."

Collins said that Perry would help form and operate a new private organization "which will provide leadership on a national and international basis for the development and use of new learning techniques and tools, especially for instructional television."

Formal announcement of the formation of the organization will be made this Fall. Its headquarters will be in New York City.

Perry, 31, joined the Governor's official staff in September, 1955, as administrative assistant. For the previous 2½ years he had been an editorial writer for the St. Petersburg Times and before that was a newsman for the Tampa Tribune.

LWD
PRV
PAL
JC
HFL

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 17, 1959

MEMORANDUM

RECEIVED SEP 18 1959

Visit to Richmond, Sept. 16, 1959

Daniel Bowers

Two and a half hours including luncheon, with Mr. Bowers, the new VCHR executive director, who, I think, is a splendid man. Nothing for a report, except that I was delighted with him.

The Economic Pressure

In a conversation with two old journalistic friends, Latimer of the Times Dispatch and Daffron of the A.P., I was able to confirm reliably the rumors of pressure upon Gov. Almond by Virginia business leaders last November.

A group of "bankers and big business men from all over the state" — 30 or more in number — invited the Governor to a dinner conference at the Rotunda Club. The affair was organized by President Saunders of the Norfolk & Western Railway, and it was he who approached the Governor. No other names were known. The group had urged Almond to drop "massive resistance" and stop school-closing — pointing to the possibly disastrous effects upon industry, etc.

Latimer and Daffron had had the story from Almond himself, who said that his reply to the business men was that the laws were still in effect and he could do nothing until "the litigations haverun their course."

We also talked about gubernatorial prospects, and, while it was still largely speculation, both of these reporters thought now that Attorney General Albertis Harrison was the most probable next Governor of Virginia.

Albertis Harrison

I had a conversation with the Attorney General which was even more cordial than my previous one. He asked me to be sure to look him up whenever I came to Richmond and ended the interview with a "Hurry back."

Harrison, an avowed segregationist has, nevertheless, a rare confidence that the problem will ultimately be solved in Virginia and the South. (He asked that his remarks be considered off the record.)

In Prince Edward County he predicted that the public schools would reopen "in two or three years." Then a few Negro children would be admitted to white schools. However, he said, "if they are engulfed with Negro applicants, the whole thing will blow up again. It won't work if they're englfed."

We both agreed that the number of Negro applicants for integration would probably be small. He thought there would be few Negro applicants, because they would have learned their lesson and would not risk demoralization of the school system again. I expressed the opinion, and he agreed, that most of the Negro pupils would prefer to stay in Negro schools anyway.

Harrison did not anticipate any very formidable attempt to stage a "massive resistance" comeback in the next session of the Legislature.

Eugene Cook

Seeing Harrison just ahead of me, was Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia.

In my conversation with Harrison we got on to the subject of the increasing tendency of Southern leaders to accept the inevitable.

"Take Gene Cook, who just went out of here," Harrison said. -- "He rates as one of the fiercest of resistors. But he's no fool. He knows the score. Gene Cook knows he can't lick the Supreme Court. He knows that Georgia will have to adjust to this thing sooner or later."

Ben

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

September 30, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 1 1959

MEMORANDUM

Knoxville, Sept. 23 — 25, 1959

Galen Martin met with me after my arrival Wednesday evening, Sept. 23, to discuss plans. He said apologetically that he didn't "know many big wheels," but he succeeded in getting me in touch with some very substantial people.

The Knoxville chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews had recently become aggressive and was the "prestige group" in Knoxville in the human relations field. Its president, Glen Otis Martin, of the Wesley Foundation, U.T., joined us for lunch on Thursday.

Other members of the NCCJ who belong more or less to the power structure, mentioned for future reference were: Max Friedman -- (city council); former Senator and TVA attorney Pope; and Arnold Cramer, son of Russell Cramer (a politician close to Clement.)

Galen was particularly anxious that I should see George McGee, an official of Rohm & Haas (plastics and chemicals). Galen had heard him speak at a meeting of the Toastmasters Club, and he sounded like a liberal.

I spent about an hour with McGee, who is a "medium management" official in the great corporation, Thursday morning. McGee is an ardent desegregationist on moral and religious grounds. Wished more ministers would speak out. Had formed a little committee in his own church (St. Mark's Methodist) but it didn't amount to much. He had never heard of the Councils on Human Relations, wished there were an organization where people who felt as he did could get together. I told him about the Knoxville CHR, and alerted Galen Martin. (McGee's home address: 1308 Sumac Drive, Knoxville).

A luncheon, arranged by Galen at the UT Faculty Club included: Glen Martin; Arthur Jones, Zoology professor and CHR member; and Charles R. Moffett (residence: 466 Cherokee Blvd., Phone 8-4115). Moffett, able and dynamic, is dean of the evening school and a member of the Knoxville school board. He also has an interest in politics, was unsuccessful candidate for mayor in the last election.

A very stimulating general discussion of the problem, followed by what was largely a dialogue between Moffett and me: I urged the advantages of proceeding with desegregation of the Knoxville schools. The consensus was that the atmosphere in Knoxville is relatively good, though passive.

Moffett sensed a lurking fear in many quarters due to memories of the Clinton experience. Moffett bombarded me with earnest questions, and, at the conclusion, asked me to meet with the Knoxville school board. I said I would get in touch with him in regard to time and arrangements.

One would doubt the authority of one member to extend such an invitation, but I shall no doubt be able to talk with at least some of the school board members.

I also made brief visits to Paul Christopher, of our board, and William E. Cole, head of the sociology dept. and of the planning commission, U.T., and a member of the CHR.

Dinner with three CHR members: Dr. C. Merrill Proudfoot, of Knoxville College; S. Dave Freeman, a TVA attorney; and Rev. Crutcher.

Friday morning I called upon Loy Miller, elderly editor of the News Sentinel, who was very friendly. He is not sure he approves of democracy, but if we are going to call this a democracy there is no excuse for segregation. He believes in class distinctions, but the division should not be on the basis of color. (Nevertheless, his grandchildren, moving to Washington, will go to segregated private schools.) In the Knoxville situation he would like to see the school board go ahead quietly with gradual desegregation.

The News Sentinel takes no position editorially, believes in the minimum of agitation on either side. However, if the public order — or public schools — were threatened, he would take a positive stand.

Apparently sympathetic with my efforts, he concluded with: "Good luck to you."

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Recd 10/16/59

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

October 15, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Knoxville, October 8 and 9, 1959

Only about 24 hours in Knoxville devoted mainly to an afternoon visit with Dr. Charles R. Moffett, school board member and a morning conference with Brooks Hays at TVA. I dined Thursday evening with F. Woods Beckman, a pleasant old gentleman from the HRC who had invited me through Galen Martin. Lunched Friday, and talked at length with, Galen Martin.

Moffett had not replied to a letter from me, but I learned by phone in Chattanooga that he was expecting me. He asked me to come to U.T. immediately upon my arrival (about 3 p.m.) and talk until he had to leave for a lecturing engagement at 5.

Moffett is impulsive and a little irresponsible, nervously jumping from subjet to subject, but is greatly interested in discussing the many angles of the desegregation problem in Knoxville and elsewhere.

He did not repeat the invitation to me to meet with the school board. It would be entirely possible for me to attend a meeting and talk to the group, but I don't think it would be effective to try to talk with the members in that formal atmosphere. I could visit each of them individually, when time allows, and accomplish more. I discussed the members one by one with Galen Martin, and, at my request, he prepared a list with pertinent information and comment on each. Arranging appointments and calling on the remaining 6 might take some time, but it might be worked in in later visits to Knoxville.

Moffett spoke caustically of Knoxville clergymen, some of whom are aggressive on desegregation, but most of whom were doing nothing. He also noted that they are not desegregating their congregations. (I understand, however, that two white churches in Knoxville are attended by one or more Negroes.) Ministers had made no representations to the school board for several years, although desegregationists had often visited and written it. The school board had no evidence that the churches generally would support them in a desegregation move.

(I am told that the most difficult man in the school picture is Supt. Thomas Johnson, who is volubly critical of the Supreme Court and of the preachers.)

Neither Moffett nor Witt in Chattanooga had ever heard of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation." I sent them each a copy on my return to Manassas.

There is a possibility that a Negro may be elected to the Knoxville school board in November. Rev. Crutcher and Frank Gordon are both candidates, and Crutcher has received AFL-CIO endorsement. Galen thinks that, if Gordon could be induced to withdraw, Crutcher would have a very good chance.

Galen promised to confer with others and send me a list of appropriate Knoxville addresses for L Reports.

When I phoned Brooks Hays Friday morning he said he was just starting to dictate a letter to me! I promptly walked over to TVA to see him. His immediate concern was that I help him suggest a project for the field Foundation in this desegregation field. (I worked on this during the past several days and have sent a copy of my proposal to SRC).

Aside from that, Hays was exceedingly cordial and manifested a desire that we should cooperate closely and that I should keep in touch with him. When I broached the question, he said that he would be glad to provide me with letters of introduction to Southern leaders of his acquaintance whenever I felt they would help.

He was glad to get from me a transcript of the "Face the Nation" program featuring Everett Tucker, also a copy of L6 on the Washington schools. Very much interested when I quoted the high spots of the latter, declared the Davis Report a "fraud."

Conversation about Little Rock, Negro voting -- keenly interested in my story about Charles City County, Virginia -- Southern personalities and highlights of my own travels. He discussed some of his activities in opposition to my third-party movement. He talks more and more like an unqualified liberal on the race issue.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Rec'd 10/16/59

October 15, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Chattanooga, October 6, 7 and 8, 1959

All but one of my contacts in Chattanooga were members of the Council on Community Relations, which is the "group" described to me earlier by Kenneth Piper. The exception was Raymond Witt, school board member.

This Council includes some substantial citizens, not far removed from the power structure. Tuesday evening, October 6, I spent at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Seamur Shavin, (334 North Crest Road, Chattanooga 11 -- phone MA 4-8591), a Frank Lloyd Wright house with a fine view overlooking the city. Mr. Shavin is with an engineering firm; Mrs. (Gertrude) Shavin is secretary-treasurer of the Council. The Shavins seem to represent the more liberal or "less practical" wing of the Council. Present also at the informal supper were Mrs. R. D. Albright, and C. B. Robinson, principal of Virginia (Negro) High School.

I gather that Robinson is one of the most respected Negro leaders. I am told at the same time that Chattanooga is lacking in aggressive Negro leadership. Robinson told me that they are having difficulty finding Negroes who are willing to take the risks involved in applying for admission to white schools and following through with litigation, but that "something is shaping up."

Wednesday I was stymied by my cold and kept pretty much to my room until my dinner engagement in the evening, doing considerable telephoning. I planned tentatively to return home Thursday, but I learned that two school board friends were quite anxious to see me Thursday, one in Chattanooga in the morning and the other in Knoxville in the afternoon.

Wednesday evening Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Piper had invited me by letter to dine at their home with a small group. Piper, as executive vice-president of the Provident Insurance Co., and chairman of its planning committee, which is erecting a new Chattanooga skyscraper, is a man of some prominence in the business world. He is also an ardent churchman (Presbyterian) and a dedicated liberal on the race question. He believes, however, in the practical approach and considers himself a member of the "moderate" wing of the Council on Community Relations.

Other guests were Miss Leah James and Mr. and Mrs. Neil McDade. Miss James is head of the Chattanooga Family Service Agency (High St. and 4th. -- AM 7-2138). She happens to be a sister of Arthur James, of Richmond, one-time Virginia Commissioner of Public Welfare, with whom I had some association as State Senator.

McDade is a substantial business man with a variety of interests. In spite of his avowed liberalism, he made a good, though unsuccessful, run for the Legislature in the last election. (Both McDade and Shavin are members of the board of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.)

The Chattanooga Council on Community Relations is a very vigorous organization, which musters from 25 to 40 members at its meetings. (The president is a Mrs. Muhleman, whom I did not meet.) There is difference of opinion among its members as to whether it should take the name of a Human Relations Council, some feeling that its present name is less provocative in the existing atmosphere. However, the group is most anxious to cooperate and to receive literature and other help from us.

Piper and McDade promised to work on a list of addresses to which L Reports should be sent.

From conversation at the Shavins' and at the Pipers', I made the following list of "power structure" individuals upon whom it might be helpful sometime to call:

Dr. Joe Johnson (old family), Interstate Insurance Co. Bldg.
Ralph Shoemaker, attorney.
Joe H. Lane, president, Cavalier Corp., 343 W. 1 St.
William E. Brock, son of former U.S. Senator and chairman of the board of trustees of the University of Tennessee; also his brother Richard -- both, Brock Candy Co., (1113 Chestnut, AM 6-7191).
Rep. Carter Patten.
Ray Evans, Chattanooga Medicine Co., 1715 W. 38 St., AM 5-4521.
De Sales Harrison, Coca Cola Bottling Works, 201 Broad.
Scott N. Brown, past president chamber of commerce, Browy, Pless & Co., real estate, 709 Chestnut.
John A. Chambliss, attorney, Provident Bldg.
Harry Miller, former school board member, Fleetwood Apart., AM 7-1749.
Harry C. Carbough, Tennessee Egg Co., 414 W. 16.
R. E. Bigger, friend of Carbough, former executive, Lookout Oil Co.
William Leber, labor union member of school board; (Described also as a liberal member was Alf Laws -- and, of course, Raymond Witt, who is discussed below.)

(Mentioned especially as liberal members of the Times staff were Mary Reynolds, Alfred Mynders and Norman Bradley. I saw the top editors on my previous visit.)

I postponed my departure for Knoxville a few hours to see Raymond Witt, Volunteer Bldg., AM 7-3723, Thursday morning.

Witt is a leading corporation lawyer, a member of the school board and a very thoughtful and high-minded man. I reported an earlier conversation with him. We had another hour of congenial but rather intense conversation. I am sure that he will be happy to proceed with desegregation "when the time is ripe." In the meantime he rationalizes rather eloquently that the city needs more preparation. He said responsible people (power structure) were moving in that direction. He observed in this connection that the News-Free Press had softened. (It must have been pretty bad before!) Nevertheless, he spoke with an air of great sincerity.

I questioned the value of further delay and submitted that his conception of "deliberate speed" would be hard to defend in a Federal court. He finally conceded that a voluntary beginning of desegregation would be a wise step once there was convincing evidence that Chattanooga Negroes

were going to press for admittance to white schools. I think I am influencing his thinking to some extent.

I have a fine relationship with him. He asked me to "come back soon."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

October 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With J. J. Brewbaker, October 23, 1959

I delivered my letter of October 22 to J. J. Brewbaker, Norfolk superintendent of schools, outlining our understanding for the year, beginning July 1, 1960, and we talked for about two hours.

He was quite satisfied with the terms set forth briefly in the letter, and we discussed other practical details.

In answer to his question, I said one-third of his time would mean an average of about ten days a month, including any Saturdays and Sundays spent in travel.

For his typing, I suggested that he use a public stenographer. He thought he might like to have a portable typewriter, nevertheless, for doing short letters and rough drafts. I said this would be a proper expense from the Fund, all such equipment to remain the property of the Southern Regional Council. He would also probably want one two-drawer file case and stationery. He did not think of other office needs.

He expressed enthusiasm over the project. His wife, he said also liked the idea. It was just right -- something interesting to do, yet not too much. He had turned down an offer from Commissioner Derthick and one or two other half-offers, for full-time employment.

He wanted to know if it would be permissible for him to attend conventions and other meetings of public school administrators. He thought he might "do some good" at them. I thought that that was much to be desired and would be a valuable part of his work. We both agreed these meetings would give him a splendid opportunity to mingle with Southern school administrators and to make contacts which he could later follow up by personal visit.

We both agreed that public announcement of his undertaking this work might well be postponed until possibly next May or June. There was much speculation in Norfolk now as to what he would do after his retirement from the school administration, and the newspapers had been after him -- but he would leave them guessing.

In due course he would make public announcement that he was going to serve the Southern Regional Council as a consultant on public school desegregation. He would also like an announcement of his new activity to appear in The School Administrator and possibly other publications serving the profession. He showed me a notice in The School Administrator of the kind he had in mind, telling of work undertaken by another superintendent upon his retirement.

He would like for his friends to know what he is doing, and he would like for Southern school administrators to know that he is available.

He thought most Southern school superintendents and many Southern school board members would be glad to talk with him. If some were not ready now to talk to a consultant on desegration, they would be ready "when the courts start blowing down their necks."

However, we have at least six months in which to consider the publicity angle, and he is open to advice. I am sure he will be discreet.

We both agreed that the six months, March to August inclusive, will probably be the period when his services are most needed. He anticipated a busy July and August next year.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

November 12, 1959

MEMORANDUM

New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, November 5-6, 1959

My visit to New Orleans was, with one exception, an extremely happy one in the cordiality of the people whom I met and their willingness, or eagerness, to discuss the school desegregation problem with me. The exception is related in this memorandum.

Without previous introduction, but by appointment made by telephone, I called upon Sumter D. Marks, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the New Orleans Area, Thursday afternoon, November 5. Mr. Marks, a kindly, courteous gentleman was gracious and cordial. I told him that I was on an assignment from the Southern Regional Council to talk with leaders in communities facing public school desegregation and try to furnish helpful information.

He seemed keenly interested when I talked a few minutes about the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce and the attitude of business leaders in Virginia and elsewhere. He said:

"This is not a matter for 20 minutes of conversation between you and me. We could talk about it for several hours, and several more people ought to be in on it."

He said he would like to arrange a conference, which would include the man who is to succeed him next month as Chamber president, Henry Walther, and the executive vice-president, William Riggs, (a retired admiral). I said that I would hold Friday afternoon free, and Mr. Marks said he would call me Friday morning.

About noon Friday Mr. Marks told me over the phone that a conference had been arranged for two o'clock at the Chamber of Commerce, and that he, Walther and Riggs would be present.

Arriving at the Chamber of Commerce a little before two, I began talking with Admiral Riggs, in whose office the conference was scheduled to be held.

Mr. Marks arrived a few minutes later. Mr. Walther did not arrive before my departure at 2:45.

Riggs was what I might call smilingly hostile throughout the interview, but made, nevertheless, some possibly significant comments.

He indicated some pride in the fact that New Orleans had taken the desegregation of certain public facilities without serious disturbance.

"We're doing pretty well here, aren't we?" -- he asked.

However, he asked repeatedly:

"What do you want? What do you want us to do? What is your business here?" I tried again and again to describe the nature of my assignment, but without any apparent effect.

Riggs said the Chamber of Commerce took no part in the desegregation controversy. He didn't want information. "We know what's happening in other places. We read all the reports."

He said, however: "I have my own opinion," and, in further remarks left no doubt as to what his opinion was. He referred in this connection to the "mess" in New York and Washington.

When I remarked that New York schools had been integrated for 50 years and attempted to correct his erroneous impressions of the Washington situation, he became more hostile.

Nevertheless, I gained the impression that Riggs recognizes eventual school desegregation as inevitable and that, along with most of the Chamber, he wants it to be as little and as late as possible, but he wants to see it take place in New Orleans without disorder and without school-closing when it comes.

Both Riggs and Marks answered several questions very helpfully. There was no private school "movement" in New Orleans, and no talk of one, although several private schools had opened recently, hoping to capitalize on "race mixing" fears.

I got in a word here about the demonstrated impracticability of private schools as a substitute for public schools on a large scale, and both Riggs and Marks concurred in this.

I also got from both of these gentlemen a confirmation of the estimate I have had from other reliable sources that "90 per cent" of the Chamber members would oppose closing schools to escape desegregation. However, they both said: "We're not going to do anything unless the situation gets critical."

Riggs dominated the conversation. He asked more insistently what my business was and why I was taking up their time. I felt increasingly uncomfortable, but I hesitated to leave before the fourth prospective conferee (Walther) should arrive.

Finally, Mr. Sumter seemed to join Riggs in some kind of vague suspicion. Riggs said: "Here he's taken 45 minutes of our time, and hasn't told us yet what his purpose is or what he's doing."

Mr. Sumter said: "Maybe he's holding something back from us."

Here I said that I hoped Mr. Walther would not be disappointed and took my leave.

Mr. Marks was very courteous at this point, though somewhat embarrassed. He hoped I wouldn't think they had been rude. He said Mr. Walther apparently had not yet been able to get away from another meeting. But he made no effort to detain me.

The conference had not been requested, or suggested, by me.

Obviously the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce has no committee charged with study of the possible effects of school trouble upon public order and the city's economy. Nevertheless, I am told that many individual members are quietly alert to the situation and that there are few extremists among responsible business men. The business community as a whole will be a powerful element of stability.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 16, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Lester Kabacoff -- Judge J. Skelly Wright, Nov. 2-6, 1959

I was recommended to Lester Kabacoff by Philip Stern, of Arlington. Kabacoff occupies the offices of the late Edgar Stern in the American Bank Building and has general charge of the family's legal affairs. I am told by a friend of the Sterns that Kabacoff was "like an adopted son" to the senior Sterns.

He was most cordial and helpful during my visit to New Orleans. He mentioned Alexander and Mitchell and said the Southern Regional Council and the Sterns were "old friends."

Kabacoff invited me to lunch Tuesday, November 3, and he later invited Judge J. Skelly Wright, of whom he is an intimate friend, to join us. Kabacoff asked me to come early for a talk first in his office.

In about an hour's talk we went over salient points in the New Orleans situation, and he placed at my disposal for research a series of public opinion sampling surveys made by the Belden Associates, of Dallas, Texas, which are the property of the Sterns. These surveys contained very detailed samplings of opinion both on the current political campaign and on the desegregation question. He gave me a copy of the latest volume (early October survey). He said the information was confidential but that almost any item could be published, provided his approval is obtained in each case.

Some interesting items from Belden polls in August:

18% approve of Long's performance as Governor; 68% disapprove; 14% no opinion -- statewide.

Also statewide: Would you like to see someone elected who would handle the desegregation problem like Orval Faubus?

Yes, 36%; No, 43%, undecided, 14%.

26% in the state, 21% in New Orleans, would close public schools if necessary, to avoid integration.

The October survey shows Morrison leading Davis in the first primary, with a slight edge indicated for Davis in the run-off.

Question 12 of the October survey, and the answers are quoted in full below:

"As you know, the United States Supreme Court has ruled that all children, no matter what their race, have equal rights to go to the same public schools. Suppose you were on the school board here, and they asked you to give your frank opinion. Which of the four statements on this card (Card D) comes closest to the way you feel about it?"

	Only Orleans	S-East	S-West	North	State-Wide
Keep the races separate even if I have to disobey the law..	24%	23%	13%	22%	20%
Find a way to keep the races separate by getting around the law.....	39	46	48	60	50
Mix the races gradually, wherever there is least opposition.....	15	10	23	7	13
Obey the law even if I have to let all races go to the same schools immediately.	17	15	6	3	10
(Pro-segregation, but not in accord with any of the above views)	-	1	1	2	1
No Opinion.....	5	5	9	6	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Judge Wright particularly asked that the luncheon conversation be "off the record." He manifested a broad interest in the desegregation problem apart from the purely legal aspect, and earnest concern for the peace and welfare of Orleans Parish.

He was interested in political and other developments in Virginia, including especially Judge Hoffman's recent decisions in Norfolk, also in the more recent Little Rock story.

We discussed the grade-by-grade plan, which he has suggested to the Orleans Parish School Board. He also remarked that general desegregation would probably lower educational standards and thought this had happened in Washington. I called attention to authoritative reports which showed that standards had not been lowered in Washington.

(At Judge Wright's request, I later sent him a copy of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation" and a copy of our Report No. L-6 on the Washington public schools.)

Information gained in later conversations with Kabacoff is reflected in my New Orleans Survey.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
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Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED NOV 19 1959

November 17, 1959

MEMORANDUM

New Orleans Survey, November 1-9, 1959

School board under federal court order to submit a plan of desegregation by next May 16.

The Catholic Archbishop has declared that parochial schools will be desegregated "not later" than public schools.

In public schools: 90,976 pupils -- 42, 963 white and 48,013 Negro.

In Catholic parochial schools: 46,894 pupils -- 38,099 white and 8,795 Negro.

Although the problem of desegregating the schools of this Deep South metropolis is obviously fraught with great difficulties and some danger, I was impressed with certain considerations which are in a measure reassuring.

The desegregation of parks and buses in New Orleans was effected with anti-climactic tranquillity. Louisiana State University has been integrated on a large scale and almost without incident.

Catholic Influence

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel has repeatedly declared that segregation is "sinful," and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in New Orleans is enormous. Approximately 34 per cent of the city's children are attending Catholic parochial schools. Because the parochial schools cannot accomodate them, or because they are unable to pay the minimum tuition charge, many other Catholic children are attending public schools. The mayor, the superintendent of public schools, and two out of five members of the public school board are Catholics.

Polls have indicated that the percentage of Catholics who prefer segregation is only slightly lower than the percentage of Protestants of like mind. One of the most sensational recent cases of organized dissent from hierarchical authority occurred on this issue in New Orleans. A group called the Association of Catholic Laymen made an abortive attempt to protest the Archbishop's anti-segregation policy to the Vatican. Emile A. Wagner, Jr., one of the two Catholic members of the public school board, was the founder and leader of this segregationist Association. A few priests have also dissented; some pastors refused to read a letter of the Archbishop's condemning segregation.

Nevertheless, the influence of the Catholic Church is overwhelmingly on the side of peaceful acceptance of school desegregation.

The national convention of the Holy Name Society, October 25, was a significant demonstration of the dominance of the no-segregation policy in Catholic activities. Although all participants were notified by circular in advance that the convention would be completely integrated, the 40,000 people who took part in it registered a record-breaking crowd for New Orleans and a record-breaking attendance for any Holy Name convention.

The huge parade was integrated, not only by groups, or "deaneries," but within groups. Negroes marched with whites even in the Louisiana deaneries. Bands were integrated, and white and Negro policemen marched together in a police deanery from Pittsburgh. There was no disturbance and no noticeable harassment from the New Orleans crowds which watched the parade. The meetings in the Municipal Auditorium were integrated both in the audience and on the platform, where approximately 100 Negro Holy Name officers mingled with whites.

There is no segregation in the Catholic churches of New Orleans and the Catholic seminaries, both major and minor, are integrated.

The Archbishop has now solemnly declared that desegregation of the parochial schools will come "definitely...not later than when the public schools are integrated."

Some liberal priests have been impatient with the Archbishop's procrastination. At the present juncture it has been suggested in some quarters that the introduction of integration in the limited number of pupil transfers at mid-term (next January) would be a valuable pilot operation for more extensive desegregation of both public and parochial schools next September.

Political Outlook

The contest for Governor of Louisiana, now nearing a climax, has been in all the circumstances remarkably free from appeals to race prejudice. All 11 candidates have declared themselves in favor of segregation, but only one, State Senator William M. Rainach, has made segregation a major plank in his platform. Only Rainach has preached bigotry and defiance after the manner familiar in Georgia, Arkansas, South Carolina, etc. contests, and in Virginia before 1959. Rainach is expected to run a poor third or fourth.

Barring an extraordinary upset, the primary December 5 will qualify for the run-off January 9; Mayor de Lesseps Morrison of New Orleans and former Gov. James A. Davis.

Morrison is the favorite of the moderates. He is the major candidate who makes least reference to segregation. Davis is stepping up his emphasis on segregation as the campaign draws to a close, and pledges "no retreat and no compromise." However, moderates are not greatly alarmed over the possibility that Davis would take reckless or spectacular action in a segregation crisis in the event of his election. More fear is expressed of possible trouble from Attorney General Jack P. F. Gremillion, who is seeking re-election on the Davis ticket.

On November 15, in a long front-page editorial, which contained no reference to schools or race, the New Orleans Times-Picayune endorsed Davis.

Other leading candidates for Governor (competing in effect for third or fourth place) are State Comptroller William J. Dodd and former Gov. James A. Noe (the candidate of Long.)

Gov. Earl Long appears to be ahead in the race for Lieutenant Governor, for the simple reason that comparatively few voters know the names of his opponents. However, his unpopularity among many voters may well result in successful opposition to him in the run-off.

Significantly, speaking of Rainach's segregationist campaign, Long asks: "Do you think he can do any more about it than the rest? Do you think the courts will decide better for him than for anybody else?"

In the event of Morrison's nomination and election a further political uncertainty would exist in the mayoralty vacancy in New Orleans, but the possibility of any reckless extremist being elected to that office is remote. The two councilmen-at-large, Victor Schiro and Glen Clessen, are mentioned as likely possibilities.

School Board

The Orleans Parish School Board intends to attempt further delaying action in the courts and postpone desegregation as long as possible, but is prepared to comply with court orders and will not, on its own volition, close any school. Four of the five school board members, Superintendent Redman and Assistant Superintendent Walker concur in this policy. Only the one extremist school board member, Emile Wagner, strikes a discordant note, and he is ineffectual except in inciting some elements of the public.

During my stay in New Orleans, the four moderate school board members publicly for the first time took a firm position against closing schools to avoid integration.

School Board President Matthew Southerland said that the board cannot "submit a plan" next May, as ordered by Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright, because state anti-integration laws have not been invalidated by any Federal court. Although somewhat vague, this seems to be the board's general approach to the next legal encounter.

No Private School Movement

The idea of improvising a general system of private non-sectarian schools as a substitute for desegregated public schools has received relatively little consideration in New Orleans. There is no organized private

school movement comparable to that which existed in Virginia even before the first public schools were closed (and which the Richmond News Leader is still trying to keep alive.) The bitter segregationists who urge school-closing to avoid integration talk merely of school-closing. (period) Their thoughts have not gone much beyond that point.

Only two candidates for Governor talk about school-closing. Rainach would, of course, close schools rather than permit desegregation. Dodd promises to "maintain segregation without hatred, bitterness, the closing of our schools, or another Little Rock."

Despite Louisiana's grotesque collection of anti-integration laws there is no law requiring automatic closing of schools in the event of desegregation. The Governor is merely "empowered" to close schools.

Communication Media

Few people in New Orleans have a good word for the two daily newspapers, The Times-Picayune (morning) and the States and Item (afternoon). Their generally insipid editorials are boring to all factions, insofar as they are read. When they refer to the school problem, they are sourly segregationist and critical of the Supreme Court, but without reaching an inflammatory pitch.

President John M. Tims, president of the Times-Picayune Publishing Co., which owns both papers, and the principal stockholders (the Howard family) are segregationists, but seem chiefly concerned with making a profit. George W. Healy, Jr., editor of the Times-Picayune, is deeply convinced of the rightness of segregation and the wrongness of the Supreme Court. However, I found that Associate Editor Harold P. McCall is distinctly moderate in his view both of the inevitability of desegregation and its feasibility if effected gradually.

Dr. Albert Dent, President of Dillard University, said that although the two papers give excessive prominence to news of Negro criminals, they are on the whole generous and respectful in their coverage of Negro activities in New Orleans.

The editorial vacuum in New Orleans is filled by a twice-daily program of excellent editorials broadcast by William Munroe over Station WDSU-TV, which is owned by Edgar B. Stern, Jr. Both Stern and Munroe are liberal on the race issue. While these television editorials generally avoid the desegregation question, they are never other than constructive and helpful in this regard.

The Business Community

A few prominent business men are avowed liberals on the subject of race relations and school desegregation; an even smaller number of responsible business leaders take part in White Citizens Council activities and anti-

integration agitation. The great majority, except among intimate friends, are silent on the subject.

The attitude of this majority can be briefly summed up as follows: They regret the Brown decision and prefer segregated schools, but they recognize the decision as the law of the land and realize the inevitability of desegregation. They would like to see as little desegregation as possible and want the beginning of desegregation postponed as long as possible. However, when desegregation comes, they want it to be effected as quietly as possible, without violence and without the closing of public schools.

I am reliably informed that "90 per cent" of the important business men subscribe to this degree of moderation.

Conclusion

"Another Little Rock" would be impossible without a Faubus, and no Faubus is in sight, barring the highly unlikely catastrophe of a Rainach victory at the polls.

Above all, the public school problem in New Orleans is -- happily from this point of view -- interwoven with that of the Catholic parochial schools. Public school desegregation will either follow, or accompany, desegregation of the parochial schools. Desegregation of the parochial schools will probably be more general and on a larger scale at this stage than the public school desegregation, and it may overshadow the latter in public interest.

The uninhibited influence of thousands of Catholic clergy and public school administrators will thus be brought to bear to insure orderly acceptance of desegregation. Where a bold liberal spokesman on a high pedestal has been lacking in other places, New Orleans hears the unequivocal voice of the spiritual leader of over forty per cent of its population, the Catholic Archbishop.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
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Manassas, Virginia

November 18, 1959

MEMORANDUM

William Munroe -- Orleans Parish School Board, November 4-6, 1959

I spent an entire morning, Wednesday, November 4, with William Munroe, manager and "editor" of WDSU-TV, and I dined and spent the evening with Mr. and Mrs. Munroe. A liberal, he is most anxious to be helpful with the station's news and editorial broadcasts.

Wednesday morning WDSU had invited the school board for the taping of a program "Know Your Schools," which was broadcast Wednesday evening and again Sunday. Munroe invited me to visit with the school board members before and after the rehearsal and performance. Three school board members attended, along with Assistant Superintendent Walker (the Superintendent was in New York) and the public relations director, Mrs. Pat Barneman. These school people, the WDSU staff and myself visited together in the studio for about two hours, with considerable opportunity for friendly conversation.

This was the first time that the school board had gone on record publicly in opposition to closing schools to avoid integration. (I later passed the news to Kabacoff, and he promptly phoned Judge Wright.)

After dealing with several other school problems, the moderator asked: "What is the position of each of you on the question of closing public schools, if necessary, to avoid integration?"

School Board Vice-President Lloyd Rittiner replied immediately: "I'm in favor of keeping the schools open."

School Board President Matthew Southerland said: "I will have to go along with that."

School board member Louis Rickie made a few minutes' speech about preserving our way of life, etc., but said the school board would have to obey the law and he would vote against school-closing.

Later, as a matter of news, the station telephoned Theodore Shepard, a fourth school board member, who had been unable to attend. Shepard said he would vote against closing schools.

The attitude of the fifth school board member, the rabid segregationist, Emile Wagner, was well known. Wagner declined the invitation to take part in the program. I noted that he was completely estranged from the rest of the school board, and the others joked about him.

When Rittiner asked if I intended to call upon Wagner, I said I didn't think he would discuss the matter rationally. Rittiner said: "He can't talk rationally (period)!"

Rittiner called at my hotel for a further talk on Friday. He was entirely moderate in discussing the difficulty of his position, but was very anxious to make this point clear:

"Don't get me wrong," he said -- "I'm a segregationist."

I presented him with a copy of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation," which he seemed to appreciate. More or less in return he offered to lend me a copy of the booklet, "If Public Schools Are Closed", which he said was excellent. (This is our own SRC product!)

Rittiner, like his moderate colleagues, was anxious about the difficulty of making the public understand that when the school board should proceed with desegregation it would be, not on its own initiative, but from force of necessity and in compliance with the law. I talked at some length about the ease with which desegregation had been effected in Norfolk and elsewhere.

When I remarked that Judge Wright seemed to understand the difficulties which they faced and seemed to have been very considerate, he said:

"Well Judge Wright gave us until March to get over the Governor campaign, then he postponed it until May so we could have a school ~~board~~ bond election, but he might have given us two or three more years."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 17, 1959

MEMORANDUM

New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 3, 1959

George W. Healy, Jr., Editor -- Harold P. McCall, Associate Editor

I found Editor Healy suffering from laryngitis to such an extent that he could not speak at all. He wrote a note saying he would be glad to see me if I would "do all the talking." However, he interjected three or four notes which revealed a feeling of bitter resentment of the Supreme Court decision. One of his notes read:

"We don't want either another Little Rock or compulsion by the Federal Government."

(Healy is a native of Natchez, Mississippi.)

He was entirely cordial to me, but after 20 minutes he observed that this wasn't a very satisfactory way to exchange views and asked me to continue the conversation with Associate Editor McCall.

Mr. McCall, an older man, was very friendly and talkative. He objected to desegregation from no dislike of Negroes. He said talk of "race hatred" was foolish. He didn't know of any such thing. However, he believed in preserving racial integrity. The whole objection boiled down to a matter of interracial marriage. I told him of the record of only one case of interracial marriage in four years of school integration in Washington. He feared, nevertheless, that it would come to "racial amalgamation."

Yet McCall realized that desegregation was inevitable. He said it would not be too difficult, if effected gradually in New Orleans, and later in other urban areas of Louisiana.

It could be "worked out, if the Federal courts are considerate." Judge Wright had been so thus far.

He would hate to see it attempted in the forseeable future in the rural areas of North Louisiana, but in some sections of New Orleans, where many races are already closely intermingled, little attention would be paid to the admission of a few Negro children to white schools.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
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January 12, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Governor Luther Hodges and Director of Administration Paul A. Johnston, Raleigh, N. C., January 7, 1960

I called at 10:10 A.M. for an appointment with Governor Hodges at 10:30. Seeing me waiting, the Governor brought out and introduced Paul A. Johnston, Director of Administration, with whom he suggested that I talk until he finished with an earlier caller. He said Mr. Johnston was one of those chiefly responsible for working out the North Carolina school policy. Mr. Johnston took me into an adjoining office, asking the lady secretary there to retire, while we had 20 minutes of "confidential" conversation. Then the Governor came in and invited us both into his office, where the three of us talked for an hour.

Johnston asked only a few questions about the situation in Virginia, and then in a rapid monologue reviewed the North Carolina school policy and told how it came about.

Governor Hodges, he said, was one of the first (before Judge Parker's pronouncement) to fasten on the point that the Supreme Court did not order integration, but merely forbade discrimination. On that basis Governor Hodges conceived a policy for North Carolina of "moving only when pushed, but moving when pushed." The emotional climate made it impossible for the Governor to lead the people toward integration, but he made sure that when they moved in that direction, there would be no obstacles in the path. All he could do was keep a clear road toward orderly compliance, and stimulate enthusiasm under all circumstances for public schools.

Yancey County? They were gravely concerned about the trouble there. Johnston knew the affair was getting a lot of publicity, and was embarrassing to the Governor and to North Carolina. It was deplorable from any point of view. But it was one of the penalties of local option, and local option is the basis of the North Carolina plan. "Local option," he said, "is the only sensible approach, but local option has liabilities as well as assets."

Governor Hodges was most friendly and he is a man of considerable charm. He expressed appreciation for my coming and asked a number of questions about developments around

the South. Interested in the Louisiana governor race, which I was able to tell him something about, also in Governor Collins and the Florida legislature -- Atlanta, Little Rock and, of course, Virginia.

Some of his comments: Virginia's trouble was "political—Byrd." He had talked with Stanley (in his moderate phase). Stuart Saunders of N & W and others. Faubus was "insincere" all the time. His natural leaning was toward "integration." He just wanted to hang on to his job as long as possible and then get a job with a power company. However, Faubus had sobered considerably in recent months. Brooks Hays had been thrown with him at a recent meeting in Little Rock and confirmed this. No use for Eisenhower -- made his decision "between the last hole of golf and the first cocktail."

I asked about Governor Hodges' industry program in 1959. It was really a better year than 1958. $25 million under the quarter-of-a-billion investment in that year, but giving employment to 63 per cent more people. A good deal of talk about this.

Yancey County. I pointed out again and again that the trouble there threatened his own fine record. North Carolina's good name and the industry program itself. Very true. He was conscious of all that and gravely concerned. But local option tied his hands. If he intervened to promote integration anywhere, he would be under heavy pressure to intervene elsewhere on the other side.

"You know about that man Lake,(Beverly Lake, segregationist leader)" he said. "He would run for Governor with the least encouragement."

I suggested that some friend of the Governor talk to the Yancey School Board informally. "They don't realize," I said, "how much damage they're doing to North Carolina."

"They don't give a damn!" the Governor said. "Just a lot of Democrats and Republicans fighting each other in a little rural county, and none of them know what they're doing."

However, Governor Hodges said that he had an intermediary at work, and he was in close touch. "Judge Warlick is very considerate." They might be able to straighten things out with a new school." Turning to Johnston, he said:

"By the way, they just told me they cleared the $40,000 for Yancey. I don't know if you'd heard."

I said I believed it was too late to solve the Yancey County problem that way. The Governor said, however, he thought that it would, for the present. He said: "The Negroes in Yancey are not anxious for integration."

I think, however, the Governor was not quite confident that that would settle the matter, and I again expressed fear that there would be trouble and embarrassment in Yancey County until they got over the desegregation hurdle.

Interestingly, in view of the incipient gubernatorial race, Governor Hodges suggested that I talk with Attorney Generall Sewall. "He's straight-forward; you'll like him."

The Governor was extremely cordial throughout, and in no hurry to terminate the interview.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
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Manassas, Virginia

January 14, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Durham, N.C., January 8-9, 1960

In general among people in Raleigh and Durham I was impressed with the lack of information on the Yancey County affair and with the relative lack of interest in the whole matter of school desegregation. Race prejudice is soon revealed when you get onto the subject and most people want to delay and minimize integration as far as possible, but there is little talk about it and it doesn't seem to figure as a major public issue.

There is almost no concern anywhere over the seven Negro children in formerly white schools in Durham. One Negro boy got into some trouble. On the other hand a Negro girl is leading her class. (A grand niece of mine was runner-up in the same class last semester.)

Most of the people whom I saw in Durham had about the average attitude toward the problem: confidence in Governor Hodges, "don't like it, but it has to come." I talked with only one dedicated worker in our cause, Mrs. James H. Semans, 1415 Bevins St.

Mrs. Semans is one of the Duke heiresses -- daughter of Mary Duke Biddle and General Biddle. She is also a very busy, public-spirited and attractive lady. She has been several times a member of the city council and for a considerable period mayor pro tem, and she is now a member of the mayor's Committee on Human Relations. I paid Mrs. Semans a morning visit, Friday, January 8, along with my niece, Mrs. Arthur Bradsher, who knows her very well.

Mrs. Semans is completely liberal on the race question, and has fought for tolerance and desegregation at every point. She complained of the difficulty in making the influence of the Human Relations Committee felt, especially with the school board. School board chairman Frank Fuller was especially difficult. However, there were many evidences of friendly interracial relations in Durham. The nurses' associations, Girl Scouts, etc., were happily integrated. There were frequent interracial dinners (in private dining rooms) in Durham hotels.

At Duke University, Mrs. Semans believed a majority of the students favored integration. Only the board of trustees prevented it. Actually there was much amicable mingling of white students and visiting colored students in laboratories and libraries and among technicians employed.

Mrs. Semans suggested that I visit the new Civil Rights Commission member Rankin at Duke, also Rev. Warren Carr, chairman, and other members of the Durham Committee on Human Relations. Mrs. Semans and my relatives were friendly with Mayor "Mutt" Evans, and I would have no trouble seeing him on a future visit.

Friday afternoon I spent with John Wheeler and Asa Spaulding.

My niece and nephew entertained my wife and me at a dinner party Friday evening, at which were a naval captain (from Mississippi), Durham Sun city editor Webb, Jesse Harper Erwin -- and wives. I was able to get across some wholesome truths on the race question even to Captain Mississippi, who agreed the Supreme Court could not have ruled otherwise.

Most of my conversation was with Jesse Harper, a member of the Erwin cotton mill family, himself a stockbroker -- a boyhood friend seen again after 40 years. He seemed to remember what had become of each member of the Durham High School class of 1914. An ingratiating aristocrat, it is impossible not to like him, but, about desegregation, he says, "I don't like it."

Saturday, I lunched with another boyhood friend, Judge Oscar Barker, of the Civil Court. Barker, a devoted admirer of Governor Hodges, recognizes the Supreme Court decision as the law of the land, but thinks "it will take time," etc., thinks gradual desegregation will make no trouble in Durham -- a very common North Carolina attitude. He is very friendly with Wheeler and other Negroes.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

cc to DFF 4/1/60

Rec'd 3/14/60

PR
PA
LWD
JC
MF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

March 12, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation

Horace H. Edwards, Richmond City Manager

Albertis Harrison, Virginia State Attorney General

Wed.-Thurs., March 9-10, 1960

City Manager Edwards has also been Democratic State Chairman, a candidate for Governor, several times Mayor of Richmond, and a corporation lawyer. (A warm personal friend for the past 25 years.)

He seemed little aware of the gravity of the problem as far as Richmond is concerned. He did not have much personal touch with it. The Police Bureau had its orders and it was doing its duty. Whether or not Negroes were served at lunch counters was entirely a question for the merchants affected.

Personally, he thought restaurants (apparently including lunch counters) had a right to serve or refuse to serve, whom they pleased. Sitting down at lunch counters when asked to leave was unlawful and he would not allow it. On the other hand, picketing was lawful. The police had orders to require good behavior on the part of pickets, but also to protect pickets from molestation.

He was inclined to think that the protest would peter out, without any change in lunch counter segregation. He doubted that a Negro boycott would be effective because:

(A) Negroes would not stick to a boycott, and
(B) The merchants would rather do without Negro trade than offend their white clientele.

He had little fear of violence in Richmond. The young white supremacy hoodlums were not numerous in Richmond, and the police had them under control.

He repeated the pat comments so familiar in the South now: the sit-down business had set back progress in race relations, including restaurant desegregation; the Negroes were using the wrong methods; it was unfair to penalize a few merchants, etc. These seem to reflect the prevailing white attitude in Richmond.

They did not, however, reflect Edwards' own deeper thinking. In an hour and a ~~half~~ quarter of talking as between two old friends he revealed much inner liberalism on the race problem. Eloquent about

Africa and the world revolution. Said the change in white Southern thinking will come with the new generation. He found many liberals among young people. The Negro member of the Richmond school board was a "great help to us all."

He recently spent ten days in Orlando, Florida, with three others including Richmond School Superintendent Willett. They talked and they talked until they solved all the world's problems, including restaurant desegregation: In ten years Negroes would be mingling with whites in public eating places nearly everywhere in the South, and nobody would pay much attention to them.

As for the Petersburg library situation, he said the Petersburg city crowd were "stupid," hadn't "a leg to stand on."

I breakfasted Thursday with Times-Dispatch Lattimer and Associated Press Daffron. (Unable to get home because of the snow, they had spent the night at my hotel). They had very different views from Edwards' about the Richmond hoodlum element (there were plenty of them) and about the dependence of Richmond merchants on Negro trade. A Negro boycott could affect Richmond merchants sharply. One saw as many Negroes as whites in Thalhimers' basement.

Friendly visit to Harrison, with whom I am developing a warm friendship. (I brought him greetings from North Carolina Attorney General Seawell.) Harrison had what I described above as the prevailing white view of the lunch counter protest. Said the new anti-trespass laws had clarified matters for the police and the courts. They would effectively put an end to sit-downs. A simple sign saying, "Serving White People Only," would make any Negro intruder subject to arrest.

He said the protest movement had stirred up new racial tension just when Virginia was beginning to work out a quiet solution of the school problem.

He was loaded with requests from the legislature for legal opinions and I did not take much of his time. Invited me to come back after the session and have a "nice, long talk" with him.

I visited Dan Bowers, CHR director, who gave me much information which he has already conveyed to SRC.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

January 14, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversations in Raleigh, January 7, 1960,
with Malcomb Seawell, Attorney General
Jonathan Daniels, Editor, News & Observer

Mr. Seawell was very cordial, particularly when I referred to our mutual friend, Virginia Attorney General Harrison. Seawell has emphasized the State's detachment from the Yancey County affair. However, he thought the situation there very bad and had little patience with the Yancey County School Board. "If they asked my advice, I would tell them they haven't a leg to stand on." He said nothing about the construction of a school for the Negroes, and I think he would like to see desegregation effected the sooner the better.

Seawell is mentioned as a possible candidate for Governor and is one of those believed to be favored by Hodges.

Mr. Daniels is engrossed in writing a book about the Natchez trial, and his daughter is writing a piece about Prince Edward County, Virginia. A little hard to bring down to specifics otherwise. We covered a wide range, from Arnold Toynbee to Jimmy Davis.

Yancey County? He couldn't identify the place at first. Wasn't there a "Yanceyville," or something? Maybe it was "Burnsville." However, he became interested in the Yancey story, and seemed to be concerned. He said he would write something about it if I would send him some material. (I have sent him material in two communications since.)

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

CWD ✓
PR ✓
JC
MF

March 8, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Student Protest Against Lunch Counter Segregation
Visit to Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro,
Wednesday thru Friday, March 2-4, 1960

I spent Tuesday night in Durham, visited U. N. C. Press at Chapel Hill Wednesday morning and arrived in Raleigh about noon -- in snow storm, which immobilized me for the afternoon.

Thursday morning I divided my time between the Wachovia Bank and Trust Co. and the News and Observer. In the afternoon to Durham for a talk with City Manager George H. Aull, Jr., thence to Greensboro. In Greensboro Friday I conferred with General J. R. Townsend, city manager, H. W. Kendall, editor, Greensboro Daily News, and Colvin T. Leonard, editor, Greensboro Record.

LeRoy B. Martin, vice president in Wachovia's Raleigh office, is an interesting example of a frankly moderate business leader taking an active part in public affairs. (Wachovia, with $600 million of resources, claims to be the biggest bank between Washington and Dallas.) Martin was described by Trust Officer R. E. Gaddy as the bank's "political man." He is a member of the Raleigh school board.

Bitterly anti-Hodges and anti-Pearsall Plan, Martin said the Governor had embarrassed school boards and prevented earlier, quiet desegregation. The Pearsall campaign agitation had poisoned an initially moderate atmosphere; Hodges' promises that "no Negro would enter a white school," and the threat of school-closing referendums, had made it almost impossible for school boards to act.

Otherwise a few Negroes would have been in predominantly white schools so long ago that people would have forgotten by now that they were there.

As for the suit over the single Negro applicant in Raleigh, Martin said that he was an obstreperous youngster who would have made trouble. The parents never came to confer with the school authorities, and the case was dismissed -- all the way up to the Supreme Court -- for failure to resort to administrative remedies.

Confidentially, the school board planned to assign "three or four" Negro children to a white school next September.

Martin said the whole school desegregation problem had been vastly exaggerated. If all barriers were down, the number of Negroes who would ask for transfer to white schools would be very

limited. In some North Carolina counties, he said, there would be no such applications "in this generation."

He felt that the Negro lunch counter demand would have to be met sooner or later, and better sooner. The greatest difficulty was that of finding a way to "bridge over" the initial break-down of segregation. One suggestion which he mentioned was that of dividing lunch counters at first into three sections: "White," "Colored," and "Integrated."

(A Winston-Salem Baptist Minister is Ralph A. Herring proposing that lunch counters be divided into two sections: "Catering to White" and "Catering to Colored," with liberty for any one who chooses to sit with members of the other group.)

As for gubernatorial candidates, Martin thought Seawell unreliable. ("He would put sit-downs in jail.") Sanford would probably be pretty level-headed.

Robert E. Williams, associate editor Raleigh News and Observer. Williams took me to task immediately when I referred to the "restaurant" sit-downs. In an editorial (written by Daniels) that morning the News and Observer had drawn a sharp line between restaurants and department store lunch counters, taking the position that segregation was justified in the former, but implying that it was not justified in the latter.

Williams remarked that Raleigh ministers had addressed a letter to Woolworth and Kress urging lunch counter desegregation. He said also that the big industrialists in Winston-Salem, and to a less extent in Durham, were bringing some pressure to bear to the same end.

Further talk about this situation and North Carolina and Virginia politics.

Jonathan Daniels came in at 11:30. He doesn't think the student protest will peter out. On the contrary "it is a part of the world revolution." He thinks we may come through it without violence.

Most promising situations are those in this section of North Carolina: Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem -- the breakthrough likely to come first in Greensboro.

The good behavior of the Negro students had been tremendously effective. A friend of Daniels, an elderly lady, segregationist of the old school, seeing Negroes turned away from a lunch counter, exclaimed indignantly: "They've no business refusing such nice, polite young people!"

The situation was aggravated by indecision and lack of leadership in department store management. He was sorry for the local managers. They were just merchants. They had no experience in

meeting situations like this. The head offices expected them to be "statesmen."

Incidentally, Daniels would like to see well-to-do Negroes get together and start some big merchandising enterprise.

Lunch counters, however, were not North Carolina's greatest problem at this moment. The greatest problem, and the greatest "calamity" was the entrance of Beverly Lake (the Roy Harris of N.C.) into the race for Governor. (I notice that this feeling is voiced in some degree by almost the entire N.C. press. Governor Hodges had referred to this as an ominous possibility in my talk with him.) Daniels agreed that Seawell is Hodges' man. He also found Seawell unreliable. Daniels is not enthusiastic about Hodges. I gather he leans toward Sanford as a candidate for Governor. He thought Sanford had "strong backing."

George H. Aull, Jr., the new Durham city manager has been in office only about five weeks. He came just in time to face the lunch counter problem, which has been his chief concern. Aull is a South Carolina liberal; his father, a professor at Clemson, is a member of the board of Penn Community Services.

In a general talk about race, he seemed to have entirely our point of view. Apart from other phases, he was anxious to point to some things the Durham city administration was doing to give employment opportunities to Negroes. Of three city sewage disposal plants two are entirely manned -- and administered by Negroes, with a Negro, Robert L. Clemmons as chief operator. One fire station is operated entirely by Negroes.

He was very much in the thick of the lunch counter agitation. Woolworth's was on the phone "constantly," Wanted more protection. ("We pay our taxes, don't we?") Kress was not so excited. He found an appalling lack of leadership. Many people have the right feeling about the matter, but would not speak out.

Had a high opinion of J. S. Stewart, Negro city councilman. Stewart, he said, had written to the head office of Woolworth and Kress.

Not nervous, but gravely concerned over the danger of violence. His description of the trouble-makers: "about 200 young white roughnecks." If one of them should spill hot soup on a Negro girl, it might touch off a riot. His policy was to keep the police alert but inconspicuous. The mere sight of policemen draws a crowd. He puts no umiformed police in the stores, only a few plain clothes men. A score of policemen within the store could do little against a crushing mob, and they would be immobilized when needed for more effective work elsewhere.

Aull asked me to be sure to visit "his best friend," the Greensboro city manager, General Townsend. The General's answer to the merchants, he said, was, "Serve 'em!"

He was giving much thought to the question of how far a city manager should go in the matter beyond law enforcement. He made a very interesting speech on this point. The problem of lunch counter segregation was one of Christian morality; it would never be solved merely by laws or law enforcement. Leadership of another kind was needed. He had made up his mind to give some definite advice the first time a merchant asked for it. It would be this: negotiate with Negro leaders and secure their promise, that, at the beginning of unsegregated lunch counters, only 6 or 8 or a dozen Negroes would apply for service in one day.

Aull asked very earnestly that we give him any information, advice or suggestions that we may have.

General J. R. Townsend, Greensboro city manager, has a laconic, old-soldier approach, but is firmly liberal on the race question. He is a native of Burlington, near Greensboro. Chose to stay in the Army after World War I and retired about 10 years ago as a brigadier general. (He commanded a segregated Negro battalion.) Has been employed by Greensboro since, first as city engineer, then as city manager.

The General reviewed recent Greensboro race relations history, recalling the integration of municipal facilities step by step. Negroes and whites skate together at the municipal skating rink and visit the integrated municipal auditorium-theater ("My Fair Lady" last week) with never any trouble worth mentioning.

Expressed a high opinion of Waldo Faulkener, a Negro councilman, who, he noted, was elected by the city at large -- not merely from a Negro ward, as in the case of the Negro councilman in Durham.

Greensboro could take lunch counter desegregation in its stride, were it not for "200 long-haired white juvenile bums."

The Greensboro police force had not been augmented, but there was a "pretty good police reserve."

Working on the lunch counter problem now was a Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations, appointed February 25. Its nine members were chosen, three from the city council, three from the Chamber of Commerce and three from the Merchants Association. In answer to a question from me, he said there was no uncompromising segregationist among the nine. Councilman Faulkener gave the committee Negro representation.

H. W. Kendall, editor of the Greensboro Daily News, is a devout liberal, who is deeply involved in the present search for a solution to the lunch counter problem. We talked briefly about the race problem in general and came to the Greensboro situation. The mayor's committee is working earnestly with a view to solving the problem by lunch counter desegregation. It is conducting a poll, the results of which, it is hoped, will encourage the stores to take the step. It is giving much attention to the baffling problem of how to bridge it over, how to take the initial step with safety and public calm.

Thinking in terms of quiet, unannounced admission of a limited number of Negroes, by previous arrangement, to lunch counter service.

Concerned about a point of journalistic ethics, Kendall talked at length about his dilemma. He sat in with the mayor's committee. He frequently knew things that would make news but which he did not publish. In this situation, the public welfare came ahead of "the public's right to know."

Kendall urged me to come back to Greensboro (as I intended to do), and talk this thing out with him "along with some bourbon and branch water." My capacity is limited in the latter department, but I will do my best.

Calvin T. Leonard, editor of the Greensboro Record, equalled his morning colleague in the fervor of his liberalism on the race question. He did most of the talking in an hour's conversation. Some of his personal experiences and phases of the race problem not pertinent here.

He gave me sidelights on some Greensboro personalities and the names of some individuals whom I might see. C. L. Harris, the Woolworth manager, might be a little difficult; he refused to negotiate with the Negroes. He had been heard to remark, however, that he would rathr serve the Negro students than the "white bums" whom they drew to his store.

Leonard offered to help me in any way possible.

The Greensboro Opportunity: Because of a combination of favorable factors, Greensboro appears to be the best Southern city in which to work for a break-through in the lunch counter problem. This objective is worthy of the utmost effort. I believe that I can help in an unobtrusive way.

I propose to return to Greensboro next Monday, March 15, (leaving here Sunday) and settle down at the O. Henry for a week or more. I shall go by Durham and try to get a line on Greensboro Negroes from John Wheeler.

Well-disposed leaders in each of these North Carolina cities are groping for a "bridge," a formula for bridging over the desegregation of lunch counters quietly, with a minimum of disturbance. I will appreciate any information, or SRC thinking on this point.

Benjamin Muse

cc to DFF
4/1/60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

March 23, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation

Preliminary Report

Visit to North Carolina,

Monday, March 14 through Monday, March 21, 1960

I am submitting the following brief observations before preparing a comprehensive report.

These three aspects of the situation impressed Governor Hodges and should have weight with the chain store management:

1) The city managers in Durham, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem are unmistakably anxious to see the lunch counters desegregated. (Presumably the mayors are of the same mind, although I talked only with the mayor of Greensboro.)

In other words, that is the course which concern for public order dictates. The officials chiefly responsible for the preservation of public order would rather cope with whatever disturbance might attend desegregation than deal with the disorders which might result from prolonged agitation. Apart from everything else, the objective of stability and peace would be better served by desegregation.

2) If the stores are afraid of the effect upon their business, what about the press? No enterprise is more sensitive to community sentiment and community pressures than the local newspaper. A community which would react violently against stores with desegregated lunch counters would also show hostility toward local newspapers which advocate desegregation. But nothing of the sort has occurred.

The newspapers of Greensboro and Winston-Salem are openly advocating lunch counter desegregation; there has been no noticeable effect upon either circulation or advertising. On Thursday, March 17, the Winston-Salem Sentinel published a bold leading editorial headed: "WHEN LUNCH COUNTERS REOPEN, THEY SHOULD SERVE ALL CUSTOMERS." The editor informed me Saturday afternoon that he had not received a single letter in regard to this editorial and that all the comment which had come to his attention had been favorable.

3) The Negro student groups are prepared to cooperate loyally in any reasonable plan to make the initial lunch counter desegregation gradual and inconspicuous. Only 3-4 Negroes might visit the lunch counter the first day; they might stay away entirely for a couple of days and then go back with 3-4 more on the fourth day. Any plan of this sort would be acceptable to them. The first visits to the lunch counters would be without previous announcement, and the press would cooperate in this.

I spent over two hours talking with the Governor's advisers, and briefly with Governor Hodges, on Monday. They have had considerable contact with the management of Woolworth and other chain stores. (They said "we" talked to Woolworth, etc. I don't know to what extent the Governor himself took part in these talks. The brief statement of the chain stores published in the N. Y. Times, March 15, followed a conference in which "we" participated.) Their objectives were not the same as ours, but they were impatient with Woolworth, and the Governor expressed himself quite strongly in this regard.

They told me definitely that the policy, or lack of policy on the part of chain stores emanates entirely from their New York and Chicago offices. Purdy's views have some weight, but he is not the Woolworth authority in this matter. Any change will have to come from the New York office.

Governor Hodges was out of the state when I made my appointment with Paul Johnston, Director of the Department of Administration. Monday was the Governor's first day back at his desk, and I had no appointment with him. However, he came in for a brief talk with me, and the others retired, including the stenographer, so that we could talk alone.

I felt that the Governor had been badly advised from one quarter, (Administrative Assistant Giles) and I tried delicately to convey that thought to him. Governor Hodges is deeply concerned and very earnest about all this. He listened with close attention to my rapid review of the situation and asked a few questions. I believe he is moving toward a conviction that the problem cannot be solved by anything short of lunch counter desegregation. On my departure, he said: "I appreciate your coming to see me. Good luck in the work you are doing."

I spent most of Saturday with three of the original student leaders at A. T. in Greensboro and lunched with them along with the dean. They are amazingly fine and intelligent boys. Dean Gamble asked me to emphasize the importance of the passive posture, as I did at every opportunity anyway. These three boys themselves are thoroughly imbued with this and preach it to the other students.

Nevertheless, I was acutely conscious of the dangers lurking in this situation. The three leaders said they were increasingly unpopular among some of the students who wanted to be more aggressive. On the second day of the sitdown the leaders noticed that one of their companions was intoxicated. They called the dean and he sent a group to escort the boy back to college. The boy had not misbehaved, and few knew about this. Unknown to the police, the college had found it necessary to confine all students to the campus one night. This was because a boy -- not a very reliable fellow -- had spread a story that he had been beaten and his girl friend insulted. The dean doubted if the story was actually true. However, there were rumors that at least one carload of students was preparing to go out after some white boys.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

COPY

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR LEROY COLLINS - MARCH 24, 1960

Mr. Fowler and I are greatly pleased by the fine Florida citizens who have accepted appointment to the new commission. We are confident they are the kind of people who will serve with credit and distinction to Florida.

It will be the job of this commission to provide leadership not only at the state level but to assist by advice and counsel wherever possible similar bi-racial committees in the cities and towns throughout the state.

It will not stand by and wait for trouble and disorder to develop. Instead, it will seek out ways in which progress can be made in many areas and how the underlying causes of racial tension and discord can be eliminated.

This is going to be a hard-working commission, for it is no easy task they have undertaken.

I will give them all the help the office of Governor can supply.

But, more important, I believe this commission will have the enthusiastic support of the great majority of Floridians, who so earnestly desire to help in the intelligent and reasonable solution of our race relations problems.

No state ever had a greater opportunity to prove itself, and I have every confidence in the ability and desire of this commission and the people of Florida to measure up.

We should not expect miracles from the commission. Problems in this area are highly complex and difficult as everyone

knows. But the commission will give to the work its best, and I believe most Floridians join me in wishing it God speed.

The Governor's office announces the appointment of the following members to the Governor's Commission on Race Relations:

Cody Fowler, Tampa, attorney, chairman of the commission

Ben Benung, Clearwater, Sheriff of Pinellas County

Perry C. Harvey, Jr., Tampa, president and business agent of International Longshoreman's Association, Local/408, affiliated with the AFL-CIO

Mrs. C. D. Johnson, Quincy, chairman of the Florida Children's Commission

Rev. E. C. Tillman, Daytona Beach, pastor of Mount Bethel Baptist Church

John B. Turner, Miami, civic leader and businessman, vice president of Orange State Oil Company

c.c. to DFF 4/1/60

LWD
PR

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

March 24, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation, Visit to North Carolina

Monday, March 14 through Monday, March 21, 1960

People Seen

My plan was to work intensively in Greensboro, where the recent wave of sitdowns began and where the prospects of a breakthrough seemed particularly encouraging.

However, I called on John Wheeler in Durham Monday for a rundown on the situation in both Durham and Greensboro, and I conferred with him again on my return Sunday afternoon.

I spent Thursday in Winston-Salem, where I called on Robert F. Campbell, (head of the editorial board of the two papers there), lunched with Irving Carlysle (attorney, Wachovia director, and member of SRC) and called on City Manager John Gold.

Before leaving North Carolina Monday, March 21, I called at the Capitol in Raleigh and talked with Paul Johnston, director of Department Administration, Robert Giles, administrative assistant to the Governor and Governor Hodges.

On the evening of my arrival in Greensboro, William Bagwell (A.F.S.C.) came over from High Point for dinner and three hours of talk about the situation in that section of North Carolina.

I spent more time in Greensboro with H. W. Kendall, editor of the Daily News, than with anyone else. Kendall lunched with me on Tuesday and we talked for most of the afternoon. I spent Thursday evening at his home and we were in touch over the telephone nearly every day. He is an allout ally in our objective.

See p. 2

I also saw Mayor George H. Roach and Bland W. Worley, president of the chamber of commerce. (I had seen the city manager on my earlier visit.) Waldo C. Falkener, the Negro member of the city council, came to my room for a three-hour (!) conversation. I called at the Labor Union Building and talked with the two officials there. I also visited D. H. Gamble, dean of men, at A & T and by arrangement with him, I had a long talk Saturday with three of the four young leaders of the protest movement, lunching with the group.

The Mayor's Committee

Mayor Roach was most cordial and, I believe frank with me. He was proud of the fact that not one of those chosen had refused to serve on his committee -- and they were among the ablest and most influential people in town. He said that they were working "most earnestly." He believed they would "find a solution." There was every reason to believe that the solution he has in mind is desegregation of the lunch counters.

The Mayor was very proud of Greensboro's progress thus far in eliminating race discrimination. His conversation was very similar to that of the city manager, which I reported on March 12. Editor Kendall says Roach "leans heavily on the city manager." The Mayor also pointed to the city's happy experience with integration at the municipal colosseum and skating rink. At the latter both dressing rooms and (stand-up) snack bar are visited by many Negroes, along with whites, with no trouble at all.

The Mayor said there was good communication between the races in the lunch counter controversy. The Negro student representatives were polite and intelligent. They had made an excellent impression.

I emphasized in my earlier report the high prestige of the Mayor's Committee. It includes: Bland W. Worley, Wachovia vice-president and president of the chamber of commerce; O. L. Fryman, National Cash Register Co. executive and president of the Merchant's Association; Howard Holderness, a top executive of Jefferson Standard Life; and Edward R. Zane, top executive of Burlington Mills.

I gather from various sources that nearly all members of the committee leaned toward lunch counter desegregation as the only solution. There is one member (whose name was not disclosed) who might refuse to sign the committee's report, but every effort will be made to make it unanimous.

Zane was cordial to me over the phone, and said he would be glad to see me. But he thought it would serve no useful purpose. He said he could have nothing to say. He had read our Special Report. It was the understanding that no member of the committee would talk outside of the group. He said that they were being criticized for this policy, especially by newspaper men. I remarked that the local newspaper men had expressed a high opinion of him to me. However, I said I thought his policy was sound and I would not call.

(~~Campbell~~ Kendall and my Negro friends had assured me that Zane was liberal on the issue, as also Holderness and others).

Chamber of Commerce President Worley

I had already talked with Bland Worley. Worley probably represents the committee's lowest common denominator of liberalism, and its present attitude toward the public.

Worley said he had one position on the question as president of the chamber of commerce, vice-president of Wachovia and a member of the mayor's committee; he had another position in his own mind. No one else knew what the latter was and no one was going to know. He was skillful in concealing his personal feeling.

He agreed that the lunch counter protest was something big which would not peter out. "They're going right on," he said, "until they get complete integration."

He didn't think any official, or member of a mayor's committee had a right to tell a store manager what to do. The store managers had orders to act in accordance with the "customs of the community." Maybe, however, the community was prepared to change its "customs." The mayor's committee was trying to find out whether or not this was so.

The committee was trying to get the feeling of the community by letters. It was inviting these letters by press, radio, etc. Some letters were for, some against desegregating lunch counters. He didn't know what the letters would ultimately reflect. And the course of action which the mayor's committee would suggest would not depend entirely on these expressions.

He didn't approve of extreme public statements on either side. This included a statement of a clergymen's group expressing approval of what he termed "unlawful action" on the part of the Negroes to gain their ends.

I remarked that from a chamber of commerce point of view it was important to get over this hurdle smoothly and as soon as possible. "Yes" he said, "I have to consider it from that angle." The chamber certainly didn't want any bad publicity.

I said that I had heard in many quarters that Greensboro was the most likely Southern city to take the lead in this progressive step. He seemed to agree. He said, in a tone of confidence, "We hope to find a solution to this thing which will be satisfactory to all concerned."

The Committee's Poll

The committee has invited expressions of opinion from the public, and is receiving letters daily. It places much emphasis on this "poll," although I understand from various people,

besides Worley, that it will not appraise the community attitude strictly on the basis of the number of letters for and against desegregation.

I can't find how the letters are running in number or content. The Mayor remarked that some are "very bitter," but that a considerable number urged opening the lunch counters to Negroes. (He said letters had also been received from Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, etc.)

Two committee members, white Councilman David Shenck and Negro Councilman Waldo C. Falkener, have been appointed to tabulate the letters in due course.

A radio-TV-conducted poll in Winston-Salem is running about 3 to 1 against desegregation. Letters to the Editor in Greensboro have run about 50-50. All agree that a very large element of the public who do not write letters either way are prepared to accept lunch counter desegregation without serious complaint. The fanatic segregationists are far more inclined to write letters on the subject.

Best guess as to when the committee will make its report is "about the end of the month."

Councilman Falkener

When I asked for an appointment with the Negro councilman, he offered instead to come immediately to my room at the O. Henry. He stayed nearly all the afternoon. He talked a great deal about his personal activities and the general race problem, but I got a very useful picture of the lunch counter crisis from him. He was conscious about the agreed privacy of Mayor's Committee activities, but considerable information in this regard inevitably came out in the long talk.

Sidney Stern, a white attorney, had filed a "brief" with the committee recommending desegregation. The Negro student leaders had made a remarkable impression when they met with the committee. Members had remarked: "I didn't know they had such boys at A. & T.," "I never met Negro boys like them before," etc.

Falkener said he had had the political support of organized labor and I suggested that effort be made to get the labor boys to pull for desegregation with the Mayor's Committee -- which he thought a good idea. I also suggested getting help from the League of Women Voters, which has Negro members.

Falkener said there had been some talk in the committee -- as there has been in Raleigh, Durham and Winston-Salem -- of a plan of dividing the lunch counter into three sections: white, white and colored, and colored. He had no opinion on the merit of this proposal.

(Interesting note: George Evans, Negro member of the Greensboro school board is a brother of James C. Evans, integration specialist in the Department of Defense.)

The Woolworth Attitude

All comments agreed that Woolworth is the chief obstacle. Kress and others sometimes say: "It's up to Woolworth." Wake Forest faculty members showed their statement to all the Winston-Salem store managers affected before publishing it. All were friendly and took it in good part, except one of the two Woolworth managers, who was disagreeable.

C. E. Harris, the Woolworth manager in Greensboro is particularly difficult. Kendall advised against calling upon him at this stage. He has returned some of the letters to him, urging lunch counter desegregation, with something like this scribbled on them: "Why don't you talk to S. & W.?"

City officials give the impression of being impatient with Woolworth. Milburn Purdy, Woolworth district manager was here early in February. Mayor Roach found it "hard to do anything with him." He asked if we had talked to Purdy.

Purdy met with the student leaders on February 4 and again on February 6. Also present at these meetings were: Dr. Blackwell and Miss Anne Dearsley (student) from the Greensboro Women's College; Dr. Bennett and Miss Brown (student) from Bennett College, Dean Gamble, President Gibbs, and Student Council Charles DuBose, from A. & T. The local managers of Woolworth and Kress were also present, but no city officials.

Purdy impressed my Negro informants as a segregationist Southerner whose personal views on the subject it would be hard to change. He offerred little hope, but he asked for a two weeks "truce." He said Woolworth could not deal with them while they were "holding a gun at our head."

Organized Labor

When I called at the Greensboro Labor Union Building Friday afternoon, most of the officers were absent attending a state AFL-CIO convention in Raleigh. I found only Gerrit van Wyk, "Business Manager", and R. E. Brown, Carpenter's Union "District Representative." (Interminable titles on their cards.) They were only casually interested in the lunch counter problem. Thought Negroes ought to be served, but didn't like all this "pressure."

"Pressure?" "Pressure" from a labor leader! It was a wonderful opening for a speech about labor's long struggle with the use of pressures of every kind to obtain fair treatment. The Negroes were in a similar struggle, and the great Meany and Reuther were in the forefront of the fight against discrimination. We ended on a note of high enthusiasm for labor's glorious role as a champion of human rights.

Happily the convention in Raleigh adopted a resolution endorsing the Negroes' protest movement.

The Negro Student Leaders

I called on D. H. Gamble, dean of men at A. & T., Friday and arranged for a conference with the student leaders Saturday morning in the dean's conference room. Dean Gamble has been a big brother to the boys since the demonstrations started. I talked with the boys from 10 to 11:30. They invited me timidly to lunch with them. I asked if my wife (who was with me on this trip) could come, as I thought it would please them. It developed into a luncheon in the faculty dining room, at which we were joined by Dean Gamble and the dean of women, Mrs. Holmes.

It could almost be said that Ezzell Blair is "the little boy that started this great movement." He is the smallest of the original four leaders, all freshmen, and the unchallenged director and "master mind." He is a bright, plucky and most ingratiating little fellow. David Richmond was home for the week-end. The other two, Joseph McNeil and Franklin McNeil, are also very attractive boys.

All four are good students, gentlemanly -- and religious -- boys. They began planning this among themselves last September. Only a handful knew about it until the first sitdown at Woolworth's. It was a complete surprise to Dean Gamble, as it was, of course, to the NAACP, etc. The boys shun publicity. They have refused to be televised. They don't want it to be said that they are in this for publicity.

Charles DuBose (senior), president of the Student Council (whom I did not meet) is a prominent figure now, and there is a committee of 17, but these boys are still the central nucleus.

Although unwavering in their objective, these four are now an element of restraint among the 3,000 students at A. & T. They feel that they are getting "unpopular" on that account. A first mass meeting of about 1,300 students rejected the "truce" proposal. About 800 attended the second meeting at which the "truce" was approved.

As noted in my Preliminary Report, care and vigilance on the part of the college authorities have been necessary to curb

aggressive students. I emphasized the tremendous importance of the peaceful and orderly attitude. The dean preaches the same thing all the time, and these three boys preach it. "If you can't take insult and injury," would-be demonstrators are told -- "stay away." A great human problem, nevertheless, exists, and it is fraught with the utmost danger.

There is impatience now at the delay in action by the Mayor's Committee. The boys asked my advice. I suggested waiting another two weeks. In any case I pointed out that, from the standpoint of honorable negotiation, demonstrations should not be renewed without talking first with the Mayor's Committee.

The boys are a little afraid that some compromise plan will be offered. A "separate but equal" solution -- white and colored lunch counters -- they feel sure would be rejected by the students. The three-section counter plan might possibly be considered. They would submit it to the student body.

In any reasonable arrangement to make lunch counter integration gradual and inconspicuous -- only 3 or 4 asking for service the first day, etc. -- they would be glad to cooperate.

Winston-Salem

Carlysle and Editor Campbell were optimistic over the situation in Winston-Salem, thought that city was as ready as Greensboro to accept lunch counter desegregation. City Manager Gold's attitude was similar to that of the Durham and Greensboro city managers.

There was no Mayor's Committee. They thought an informal group might do just as well. The Urban League, with which the wealthy Hanes family is associated, has high prestige and is influential in Winston-Salem. Sam Harvey, Urban League executive secretary, and Dr. C. H. Patrick, professor of sociology at Wake Forest, are taking the lead in organizing a movement for lunch counter desegregation. Other Wake Forest professors have been active.

Thalhimers had a small (10 seat) integrated lunch counter in the basement. It was closed when the agitation started. On the other hand, Brown, Rogers, Dixon Co. (hardware) removed the stools from its lunch counter and is offering desegregated service.

Durham

In Durham I gather that a number of prominent citizens are annoyed over the protest movement, and there is little white

leadership. An interracial meeting held privately in the N.C. Mutual Building on the 16th. was not very encouraging.

John Wheeler also talked about the constant insistence of Negro leaders upon polite and orderly behavior. The Negro pickets in Durham begin each day with a prayer.

Governor Hodges and His Advisors

I called on Paul Johnston, director, Department of Administration Monday morning. Gov. Hodges was out of the state when I made the appointment with him.

Johnston has been the Governor's closest advisor on the school problem, but my guess is that Administrative Assistant Robert W. Giles has been closer to the Governor in this lunch counter matter.

Johnston was exceedingly cordial -- ordered coffee at once, etc. He said he was regarded as the "Negroes' friend;" they generally came to see him. His views on the lunch counter problem seemed to be the same as my own.

Incidentally, he said closing lunch counters entirely would be a last, reluctant resort as far as the chain stores are concerned. Woolworth said the lunch counter was its most profitable department. He also said that the problem was being handled directly and with great concern by the New York office -- not the Atlanta office.

I think Johnston was definitely anxious for me to get my views before the Governor. His office is in the Revenue Building. He walked with me across the street to the Capitol and went in to see the Governor, after leaving me with Administrative Assistant Giles.

I talked with Giles for about one hour. The difference between Johnston and Giles was like the difference between Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

Giles had no sympathy at all with the Negroes. He referred to the demonstrations as "attacks" -- "attacks" on this store or that.

He said we had a growing movement on the part of Negroes to force their way into white eating places and a growing movement on the part of whites to stop them. I objected that, although there was certainly white opposition, I hadn't noticed anything like a "movement" of that sort in North Carolina.

Giles did nearly all the talking. I tried to keep an attitude of friendly dissent. He greatly exaggerated the picture of white opposition in Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro and Winston-Salem. I said the newspaper editors had given me a very different picture.

"You don't know the North Carolina press," he said smiling, "-- run by a crowd of liberals. Nobody takes them seriously. Guess wrong on every election."

(He said incidentally that there is a small restaurant on Blunt St. in Raleigh which serves white and colored, but uses separate entrances.)

Giles appeared to think he had all the information at his fingertips, and he had a 1-2-3-4 formula for dealing with the problem: Just enforce the law. Put the Negroes "on the defensive." Let them see they're going to be punished, and they'll get enough.

The question of the legality of sitdowns would go on up to the Supreme Court. It might take two years to get a final decision. Then, if the Supreme Court orders lunch counter desegregation, the whites would accept it!

They had had trouble with Woolworth, he said. Woolworth wanted protection, yet Woolworth managers wouldn't swear out warrants. It would be fairly simple to jail the trouble-makers if Woolworth would swear out warrants against trespassers one by one, but handling a mob in the streets would be a far different matter.

On some word from the Governor, Giles took me into his small office and withdrew. The stenographer also vanished and Gov. Hodges came in for a talk with me alone.

I remarked that I had heard two very different views of the situation from his two advisors. The Governor was a little shocked at this. He said that if I talked with them longer he was sure that I would find them not far apart.

I said Mr. Johnston was of the opinion that lunch counter desegregation was inevitable and the sooner we can bring it about the better it will be for all concerned. The Governor nodded a mild assent.

"Mr. Giles," I said, "seems to think that we can settle the matter and cause the whole trouble to blow away by simply enforcing anti-trespass laws."

Governor Hodges shook his head and said, "No, No," to this. "I don't think Giles meant that," he said.

An indication of my further conversation with Gov. Hodges was given in my Preliminary Report. He stressed the confidential nature of our talk. There were remarks in regard to Gov. Collins and F. W. Woolworth and Co. which were interesting but which it is not important to repeat.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
March 26, 1960
Tampa, Florida

The Commission held its organizational meeting today in the offices of the chairman, Mr. Cody Fowler of Tampa.

Mr. Fowler was elected chairman, Sheriff Don Genung of Clearwater was elected Vice-Chairman, and Reverend E. C. Tillman of Daytona Beach was elected Secretary.

This was a meeting of the full Commission, which consists also of Perry C. Harvey of Tampa, Mrs. C. D. Johnson of Quincy, and John B. Turner of Miami.

Governor LeRoy Collins met with the Commission for the first hour, outlined his desire that the Commission take affirmative steps toward solutions of problems, underlined racial difficulties and pledged full support and cooperation of his office to the work of the Commission.

The Commission issued the following statement:

We wish to commend the people of Florida -- both Negro and White -- for the restraint, good sense and good will they have shown since the Governor's announcement last Sunday night of the formation of this statewide bi-racial commission.

We especially wish to commend those communities which already have moved to form their own local bi-racial committees.

We are all aware there will be no sudden solutions to all our problems, but we also recognize our responsibility to see that specific and definite progress is made and this we are determined to do.

As first steps, the Commission:

1. Urges local bi-racial committees already existing and satisfactorily functioning in various areas of the state to get in touch with Chairman Fowler at his office, Citizens Building, Tampa, Florida, and supply the Commission with names of their officers and members and an evaluation of their local situations in order that the Commission may work with them and coordinate its efforts with theirs.

2. Urges local officials and other community leaders in localities where there presently are no bi-racial committees to establish such committees in order to deal with racial problems. It is our opinion there is a need in every community for such a committee.

3. Offers its full cooperation and staff assistance to such local bi-racial committees.

4. Its considering the early appointment of sub-committees and advisory committees to the statewide Commission to help expedite solutions to existing problems.

5. Will confer at an early opportunity with authorized representatives of local bi-racial committees and of various interested groups, including student leaders.

6. Is immediately establishing offices with adequate staff.

7. Will hold frequent meetings.

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

Cody Fowler, Chairman
Don Genung, Vice Chairman
E. C. Tillman, Secretary
Perry C. Harvey
Mrs. C. D. Johnson
John B. Turner

Temporary Offices:

1002 Citizens Building
Tampa, Florida
Telephone: 2-7141

Dear Mayor:

As you know Governor Collins has appointed a statewide bi-racial Commission to help deal with racial tensions which have developed and to assist similar local committees.

At its first meeting Saturday, the Commission adopted the enclosed statement.

It strongly feels there is a need in every city in Florida for a local bi-racial committee, and the Commission stands ready to cooperate with you in every way.

If your city has a committee, please advise the Commission at the above address of the names of its officers and members and supply us with an evaluation of your local situation, so we can coordinate our efforts with yours.

Please feel free to call on us at any time.

Yours respectfully,

Cody Fowler, Chairman

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

In Tallahassee
I shall be at
the Hotel Duval.

Regards.

Ben

LWD/
ME

March 31, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Governor Almond

Richmond, Va., March 30, 1960

My conversation with Governor Almond gave me great personal satisfaction in view of some animosity between us during the massive resistance era. Almond remarked: "We had our differences, but I am sure there was no personal animosity" (which was untrue). He said he believed "history would vindicate him." I said history would probably take care of him. I also said that I "understood" his course better in retrospect and that it was much easier to criticize from the sidelines than to be in the driver's seat, etc. We ended on an almost affectionate note.

We discussed the political situation. He seemed a little discouraged. We talked about Jim Price, whose experience has often been recalled of late. Price, governor 1938-1942, was the only other Virginia governor who defied Harry Byrd. Price found his program scuttled and his friends alienated or put to rout. As Almond put it, "he died of a broken heart."

I pointed out that Price was no fighter. He was a gentle, friendly man, "too much of a gentleman," as Almond said. Almond, on the other hand, is a fighter of the first order. Etc.

On the lunch counter problem. I did most of the talking, but he listened with appreciative interest. He was very much interested in the North Carolina picture.

He said a group, mostly preachers, had been urging that he appoint a bi-racial commission. He would not do that for the present. He was afraid it would stir up the Defenders of State Sovereignty. Besides, there was nothing for a bi-racial commission to do. It was a matter of dealing with the NAACP, and you couldn't negotiate with it, --"no compromise in them." I explained that the pattern of this student protest was different. I urged, of course, the setting up of such a commission. He might appoint Negroes not prominent in the NAACP.

We talked congenially about the dilemma of the store management and the threat to public order.

He asked me to visit him whenever I had any thoughts that might be helpful in connection with this problem.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

March 31, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visit to Petersburg, Va.

March 29, 1960

A visit to Petersburg (Virginia's most largely Negro city, estimated about 50%) was important as an experience to balance against my visit to more liberal cities in North Carolina. This is one of the most difficult cities for desegregation of lunch counters or anything else. (Petersburg's peculiar history makes it a museum piece anyway.)

I lived in Petersburg when active in politics and know many people there. I talked to half a dozen on this visit. I had only a moment with the city manager (before a meeting of the city council) but talked at length with Whitworth Cotten, director of public works, an able and well-informed official, City Hall veteran and old personal friend. (He is a brother of movie actor Joe Cotten.) I visited the Mayor, Walter Edens, another old friend, in the evening.

I was also driven around the city and shown the handsome new Negro schools, built or enlarged, in recent years. A substantial program of Negro school construction has been carried out -- while only one little elementary school has been built for whites. This has contributed to present white resentment of Negro "ingratitude."

I was also shown how Negroes are steadily taking over the downtown residential district -- another factor in white discontent.

A third source of bitterness is Wilcox Lake (where my children used to swim) -- closed, "because the Negroes refused to accept the nice offer of a swimming pool of their own."

It is widely feared that other Petersburg recreation facilities, tennis courts, etc., will go the same way.

Significantly, it is a very general belief that some school integration will take place next September, and there is grudging, fatalistic acceptance of this prospect.

But the white attitude is: That ought to be enough. The movement for lunch counter desegregation has met with an almost solid wall of white opposition, much of it very bitter.

It came when the whites were already exasperated at the move on the public library. I talked only with white people (Dan Bowers has been in close touch with the Negro leaders), but the white version is vitally important. The library story is that 141 Negroes crowded into the public library in a manner to prevent its normal use by white people. Two Negro women, I was told, brought small children, obviously not for proper use of the library.

Actually, the library will be desegregated. City officials, including the mayor, expect a court order to this effect. They say they cannot proceed voluntarily on account of legal complications on the other side. Many Petersburgers are angry at the publicity given the segregation of the library without reference to the stipulations of a deed to which the city felt bound.

The deed from the donor of the library building required segregation of Negro patrons in the basement. (Interesting note: the stipulation was made by Mrs. Virginia McKenney in the interest of the Negroes. She feared that the city might bar Negroes from the library entirely and made it mandatory that they be given the use of the basement.) Negroes account for about 7% of the book withdrawals from the library.

The attitude of Petersburg whites can best be described by saying that they are horrified that Petersburg Negroes should assert themselves as they have this month. One hears angry references to "a few preachers who have gotten out of line on this thing," but otherwise it would be hard to find any white people who are sympathetic with the Negroes.

The mayor related, as something preposterous, how a group of clergymen had invited himself and three city councilmen to lunch last week and suggested that they set up a biracial committee! Of course, I commented that this would be a good idea. The mayor said he had no idea that any white person would serve on such a committee except the preachers. Nobody was having anything to do with Wyatt, the Negro leader.

Present lunch counter status: five stores are now under threat of boycott unless lunch counters are desegregated. They are: Woolworth's, Kresge's, Grant's, People's and McClellan's. McClellan's manager has stated that he has orders to close his lunch counter when Negroes seek service. All five stores have substantial Negro patronage and could suffer severely from an effective boycott. No time limit is given by the Negroes, who say merely that the boycott will not begin "until we have finished negotiating." There is no picketing as yet.

Former President Truman is suddenly popular in Petersburg -- "Throw 'em out!"

Obviously, there is danger in the Petersburg situation. Cotten is the nearest to a liberal, or at least a realist, of the people with whom I talked. He is a strong believer in the efficacy of fire hose in dispersing mobs, believes they should keep the fire hose ready.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

C O P Y

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
April 2, 1960 Tampa, Florida

The Commission met today in Tampa with state-wide representatives of business groups affected by racial demonstrations.

The Commission is encouraged and heartened in its work by the cooperation and helpful attitude of the groups meeting with it today.

A state-wide business advisory committee is being formed to work with the Commission and will meet in the immediate future.

The Commission also established state-wide advisory committees in law enforcement, legal matters, university affairs, religious affairs and press, radio and television, whose membership will be announced soon.

Favorable response has been received to the Commission's recommendation that each Florida community establish a local biracial committee. Several communities already have created such committees and others are being formed.

The Commission staff will begin Monday to work with the many localities requesting assistance.

Two staff assistants have been appointed by the Commission. They are William M. Rose, administrative assistant for the State Road Department, and Saul A. Silverman, attorney and part-time instructor in the School of Social Welfare at Florida State University, both on loan to the Commission.

Commission offices have been established in the State Office Building in Tampa.

Commission members attending the meeting today were Don Genung of Clearwater, vice chairman; Perry C. Harvey of Tampa, the Rev. E. C. Tillman of Daytona Beach and John B. Turner of Miami.

Chairman Cody Fowler of Tampa and Mrs. C. D. Johnson of Quincy did not attend, because of out-of-state previous engagements.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

April 11, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation
Visit to Florida Monday, April 4,
through Thursday, April 7, 1960

The cordiality of the Governor's official family made this visit almost like a home-coming. The Governor's new administrative assistant, Jim Southerland, and the two staff members of the Commission on Race Relations, were similarly cordial and eager to talk -- the latter ravenous for information and advice. I had a feeling in this situation, more than in any previous experience, of the Southern Regional Council rendering a direct, welcome, and important service.

Copies of our Special Report had been sent to six of the seven members of the Commission, with transmitting memoranda from the office of the Governor, and the seventh member had been informed that he would receive a copy as soon as a further supply could be obtained from our Atlanta office. John Perry requested 100 additional copies for distribution by the Commission to advisory committee members and others. When I remarked that the Special Report contained much useful information, "though naturally written from the liberal point of view," Perry said: "That is exactly Gov. Collins' point of view."

The officials with whom I talked were cautious about publicity. They do not want to give much to the press as yet about the Commission's plans -- which are far more ambitious than is generally supposed. Its meetings are, and will continue to be, off the record. I agreed that we would disclose nothing that has not appeared in the press, or been released to the press.

The enthusiasm with which the bi-racial committee project is being launched is really exciting. The group is moving with the utmost vigor and determination. There is an air of urgency. The little staff is working night and day. There has been no exaggeration about the favorable response. The New York Times reporter was allowed to wade through the letters to the Governor, and he was greatly impressed. Two letters came in while I was in Perry's office, and they were wholeheartedly favorable. People asked to serve on advisory committees almost invariably accept. Some phone calls came from

these while I was in the Commission office, and I heard the Commission staff member say, "I know the Governor will appreciate this. We also feel that it is a wonderful undertaking."

Of course, there is opposition, and there are more troubles ahead probably than these gentlemen realize. I took pains to prepare them for difficulties and disappointments. There has been criticism in the usually hostile newspapers. Not more than what seems about half of the Florida press has expressed definite approval.

Political note: Only one of the 10 candidates in the gubernatorial race has endorsed Gov. Collins' initiative. Even Doyle E. Carlton, Jr., believed to have been Collins' favorite has been critical. Only John McCarty and Ted David make an issue of it. McCarty attacks it. However, Ted David, previously regarded as running about No. 6, came out strongly for Collins' program, and his stock appears to have risen greatly since.

The Commission has a liaison office in the Capitol, and headquarters in the State Office Building in Tampa, both opened during my visit. The full-time staff consists of two assistants and two secretaries. A list of the Commission members, with some particulars concerning them, is appended.

The staff assistant for public relations is William N. Rose, an official borrowed from the State Road Department. The other assistant -- for sociological problems -- is Saul A. Silverman, attorney and instructor in the School of Social Welfare at Florida State. (Silverman was one of the little group of us who gathered for a long evening's bullfest last year.) John Perry, a prime mover in the whole project, also gives most of his time to it. Rev. Harry Douglas, Tallahassee Episcopal minister, is very active as a "consultant."

Six advisory committees to the Commission are in process of formation: 1) management of variety stores, restaurants, etc., together with chamber of commerce and merchants' association representatives; 2) law enforcement officials; 3) lawyers; 4) representatives of universities (preferably presidents and deans); 5) clergy and other representatives of religious groups and 6) representatives of press, radio and TV. An advisory committee on members of the Armed Forces in Florida and one representing the medical profession are under consideration. I strongly urged the appointment of an advisory committee to represent organized labor, and one of corporation executives and bankers, representing the state power structure.

Last Saturday the Commission met with the top executives of chain store management in Florida. A press release said that the Commission was "heartened" by their "cooperation and helpful attitude." But that was not the attitude of all at

the beginning of the meeting. Woolworth and Kress talked about "outside leaders having stirred the Negroes up." Woolworth said it gave the Negroes a separate lunch counter in Jacksonville and they didn't use it. Woolworth protested: "We have to insure the safety of our customers."

However, Wahlgren, Wayland, Liggetts and others, more in the spirit of the project, said: "We know this is inevitable."

Perry Harvey, the Negro member of the Commission, made an extremely able speech, directed mainly at Woolworth.

Woolworth and Kress dropped their objections near the end of the meeting and joined in the cooperative attitude. They said finally: "We'll go along when the businessmen along the street are ready."

Saturday, April 9, two advisory committees were to hold their organization meetings: an expanded group of businessmen and the law enforcement people.

Tentatively set for April 16 is an organization meeting for the advisory committee from the clergy, etc. Great emphasis is placed on this advisory committee, and more is expected of it than of any other. It is desired to avoid making this a "preachers' movement," but clergymen are expected quietly to do the most effective work.

John Perry seemed to have the whole project in hand, making decisions on advisory committee appointments, etc. I missed Cody Fowler (out of the state) but went on to Tampa to confer with Harvey, who was described as a key Commission member, and for further talk with Rose -- who flew to Tampa Tuesday night. I spent many hours with Perry, Rose and Silverman. Also much talk with Harry Douglas, Frank Trippett, an old journalistic friend, and Jim Southerland. The last named has taken Perry's former office and many of his former duties as administrative assistant to the Governor.

Wednesday morning John Griffin took me to his home and gave me the Tallahassee story.

Harvey (280 lbs. -- described as a Negro Sidney Greenstreet) is an excellent choice as a Negro representative on the Commission, firm but sensible in his attitude, a good man in conference and negotiation. To Negroes, Harvey says he preaches diligence and good behaviour and achievement as the best answer to the white charge of inferiority. Negroes have to work better than whites and behave better than whites to get an even break. "It's not fair," he says, "but that's the way it is."

The magnitude of this effort in Florida and the enthusiasm in the air are most exciting. It was just getting launched when I came. Silverman opened his office in the Capitol Tuesday.

(When we went out to the Snack Bar we had trouble finding our way back to it.) Rose opened the Tampa office Wednesday, and was still looking for a secretary. One of them, or Perry or Douglas, was at the phone most of the time. The responses over the phone were almost invariably enthusiastic. They have all been surprised at some of the favorable responses, including those from many mayors. Not more than one in ten of the people approached has hesitated to serve with the Commission in some capacity.

As for my personal intervention, I feel that it was just about enough. I worked for most of three days with the little group which is organizing the movement like one of the team, and I gave them all I had in information and advice. They gave every indication of wanting more help, and nothing would be more thrilling for me. But I think from here on it should be a strictly Florida and Governor Collins movement. Of stimulus and determination there is no lack -- and they are learning fast.

There is urgent need, however, for more information on the whole Southern picture, and our Atlanta office can render a great service to them in this field.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

May 11, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The Lunch Counter Problem

Winston-Salem, Tallahassee, Charlotte, Raleigh--Atlanta

April 26-May 7, 1960

I particularly value on this trip a number of long talks with good people on the race problem, seeking especially to discern the deeper meaning of the Student Protest movement and the shape of its further unfolding. There was conversation of this kind, lasting sometimes into late evenings with: Bob Campbell and Reed Sarrat, of the Winston-Salem newspapers; Sam Ragan, executive editor of the Raleigh newspapers; Dr. Clarence Patrick, Wake Forest sociologist, in Winston-Salem and again in Raleigh; our SRC and CHR people, Irving Carlyle in Winston-Salem and Harry Jones and Raymond Wheeler in Charlotte; Dr. John Cunningham, chairman of the mayor's committee in Charlotte; Saul Silverman and Bill Rose, staff assistants of Florida Commission on Race Relations in Tallahassee; and, of course, our group in Atlanta.

I talked more superficially with Mayor John M. Kurfees, of Winston-Salem, by way of expressing appreciation for his support of the effort to secure lunch counter desegregation.

Several general observations should be made. One is that I find much less odium attached to taking the side of the Negroes on this issue than in the matter of school desegregation; moderates are less inhibited. As we have seen Gov. Collins of Florida (and Gov. Edmondson of Oklahoma) and a dozen or more mayors have taken liberal positions. In Florida and North Carolina, large elements of the public are willing to be counted on the side of lunch counter desegregation and many prominent people are willing to work for this change.

I am told, incidentally, that people who are drawn into groups working for lunch counter desegregation tend to move toward a more liberal approach to the whole matter of race relations.

I wish particularly to emphasize the increased demand for information and advice from the Southern Regional Council. We are in a seller's market. Where our literature knocked on many unfriendly doors before, responsible people concerned with the lunch counter problem say: "Please let us have any

information you can get and any idea that you have on this subject." In my personal experience, some of them bring out their problems for my advice in a manner which is almost embarrassing.

For one thing, the lunch counter problem is still new, and nothing like the mass of information, misinformation, opinion and advice which surrounds the school problem has yet accumulated in this field. We are the only source of comprehensive information on this subject.

All of which supports the priority we are giving to helping the many groups which are working on this problem, and the need for broadening our distribution service, which I have discussed in a separate letter.

Our research department is working at capacity now. Just keeping up factually with what is going on all over the South is fundamental and enough to keep us busy. But, if time allows, in due course studies of the various types of biracial committees, their techniques, their policy regarding publicity, etc., would be helpful. A more immediately helpful study would be one of the various procedures employed or suggested for the initiation of lunch counter desegregation. (Incidentally, suggestions have been made in Winston-Salem and Charlotte that desegregation might begin by a few adult Negroes quietly patronizing the lunch counters, accompanied by white members of the mayors' committees, or other well-known white citizens.)

Dr. Cunningham, chairman of the mayor's committee in Charlotte, president of the Presbyterian Foundation and former president of Davidson College, is a man of distinguished presence. He was a little stiff at first, but a cordial conversation developed on the race problem in general and he proved an earnest liberal. In the matter of initial desegregation procedure, Dr. Cunningham said the mayor had outlined to him this plan:

The 9-member committee of which Dr. Cunningham is chairman, consists of six whites and three Negroes. This committee would complete its study and make its recommendation (lunch counter desegregation, when the affected merchants have agreed to it). Then a further "action committee" would undertake to prepare the community for the change. The "action committee" of 21 would consist of three members each of seven civic organizations. The plan contemplated the "action committee" going to work only after the date had been announced for desegregation. I suggested a somewhat different procedure: the 9-member committee should announce first, at the appropriate time, merely that it expected to see agreement reached for the elimination of lunch counter desegregation at an early

date, and the "action committee" should move into action at that point. Then the actual desegregation should take place quietly without previous publicity. Dr. Cunningham took notes with a view to discussing this further with the mayor.

However, there are still obstacles to be overcome in Charlotte before any definitive move is made. Actually the obstacles are Belk and Ivy, the two North Carolina-owned stores. A move is possible there if six leading stores agree. The four others (including Woolworth) have agreed. The committee is approaching these two dissenting stores in several ways. A lady committee member of high social standing is talking with Belk and Ivy managers as old family friends. An effort is also being made to get evangelist Billy Graham to put in a word.

The pattern in Charlotte is strikingly similar to that in Winston-Salem -- one or two local stores holding up the move. When I spent an evening with Dr. Patrick in the latter city, April 26, he was very discouraged. His committee had succeeded in getting all of the 10 necessary stores to agree, except two. They are both owned by one local firm -- Bobbitt's. It seemed that all of his hard work had been in vain and his hopes were dashed. He felt like giving up the whole thing. We talked at some length about the form his announcement would take. I urged that it should not be final in tone -- rather that it should be to the effect that the committee regretted its inability to secure the agreement of all the affected merchants, but that it would continue its efforts.

These "almost" situations are the most likely to disappoint crusaders. With the discouraged and the near-discouraged I emphasize the fact that the lunch counter crisis is still new. Merchants have had only a few weeks or a few months in which to weigh the matter and it takes time to think it through.

I gather that the situation in Raleigh is less promising. I am told that it is made more difficult there by the obsession of the city with politics and by "eastern North Carolina influences." (On the other hand, Editor Ragan finds many liberal spots in eastern North Carolina.) The Raleigh mayor's committee is still having trouble getting organized. Dr. Patrick said its leading spirit is Rev. W. W. Finlator, a splendidly liberal Baptist minister, who is working hard.

Incidentally, Dr. Patrick cited as an example of poor Negro leadership and strategy the fact that an <u>integrated stand-up lunch counter</u> (Kress' in Raleigh) was being picketed with signs to the effect that it is an affront to human dignity to have to stand up to eat.

Great anxiety is felt in North Carolina over the rising support of Beverly Lake, fanatically racist candidate for governor. I enclose a clipping reflecting the worsening tone of Lake's speeches. The remark is often made that the lunch counter agitation "may elect Lake." However, most serious observers think that, while he is doing a great deal of harm, Lake will not actually be elected. Most of the supporters of the other three candidates would combine against him if he got into the run-off.

Dr. Patrick has had considerable contact with chain store management. He finds Green's personnel manager in New York and a Wahlgren vice-president in Chicago especially liberal. He also finds Thompson of Woolworth's Atlanta office, "very reasonable." He conferred with Thompson in Raleigh on the 6th. He said another Woolworth man in Atlanta, Evans, was giving all his time to the lunch counter problem. (Incidentally, a valuable ally and confidant of Dr. Patrick in Winston-Salem is Gordon Hanes, wealthy president of the Hanes Hosiery Co.)

Dr. Patrick has been in touch with Saul Silverman by phone relative to a visit by Dr. Patrick to the Florida Commission on Race Relations -- under our auspices -- probably next Saturday, May 14.

In Tallahassee I talked with Silverman and Rose April 29 through the afternoon and evening, dining at our hotel and moving on to Rose's home for a later session.

These two are eager liberals but only now getting educated on the race problem. They were interested in many phases and in clues for further study. However, of course, we talked mainly about the Florida Commission on Race Relations and the lunch counter problem.

They had run into difficulties and disappointments -- which all of us foresaw. Nevertheless, it is significant that Silverman is grimly confident and Rose also undismayed.

One advisory committee has dissolved. The members of the committee of variety store managers, after one cooperative meeting, said politely that they could not be of further service. They said, if contact is needed, James Gorman, managing director of the Florida Retail Merchants' Association will speak for the group.

A fine committee of representatives of institutions of higher learning was formed, with 35 members. All 4-year institutions in Florida were represented by the president or dean and the president of the student body of each -- except Tampa U. and Florida Christian.

They had not succeeded in forming the two advisory committees which I suggested -- organized labor and power structure. The president of the Florida AFL-CIO had flatly refused to cooperate. (I propose to see discreetly if the civil rights division of AFL-CIO in Washington can help in this.) As we have so often found, Florida corporation executives are reluctant to become involved in the race problem. I suggested that they try the plan of an informal, unpublicized power structure group which might meet from time to time with the Governor.

We discussed at length the commission's proper approach to the advisory committee of information media, which was about to hold its first meeting. I discouraged suggestions that the commission should attempt to lecture to the press and urged the opposite approach -- call on the editors for counsel, and incidentally, for cooperation.

The greatest source of discouragement for the commission was the present situation of intense interracial bitterness, resulting from a combination of bizarre incidents in St. Augustine, which had stymied all efforts to form a bi-racial committee in that city. Rose had spent some time there, trying to restore communication.

My advice was to give a minimum of attention to the difficult situations and concentrate on the propitious ones. It would be most effective from the standpoint of morale and otherwise for the commission to follow a selective pattern and address its efforts toward achieving a break-through in the lunch counter matter in one or two cities as soon as possible. Daytona Beach was suggested as an easy place for lunch counter desegregation; I urged that they try to push it through there.

As of April 29, 12 local bi-racial committees were functioning in cities and counties. Eight of these were previously in existence; four had been set up since the Governor's speech. Sixteen other mayors had advised that they were in process of forming bi-racial committees.

Silverman outlined various kinds of further information which he would like to have. I have discussed this with Leslie Dunbar and will write him further. I am also sending some material from here.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Campaign Trail

Lake Says NC 'Soft Spot'

GREENVILLE (AP)—Gubernatorial candidate I. Beverly Lake blamed the Hodges Administration Thursday for making North Carolina "the softest spot in the South" for racial integrationists.

Lake, in one of his strongest segregation speeches, said that if elected, he would do all he could to delay, prevent and terminate public school integration.

"If I become governor,' he said, "I shall use all my powers and influence to terminate whatever integration occurs, whether by voluntary action of the school board or by compulsion beyond its capacity to resist"

In a sharp crack at Governor Hodges and his opponents in the campaign for governor, Lake said:

'While our present administration has been adjusting the halo of moderation to the angle it believes most likely to win the applause of the integrationist press," Lake said, "the lunch counter demonstrations and invasions of private property were launched in North Carolina. Why in North Carolina? Because the planners of the NAACP's long range prc gram love for moderation to believe that North Carolina is the softest spot in the South."

He said all three of his opponents "seem to approve" the administrative policy.

Miscarriage of Justice.

Of the desegregation opinion, Lake said, "I do not think this decision is the law of the land. I consider it a miscarriage of justice and a judicial violation of the constitution."

He promised, if elected, to "create a widespread awareness of the NAACP and its allies, and a climate of unyielding opposition to it and to them."

Lake said he wrote the State's pupil Assignment Act and recommended it to the 1955 Legislature which passed it. "I do not at this time propose any change in it," he continued. "My opponents in this campaign have all hailed this law as the saviour of the North Carolina public schools. I appreciate their approval of my work."

However, Lake went on, "the assignment law is not a gibralter behind which we can lie down to sleep. It was not designed by me nor adopted by the Legislature to serve as a means of appeasing the NAACP with token integration."

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

May 24, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The Lunch Counter Problem in Knoxville

Tuesday, May 17, through Thursday, May 19, 1960

I spent Tuesday afternoon largely with Galen Martin, of the Human Relations Council, who lunched with me. In the evening I attended an HRC executive committee meeting. The latter appeared to be an exceedingly earnest and energetic group, interested in many angles of race relations, but not particularly close to the lunch counter negotiations.

I learned in phone conversations with Dr. Jos. J. Copeland, Presbyterian Minister, Dr. James A. Colston, president of Knoxville College and others that negotiations between the Mayor's Committee and the lunch counter proprietors were in progress Tuesday, and that they had reached a crucial stage. Dr. Copeland said: "It will be decided tomorrow."

Wednesday morning at nine I called on Dr. Charles R. Moffett, a school board member, whom I have visited twice before. It was mainly a visit of friendship, eliciting nothing to justify a separate report. Moffett finds the atmosphere improved in Knoxville and has strong hopes of smooth integration (first grade) in Knoxville next September. He said "Patterns in School Desegregation," which I left with him in October, had been immensely helpful and had been read and re-read by school board members. He asked for any information about school districts recently following the grade-a-year plan or planning to do so. I promised to send him something about Delaware and New Orleans.

The affected merchants met Wednesday at 9 A. M. and the Mayor's Committee met at 1:30 P.M. on the lunch counter problem. Practically all day Wednesday conferences, meetings or huddles of some kind were in progress among merchants, students and Mayor's Committee members, and further informal conferring went on Thursday -- a circumstance which made it difficult, or indelicate, to talk with the principals involved. I had a long talk Wednesday morning, however, with Porterfield Bradby, public relations director of Knoxville College, who is the right-hand man of Dr. Colston in the negotiations. Both are members of the Mayor's Committee. A fine talk also with Charles Herd, chamber of commerce manager.

My conversation with Bradby may have been of some help. We discussed at length various possible plans for the initial lunch counter desegregation. I left with him a copy of the Galveston agreement, which, he told me later, was circulated among members of the Mayor's Committee and read with interest by them.

Herd indicated a keen interest in the whole student Protest movement. The Knoxville Chamber of Commerce is taking an unusual interest in the lunch counter matter. It is careful, he said, to avoid "telling the merchants what to do." Nevertheless it adopted a resolution (unpublicized) endorsing the Mayor's efforts, which was used by him in New York. Both Herd and chamber president Harry W. Brooks are on the Mayor's Committee and are frankly urging desegregation. W. M. Nash, the chamber's liaison man with the Retail Merchants' Association.is working with them.

A question asked me by Copeland, Herd and others was: "How can we persuade these merchants that they won't be hurt if they desegregate?"

Essentially, the news from Knoxville is excellent. (It remains confidential, but it is amply confirmed by members of the Mayor's Committee.)

<u>The merchants who are parties to the negotiations agreed in their meeting Wednesday morning to desegregate their lunch counters "within ten days."</u>

The decision was conveyed to the Mayor's Committee Wednesday afternoon and to the students in a long meeting at the college Wednesday night. There were varying opinions Thursday, however, as to whether or not a final solution had been reached.

The problem entered now upon a phase which illustrates how impatience, face-saving impulses, bad blood and other factors not strictly a part of the race issue enter into the problem. The merchants fixed ten days because they didn't want to move immediately after a demonstration. (A demonstration the previous Friday had aroused much criticism. It actually coincided with a meeting of the merchants to consider desegregation!) Some of the merchants now said that they "wouldn't be coerced," they wouldn't act "under pressure." The students would have to "cool off a while."

On the other side the students said they had been too patient. Negotiations had been going on for three months. They had exercised great restraint. They didn't want to wait any longer. Above all Commencement would soon be here. Students would be going home about the time of the promised desegregation. Protest leaders wanted to see their efforts crowned with success before the end of the college year. (They also wanted to be on hand in case the merchants should fall down on their promise.) They wanted desegregation now.

Dr. Colston and others tried to reason with the students in a long meeting Wednesday night. The main objective was to prevent further student demonstrations at this critical time.

Thursday, various mediators tried to prevail on the merchants in private conferences to step up the desegregation date -- possibly five days.

The negotiations remain off the record, and it is earnestly desired that no announcement of desegregation shall be made until after the accomplished fact.

Though the demonstration of Friday, May 13, may have hastened action by the merchants, it was widely regarded as "unfortunate." About 30 Knoxville College students visited Kress', Cole No. 1, McLellan's and Grant's, sitting at lunch counters in each for a few minutes. The lunch counters closed. There were no arrests. There were no crowds, and no significant white harassment. Learning of the scheduled meeting of the merchants for the same afternoon, Dr. Colston and others tried unsuccessfully to prevent the demonstration. Two merchants phoned the meeting group that they were unable to come because of sit-ins at their stores!

By way of background, the Knoxville Mayor's Committee was appointed on February 18 -- believed to have been the first to have been set up to deal with the lunch counter problem. (The Greensboro Mayor's Committee was set up February 25.) The Mayor's Committee has members, 9 white and 10 colored members. Its membership is not rigidly fixed, as several persons not originally named have become active in it. Mayor John Duncan presides and has worked earnestly for desegregation. George Dempster has been active and forceful. Dr. Colston, Dr. Copeland and Chamber of Commerce president Brooks have been particularly active.

Others on the list are: Porterfield Bradby, Rev. W. T. Crutcher, Rev. Robert James, Rev. Carroll M. Felton, Rev. Frank Gordon, Otis T. Hogue, Dr. O. B. Taylor, Ralph Martin, Robert Booker, James Clay and Miss Marion Smith,(three students) Charles Herd, Mack Blackburn, Hugh Sanford, Jr., and Dr. Charles Trentholm.

I was told that Gov. Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, phoned Mayor Duncan in some anger upon learning of his setting up the committee.

Mayor Duncan and chamber president Brooks went to New York near the end of February and conferred with executives of Kress, Grant and Woolworth at the Kress office -- with the usual response that local managers would have to decide the question. The executives refused to see two Negro students who went up.

Bradby and others appeared to be annoyed at efforts on the part of CORE to intervene in the Knoxville situation. Leonard Hold, a CORE organizer from Norfolk, Va., visited the college a few weeks ago. He refused to call upon Pres. Colston when a conference was set up for him, and had almost no contact with college officials. Hold was coldly received generally, but appears to have enrolled a few students before leaving a few days later. Bradby said he had indirect information that a group had met "in some church across the town" to organize a CORE chapter May 18. It would seem that CORE was a nuisance in a movement, which was proceeding admirably under the leadership of Bradby and Dr. Colston.

I dined with Brooks Hays Wednesday evening and visited him again at TVA before leaving Thursday evening. He offerred to help in the lunch counter situation in any way possible, and I passed this on to the Mayor's Committee.

Galen Martin has cooperated actively with the NCCJ in arranging a Police-Community Relations Institute to be held at the University of Tennessee June 14. The Institute will consider especially Student Protest situations.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

&FV: MF

May 24, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The Knoxville Papers

May 18-19, 1960

The two Knoxville daily papers, the Journal and the News Sentinel are extremely conservative, each edited by an old gentleman of reactionary views. When I visited Knoxville last fall, they were regarded with suspicion by our liberal friends, who said no help could be expected from them. Now Galen Martin speaks with some enthusiasm of the helpful attitude of both papers.

Apparently it is a matter of essential decency and integrity not inconsistent with their conservative philosophy.

Guy L. Smith, editor of the Journal, appears to be a man in his seventies. Active in Republican Party councils, he says he is a Republican, not from a partisan point of view, but "because what is left of conservatism in this country is in the Republican Party."

He has little use for human relations councils, bi-racial committees and the like. "They're more likely to stir up trouble than to ease race tensions." Suspicious of the Southern Regional Council, he asked me to send him more information about it (which I shall do). I cleared myself of personal suspicion by recalling my onetime Republican associations and talking about friends whom we had in common.

Consistent with their policy of playing down the race question, the two papers are handling the lunch counter problem discreetly. Smith deplores the movement. "The Negroes should concentrate on the vote and jobs. They shouldn't have started this lunch counter agitation in the midst of a delicate school situation." Yet even the Negroes refer to his paper as "cooperative."

The Journal backed my friend Moffett (a school board member) in his campaign for mayor last year. Moffett was badly beaten -- due, Smith says, to vote-buying and to the fact that the good pepple are moving out of the city and Negroes and "rag-tag-and-bob-nail whites" are moving in.

Now, since public school integration in Knoxville is inevitable, Smith wants it to be as smooth and orderly as possible. The Journal has been running a series of seven feature articles on the Nashville experience. The seventh, which appeared on the 18th., is entitled "Tips Given to Ease School Integration."

At my request he promised to send me clips of the complete series. We may find them useful in New Orleans or elsewhere.

Smith invited me to come to see him again on any return to Knoxville.

I also had a very cordial talk with Loye W. Miller, editor of the News Sentinel, whom I visited last September. Miller thought the Negro students were "foolish" to launch the lunch counter demonstrations in the midst of a delicate school situation and in the midst also of a drive for the Negro College Fund.

Said he knew of one regular $1,000 donor who had refused to contribute this year -- "as of now." However, he thought lunch counter desegregation was a relatively "small matter" which Knoxville should be able to take in its stride. "Anybody that lunches at Woolworth's can't expect to be exclusive."

(I don't think either of the two editors was aware of the intense and crucial negotiations which were going on while we talked.)

Miller said there had been a notable failure of white hoodlums to congregate when the Negroes demonstrated, which he regarded as a hopeful sign.

When I saw him last fall Miller said his paper's policy was to ignore the race question until a situation might arise when he was sure an editorial on the subject would do "more good than harm." He was now strongly urging calm acceptance of school desegregation, and I expressed my admiration.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

June 6, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Richmond, June 1, 1960

State Senator Haddock -- Attorney General Harrison

Dr. Haddock lunched with me. I visited Harrison afterward and our VHRC director Dan Bowers dined with me in the evening.

Virginia continues to be less aware of the seriousness of the Student Protest movement than North Carolina, Tennessee, etc., but little publicized efforts, and some meager progress are being made in various sections, and a Mayor's Committee is being set up in Richmond. Woolworth's desegregated lunch counters in Hampton and Williamsburg, and a Mayor's Committee is quietly at work in Alexandria.

The unpredictable Richmond News Leader is denouncing library segregation -- but is denouncing also the professors who resigned from Vanderbilt.

Most of the candidates for the Richmond city council, when polled recently, declared themselves in favor of a biracial committee, and the present mayor and city council moved to set one up. Mayor Anderson (with whom I talked over the phone) is not much interested, has "little hope that it will do any good," but is acting on account of pressure from "the church women." He has only a few weeks more in office.

Incidentally, the Richmond Negroes, whose vote can be decisive, are planning an interesting strategy for the June 14 election. Instead of single-shot voting, their leaders plan to recommend a full ticket of the nine most acceptable candidates to assure the defeat of those candidates who are most unacceptable from the Negro point of view. There are 22 candidates in the race. Announcement of the Negro-favored slate is awaited with considerable interest.

Dr. Edward E. Haddock (medical doctor) was mayor of Richmond, 1952-1954, and was first elected to the State Senate in 1956. He is a dedicated liberal, and no one opposed every step of massive resistance more boldly and consistently than he. He is the Negroes' favorite among Richmond politicians, and they give him a heavy vote. Dr. Haddock believes in advancing with a minimum of publicity and agitation -- with

particular reference to lunch counter desegregation. He related how he eliminated segregation in city hall rest rooms during his term as mayor. The interior was being repainted. He simply told the contractor to paint over all "white" and "colored" signs. That was all there was to it. No publicity and no complaint. No one seemed to notice the difference!

Dr. Haddock was advising with Mayor Anderson in setting up his bi-racial committee. A small body was contemplated, four white and two colored members. They were most anxious to get former Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson to serve as chairman. A probable Negro member would be Dr. Tinsley Spraggin, of Virginia Union University. Dr. Haddock thought Spraggin would be fine. He had been recommended by various people, including, curiously, Byrd machine Congressman Burr Harrison.

Dr. Haddock remarked that the Negro Protest movement in Richmond was directed most conspicuously against probably their best friend among Richmond business men. Thalhimer would be glad to desegregate but fears to go it alone. He had arranged a conference between Thalhimer and Negro leaders in which the merchant said he would not hesitate to desegregate if his downtown competitors could be persuaded to do the same.

I continue to cultivate Albertis Harrison, State Attorney General, and unannounced candidate for Governor, and find him increasingly congenial and hospitable to liberal thought on the race question.

He himself said of the new desegregation movement:

"Of course, it is inevitable. We can't educate the Negro and expect him to stay down. As the Negro advances toward the white level, it is foolish to expect him not to ask for equal dignity and equal treatment."

He found library segregation preposterous -- and said lunch counter segregation would have to go too.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

COPY

June 21, 1960

Mr. Glenn F. Webb, Manager
Laurinburg Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 349
Laurinburg, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Webb:

I was very much impressed with the manner in which the Laurinburg Chamber of Commerce is going about the solution of one community's segment of the South's biggest problem.

I sensed among your civic leaders an unusual awareness of the fact that calm and intelligent adjustment to the advance of the Negro race is basic to the business, economic and industrial progress, and the well-being, of all of us in the South. There will, of course, be difficulties, and criticism in some quarters, but over the long term your far-sighted approach is sure to be a source of pride and satisfaction to Laurinburg.

You may also set an example to some other communities, and I am particularly interested from that point of view. I was glad to have the plan of organization of the Committee on Community Betterment, which I think is unique. I would appreciate it if you would kindly give me the population figures, white and colored for Laurinburg and also Scotland County. What are you doing about the election of new members to take office July 1?

I am asking our Atlanta office to send some literature which may be helpful to you. Some of this is for distribution to members of the Committee on Community

Betterment and others, while other material, in single copy, is for your chamber file. Additional copies when desired, may generally be had by writing our Atlanta office.

My wife and I remember our visit to Laurinburg most pleasantly. You are likely to see us there again in the near future, though it may have to be after our return from Europe in September. Please remember us to Mrs. Webb, also my regards to Dr. Wells and others whom I met, and let me thank you again for your many courtesies.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

Note on report

June 22

Dear Harold,

I would appreciate your kindly correcting an error in my report on Lawrenburg: In the second line of the last paragraph "members" should have read, managers.

You were greatly missed at Holly Knoll, especially by me! It was a fine meeting, as I shall report next. (An accumulation of desk work is getting me behind.)

Best regards.

Ben

cc to Freeman
8/1/60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

June 21, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The Laurinburg Phenomenon

Visit, June 12-13, 1960

Laurinburg interested me greatly because 1) it is just 6 miles from the South Carolina border and because 2) of the eager letter (5-23-60) from the Laurinburg Chamber of Commerce asking for various reports and for "advice and counsel." I phoned chamber of commerce manager Glenn F. Webb and found him most anxious for a visit from me.

I arrived Sunday night and spent a full day Monday with Webb. The latter took me to see a number of people and arranged a luncheon for six and a meeting of seven at 4 P.M. at the chamber. Among the leaders with whom I talked at length were: E. H. Evans, Jr. (farm manager of the McNabb Seed Co. and former chamber president,) K. J. Shaw (president, Southern National Bank and present chamber president) and R. F. McCoy (general manager, J. T. McNair, Inc.) -- all well-to-do and representing to a large extent the local power structure. I had most conversation, apart from Webb, with Dr. A. N. Wells, pastor of the Laurinburg Presbyterian Church and chairman of the committee on Community Betterment. Talked briefly with O. L. Moore, editor of the Laurinburg Exchange, and Rev. Henry Ruark, Methodist minister. The latter is slated to be the next president of the N. C. Council on Human Relations. Among the Negro leaders with whom I talked were: C. H. Morris, Rev. W. F. Carlson, Clinton McGill and Mrs. Willie J. Lea -- all members of the Committee on Community Betterment.

The physical pattern of race relations in Laurinburg is pathetically backward, or obsolete. Segregation is still completely intact. Steps now being taken in the name of "progress" are only things which should have been done long ago. But the spirit of the community leadership is refreshing -- in fact, phenomenal -- and interracial communication has been established in a splendid way.

This liberal, or enterprising, approach to the race problem is a part of the enthusiastically progressive spirit of the business community. Laurinburg -- as the sign board on the highway tells you -- was an "All-American City of 1956." My ambition is to keep the little city (10,000 pop.) conscious of the fact that enlightened race relations are inseparable from Southern progress. That was the theme of most of my talk there and I want to follow through as I have opportunity. (That is my thought

in sending a generous number of copies of Gov. Collins' address to the Laurinburg chamber).

The Southern Regional Council is little, but favorably known in Laurinburg. (I hope we can keep that prestige too). Webb took me to a coffee shop where the business men go for the morning coffee break and introduced me right and left without the slightest embarrassment.--"He's from the Southern Regional Council, come here to help us with our Community Betterment Committee. The Southern Regional Council is something like our Community Betterment on a large scale."

The CBC was set up first in November, 1958; its by-laws were adopted last September. As will be seen from the copy of the by-laws, enclosed herewith, the CBC is an agency of the chamber of commerce, which "shall seek to relate its objectives" to those of the chamber. Its members are nominated, 10 white members by the white ministerial association and 10 Negro members by the Negro ministerial association. Actual appointment is by the chamber, although the wishes of the ministerial associations have been followed thus far. Only five committee members are ministers, three white and two colored.

Both the committee and the chamber concern themselves with Scotland County as well as Laurinburg.

The committee's chief work thus far has been in the field of employment for Negroes. It has also cooperated with the chamber in warning the Negro community against dubious and unscrupulous salesmen and promoters. Recently, through the committee's efforts, Negro school police were organized and given uniforms. It is now trying to get a Negro social worker employed by the Welfare Department.

All of this, of course, is elementary, but at this stage in Laurinburg it is regarded as "accomplishing things." The committee's greatest accomplishment from the chamber's point of view is in the fact that it has prevented "agitation."

But the situation is not stationery. Ultimate desegregation is not ruled out, but is definitely foreseen. The Committee on Community Betterment is popular. There has been practically no criticism. It has met regularly once a month, excepting one night when the blizzard prevented. Discussions are animated -- "the liveliest meetings in town" -- but both Negro and white members assured me that they have always ended in a warmly friendly atmosphere.

A busy day, in which I did more talking than questioning, left me with much still to learn about the local situation. I doubt if the segregation issue is met head-on, though a Negro member has a jovial, but disturbing way of remarking, "In time of peace we prepare for war." But it was evident that white leaders were learning much about Negroes and the Negro problem.

The business leaders with whom I lunched, including the president and the manager of the chamber, were not bigoted. In fact, they joined congenially in the more liberal conversation of Dr. Wells and myself. They want to postpone desegregation until it can be accomplished with a minimum of disturbance, and they want the community to be thoroughly prepared in advance. Though they have accomplished nothing concrete in this matter, they seemed to be -- for leaders of what is virtually a Deep South community -- to an extraordinary degree on the right track.

Webb remarked that he had been criticized at times by other chamber ~~members~~ members. I think a part of the value of the Laurinburg exhibit is that it might conceivably spread the idea to other chambers of commerce. Its ultimate success may also have a good effect in neighboring South Carolina communities.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

June 22, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Fayetteville

June 14, 1960

The situation in Fayetteville is in depressing contrast to that in Laurinburg, 50 miles farther south. There is difference of opinion as to whether there ever was, or now is, a bi-racial committee in Fayetteville. At any rate, whatever there was has bogged down. A few ministers (VA Hospital chaplain C. R. Jenkins, Presbyterian Rev. T. B. McKethan, etc.) are "deeply concerned" and still have hopes. They get little help from either the city administration or the press. I had, nevertheless, long and cordial talks with the city manager and with the editor of the Fayetteville Observer.

Gilbert Ray, city manager for the past 11 years, said that municipal services and facilities were extended to white and colored citizens "exactly alike." There were a Negro member of the board of adjustment and two Negro members of the recreation commission. A number of Negroes were employed by the city, some in a minor supervisory capacity -- "heads of trucking crews." Ray personally had been active in the launching 9 years ago of a Negro housing project, of which he was very proud. If he hadn't a meeting scheduled for the afternoon, he would like to take me to see it -- Negro homes ranging from $9,000 to $40,000. He said there was no bi-racial committee in Fayetteville, though he understood some preachers were "agitating."

We talked for half an hour about Virginia, North Carolina and the race problem in general. Ray was far from being averse to liberal conversation, and warmed to a positively friendly mood -- was "glad I came by."

Ray, and Editor Bob Gray later, used an expression which is a widespread stumbling block in the South -- "social equality." The editor of the Laurinburg Exchange used it too, although the Committee on Community Betterment found him "cooperative." I didn't argue with the octogenarian Laurinburg editor, but to the others I remarked that I had never heard of a Negro using the expression. They didn't like to see Negroes "pushing for social equality." I tried to explain what the Negro was pushing for -- with, I think, some effect.

Bob Gray is a man of about my own age, who had lived in both Virginia and North Carolina. We recalled many common memories and associations in the journalism and politics of the two states, and got into a mood of something like mutual affection. He followed me down the corridor and out the front door to say a warm "Goodbye," after an hour's talk.

Gray started off with some talk about Negroes trying to "crowd in" to everything and "force social equality." But his bigotry was not deeply rooted; it sounded more like an echo of Fayetteville country club conversation. He yielded on point after point. I think we would both like to meet again and continue the discussion.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

CC Freeman
8/1/60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

June 22, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Holly Knoll

June 17, 18, 19, 1960

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president, Phelps-Stokes Fund, remarked that this had been the best of the conferences held at Holly Knoll. About 35-40 widely representative people concerned with the race problem were in attendance. Discussion, formal and informal, was almost continuous for most of two days. Although the "sit-ins" were only 2 of 9 items on the agenda, about 80% of the discussion was on this theme.

All but three of 32 on Dr. Patterson's mimeographed list either attended or sent representatives. They were joined by a few who were not on the original list.

Barrett and Hope, Fisk President Wright and several Fisk students were there from Nashville. From Greensboro, A & T Dean D. H. Gamble substituted for President Gibbs, and David Richmond for Ezell Blair. (Ezell was speaking to a NAACP convention somewhere in the West.) Present also were Dr. Clement, Dr. S. E. Duncan, president of Livingston at Salisbury, and a Smith student from Charlotte.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Florida Commission on Race Relations, the SRC, CORE, the United Negro College Fund, the ESCRV, the SCLC, two national chains -- and Sen. Kennedy -- were all represented, but not, officially, the NAACP.

Formal talks were made by John Wheeler, Phil Hammer, Rev. John B. Morris (ESCRV), Calvin Raullerson (of the college fund), Robert Campbell (editor of the Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel) and Saul Silverman (of the Florida commission), Col. Francis Pickens Miller was an active participant in the discussions Saturday evening and Sunday.

Karl H. Helfrich, Kress vice-president, and W. Wallace Tudor, Sears, Roebuck & Co. vice-president, were congenial and intensely interested members of the group. The background of the question of national chain representation was interesting, as told me by Dr. Patterson and Wilton S. Dillon, Phelps-Stokes executive secretary.

The initial intention was to extend an open invitation to the affected companies through the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Dr. Patterson was referred by the latter to the National Retail Merchants' Association. In a phone conversation the executive vice-president of the merchants' association, J. Gordon Dakin (a Canadian) was unsympathetic. He wanted to know if "the other side" would be represented. He didn't think his organization would like to be involved, but would give a definite answer within a few days. Four days later Dakin replied that his organization would have nothing to do with the conference.

John Hayes, the association's vice-president for government affairs in Washington, first expressed interest and a desire to attend, but later changed his mind, apparently overruled by Dakin.

Woolworth, Grant, etc. were not invited, unless Dakin sounded them out. It was hoped that Dakin would approach these and others.

Dr. Patterson had friends who were friends of the presidents of S. H. Kress & Co. and Sears, Roebuck & Co. That is how the invitation came to be extended to them. These two accepted promptly.

Helfrich, from Kress, and Tudor, from Sears, were among the first to arrive and the last to leave. I fraternized considerably with them.

Tudor, in the round of individual introductions at the first session, said, "I am here from my own choice. When the invitation came to Sears, I insisted at once that we accept it and volunteered to come."

He was a dapper gentleman (he never took his coat off), who had been with Sears for 20 years. He had a twinkle in his eye and followed proceedings intently, often with (not unsympathetic) amusement. Between sessions he liked to engage in long philosophic discussions with Negro students, remote from either merchandizing or the race problem. Negro intellectuals seemed to fascinate him.

Tudor never committed himself or expressed any opinion on the main theme, but in the closing session he made a little speech about the altruism of Sears, Roebuck & Co., quoting Rosenwald: "Management must give an accounting not only on the financial balance sheet, but in its social responsibilities."

Significantly, Tudor said: "The pity is that you are talking to yourselves. Hundreds and thousands of others should hear what has been said at this meeting, and share in this kind of personal exchange... I have gained greater insight...

I have been deeply impressed, both intellectually and emotionally."

Helfrich has been with Kress only two years. I think he has been a part of the Kress reorganization, which, he says, accounts for the "temporarily" unfavorable Kress earnings report. He is a homespun, fatherly type, who appears to be well-informed on the race problem and the Student Protest movement. He entered into informal discussions like one of the group, having suggestions of his own about the formation of bi-racial committees, etc.

In full session Helfrich summarized the Kress position about as follows: "All stores ~~serving~~ selling both merchandise and food should desegregate together. But this is not an absolute condition with us. This cannot always be achieved in the case of locally owned drug stores. We do not necessarily wait for that... I know we can't wait for customs to change. If the citizens of any community give evidence of their willingness to accept it, we are happy to make the change. We have done so in Dallas, Austin, San Antonio, Galveston, Nashville and Winston-Salem."

Helfrich predicted that desegregation would continue, community by community, in the border states, and come much later to the hard core states. He did not think the stand-up plan was any solution. Kress "continues to give the problem very earnest and sincere thought."

Phil Hammer gave us a magnificent lecture on employment, housing and other economic aspects of the race problem -- the best talk made, in my opinion.

Rev. John Morris was very much interested in our earlier discussed plan of approaching corporation executives in the North. At the closing luncheon (too late for discussion with Phil) he suggested that Phil Hammer and I visit New York under the auspices of his father-in-law, H. Irving Pratt, 45 Wall St. Mr. Pratt would help us to meet the right people.

In very mild criticism of a splendid meeting, I noted that here, as in so many liberal gatherings, nothing was said on the other side. I mean, not the arguments, but the <u>difficulties</u> on the other side. There was only qualified approval of Gov. Collins' sensationally courageous stand on lunch counter desegregation and no mention of the trying spot on which events and circumstances, not ill will or bigotry, had placed the chain stores. The attitude toward Tudor and Helfrich personally was most cordial.

I reflected also, as I have in the past, on how nice it would be if occasion could be found for our own board to meet in long session to discuss, not accounts and business of the SRC, but the broad problem of race relations in the South.

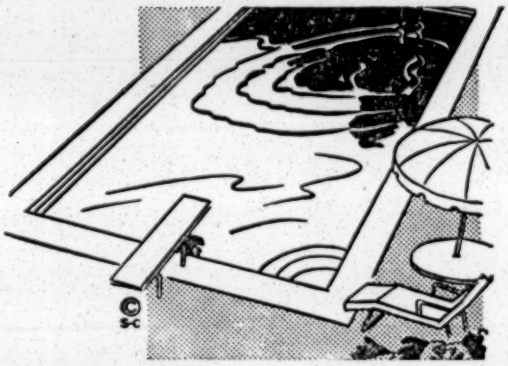
Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

COME TO THE

DEDICATION

of the



Baptist Center Pools

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1960

1:00 P.M., Standard Time

Baptist Center Grounds

Near Gainesville, Va.

Dedicatory Address by

Col. Benjamin Muse

Director of Southern Leadership Project
of the Southern Regional Council

Dedication Prayer — — Dr. W. E. Costner

We're Expecting You!!

Center Sponsors

Nor. Va. Baptist Association — — — — — — — — Dr. W. E. Costner, Mod.
Nor. Va. Baptist Womens Convention — — — — Mrs. J. E. Hall, Pres.
Nor. Va. Baptist S.S. Convention — — — — — Mrs. Jas. E. Browne, Pres

Rev. J. C. Hackett, Chr. of Center Board

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Harold,

The mayor of Richmond has tentatively appointed a bi-racial committee — 5 white and 5 colored members. "No preachers or politicians." Not yet confirmed by the city council or given to the press.

Regards. Ben

(one later)

CC Freeman
8/1/60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

June 28, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Lunch Counter Desegregation in Northern Virginia

June 22-24, 1960

This development is comprehensively reported in the Washington Post of June 23, 24, 25 and 26. Particular attention is invited to the "post mortem" in the Virginia Affairs column of June 26, a clipping of which is enclosed. I shall make only a few general observations here.

Northern Virginia, which comprises the Tenth Congressional District, has a total population (preliminary 1960) of 526,417. It represents one unit of "Suburbia" and is virtually the equivalent of one rather extended city. The component political units and their population, with the Negro percentage (1950) are as follows: Alexandria 90,332 (12.4%), Arlington County 163,589 (4.9%), Fairfax County 272,496 (10%) and Falls Church 10,158 (1.8%).

Desegregation of eating places here now is far more sweeping than anywhere else in the South. It extends, not only to variety stores, including chain drug stores, but to such restaurants as the Hot Shoppes (7), Howard Johnsons (3), various Tops and Waffle Shops -- virtually all chain-operated eating places.

The only sit-downs or demonstrations took place in Arlington, and the first desegregation occurred there -- a fact which points to the efficacy of demonstrations.

However, the earliest effective preparatory work occurred in Alexandria, where a mayor's committee started work last April. The many discussions of that group with chain store executives helped to prepare the latter for action throughout the area, and Mayor Leroy S. Bendheim was instrumental in bringing together chain store management and community leaders from Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax.

The Alexandria HRC helped to get the mayor's committee started and cooperated with it. Several of its members were also in the HRC and Mrs. George A. Eddy, HRC president, was secretary of the mayor's committee.

Another member of the mayor's committee, now publicly announced, was State Senator Armistead L. Boothe, a major Virginia political figure. Merchants and community leaders were long disturbed over the possibility that Virginia's law requiring segregation of public meeting places would apply to lunch counters. Fairfax Commonwealth's Attorney Robert C. Fitzgerald (a segregationist leader) stated publicly at first that the law prohibited integrated eating places and that he would enforce it in that sense. Boothe was principally instrumental in demolishing this theory to the satisfaction of the merchants. He was aided informally by State Attorney General Harrison.

The dominant political structure in Alexandria and Arlington was cooperative from the beginning. In Fairfax it was divided, but Mrs. Anne Wilkinson, liberal chairman of the board of supervisors, was staunchly cooperative.

When a few chain executives once made up their minds, there was something like a race to desegregate throughout Northern Virginia. The first decision to desegregate was made in a meeting of the Alexandria committee Wednesday, June 22. Desegregation was to take place in Alexandria the following Tuesday, June 28, and the committee's statement was to be published probably Monday.

However, before the day was over, Arlington merchants, under pressure from Howard University students -- led by Woolworth -- had already begun to desegregate. Alexandria merchants, somewhat disappointed not to be the first, moved the next day, and the committee's statement was issued Friday.

The Fairfax HRC had been working earnestly toward eating place desegregation for several months -- as a more distant goal. More recently it had been circulating petitions asking for lunch counter desegregation, trying to "obtain as many signatures as possible by June 25." The HRC was overtaken by events. Before the petitions were turned in, on June 24, all chain eating places in Fairfax desegregated. Noel Hemmendinger, of the Fairfax HRC, however, worked with leaders in Alexandria and Arlington before the climax. The Fairfax HRC will use the petitions and continue to work to bring about the desegregation of recalcitrant locally owned eating places.

The only serious disorders -- harassment of the Negro demonstrators -- occurred early in June. It was led by George Lincoln Rockwell, "Fuhrer of the American Nazi Party" -- a fact which was definitely beneficial to the whole Negro movement.

Rockwell's becoming a symbol of the opposition completely discredited it and aroused sympathy for the Negroes.

I had no part in the foregoing developments, beyond some phone consultation and mailing SRC material. When I phoned to arrange for my visit to Alexandria, the war was over.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Virginia Affairs

Open Lunch Counters Set Precedent

By J. W. Anderson

THE OLD TESTAMENT does not report whether Joshua showed surprise when Jericho's walls came tumbling down at the blast of his trumpet.

But the young sit-in demonstators who toppled the rule of lunch-counter segregation in Northern Virginia last week were frankly astonished when they began to realize the scale of their victory. They won acquiescence from stores and restaurants they had never visited.

Anderson

It set a precedent for Virginia, where the only previously desegregated eating facilities were a few spots in predominantly Negro quarters of Richmond.

THE SIT-IN CAMPAIGN began with attempts by about 15 demonstrators to buy meals June 9 and 10 at three drug stores and a restaurant along Lee highway in northern Arlington. It continued June 18 when they requested service at Shirlington stores.

At the restaurant—Howard Johnson's—the management had them arrested as trespassers. But at the stores, where Negroes had always been welcome at every other counter, perplexed managers simply closed the lunch counters and bucked the question to their superiors.

In each case, the sitters' targets were branches of large chains with stores across the Potomac in the District where segregation is illegal.

From the beginning Laurence Henry, the 25-year-old Howard University Divinity student who usually spoke for the demonstrators, declared the people of Arlington were ready for the change. The stores were simply waiting to see which of them might make the first move, he argued.

Events showed Henry to be more nearly correct than even he expected.

ABOUT TWO DOZEN PEOPLE took part, at one time or another in sit-ins. Slightly more than half were Negro students from Howard University. The others were white supporters. Membership in the campaign was extremely fluid, with a key figure on one day sometimes failing to appear the next. New recruits were always on hand.

No sign of outside leadership was visible. The group lacked legal counsel, and was hard-pressed even to find transportation. The last two weeks have revealed some of the elements in their success.

They held a two-edged economic weapon. Before the campaign ended, the demonstrators hinted at a Negro buyer's boycott against district branches of the stores which had refused them. On the other hand, the demonstrations were costly. Closed lunch counters and, in some cases, the presence of police and onlookers, seems to have depressed general sales.

The demonstrators also benefited from the extremely tight discipline within the Arlington Police Department. Police officials, never friendly toward them, were rigorously fair.

The few times trouble seemed imminent, top police officials, carrying nightsticks, promptly cleared the stores and dispersed the onlookers, mostly high school youngsters.

THE STRONGEST FACTOR in the demonstration's success was the placid reaction of Arlingtonians themselves. The only jostling and cat calls came at one Cherrydale store. Elsewhere, the sitters reported, they often got open encouragement from the stores' white customers.

The demonstrators called on the Arlington County Board for mediation. The board replied with a statement calmly suggesting that stores otherwise serving Negro customers might consider serving lunch to them, and implying that the community would accept it.

The Arlington Board's five members are not the only Northern Virginia political leaders who take that position.

In Alexandria, which feels the Southern tradition much more strongly than its next-door neighbors, Mayor Leroy S. Bendheim went quietly to work two months ago with a committee to prepare for lunch counter desegregation and to head off demonstrations.

The committee issued a statement Friday saying, "Any action which elevates the dignity of the individual will eventually make for the greatest measure of welfare for all citizens of our community." Alexandria merchants promptly desegregated their eating facilities.

In adjoining Fairfax County, Mrs. Anne Wilkins, chairman of the Board of Supervisors, ignored segregationist sentiment of the courthouse claque and issued a statement saying County citizens were ready to accept lunch-counter desegregation. Relieved merchants at once lowered their racial barriers.

CC to Freeman
8/1/60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

July 9, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Lynchburg

July 7, 1960

The Lynchburg city council set up a biracial committee "in a surprise move" June 28. Its purpose: "to promote harmony and understanding here in Lynchburg." No meetings have yet been held. The council's resolution listed the eight members of the committee, four white and four colored, named a co-chairman from each group, and stated: "We further direct Robert D. Morrison, city manager, to act as secretary of the committee."

Several remarked to me that the shrewd, and very efficient, city manager dominates mayor and council and runs the city -- although Mayor William C. Vaughan (whom I did not see) is said to be able and well-disposed on this issue. Morrison has the strictly business-like approach, avoids the moral point. Believes there would be little trouble in desegregating lunch counters, if the merchants could get together on it. Thought it was a smart move on the part of Lynchburg to set up a biracial committee, thought it was the first in Virginia. A little disappointed when I told him Alexandria was first.

However, he insisted that the committee, which was without authority, had no purpose except to enable leaders of the two races to talk things over and help the community solve its problem. His own role would be strictly secretarial. (Actually it is expected to be much more than that.)

With Philip L. Scruggs, editor of the Lynchburg News (a liberal by Virginia standards) I had an extremely cordial visit of a kind which is one of the joys of this work.

In the afternoon I conferred at length with William E. Gordon, the Negro co-chairman of the biracial committee, and Rev. Virgil Wood, Negro president of the Lynchburg CHR -- at the latter's home. They were elated over the appointment of a biracial committee, and impressed with the caliber of the four white members -- which was definitely power structure. "When Mr. McWane talks, most anybody's going to listen." Henry E. McWane, president of the Lynchburg Foundry Co., is the white co-chairman.

I learned from these two also that the Piggly-Wiggly store, following demonstrations, removed lunch counter stools and is doing a thriving integrated stand-up lunch counter business. Sears was already serving both races at a stand-up counter. The Negroes in Lynchburg were harmonious and united in this matter and generally pleased with their four representatives on the biracial committees, especially Gordon, who (Wood assured me) could confidently speak for the Negro community. The Negroes had discontinued picketing, but they had been planning a "workshop" soon, under Wyatt Williams, CORE representative, on "non-violent techniques."

The two Negro leaders asked my advice about this and their whole procedure in the lunch counter situation. They seemed to agree with me and to be inclined to follow this advice which I gave:

Have various Negro leaders write to the mayor, expressing appreciation for the biracial committee move. Assure him of the confidence of the Negro community in Gordon and the other Negro members. Let him know that in dealing with Gordon he is dealing with the Negro community. Keep a spirit of quiet unity among the Negroes under Gordon's leadership. See that no demonstrations or Negro agitation takes place until the biracial committee has had a reasonable time to work out a solution -- several months at least. Do not in any case resume demonstrations without previous consultation with the biracial committee. Make it clear to the committee that you are following this course. Call off the CORE "workshop" for the present, but inform the committee definitely that you are doing this out of confidence in that the committee will reach a solution. Let the committee know that you have had no visit from any outside "agitator," that this is an entirely spontaneous movement on the part of Lynchburg Negroes.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

cc to Freeman
8/1/60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

July 9, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Mayor Claude W. Woodward of Richmond

July 6, 1960

I lunched July 6, interestingly, with the mayor and two former mayors of Richmond, at the Rotunda Club. Claude Woodward, the new mayor, took office July 1. The other two were Edward E. Haddock, now State Senator (our host), and Horace Edwards, now city manager.

The city council had voted for the setting up of a bi-racial committee two months ago, but retiring mayor A. Scott Anderson, in spite of published reports that he was doing so, had not actually appointed any members to the committee. Anderson had talked over the phone with mayors in three or four cities having bi-racial committees and discussed the matter with many people, but he finally said that it would be "better for the new council and mayor to settle on the personnel..."

Liberal strength in the council was slightly increased in the June councilmanic election, when seven of the nine candidates endorsed by the Negroes were elected. The new mayor is much more in earnest, and optimistic, about the bi-racial committee than his predecessor.

With a police probe added to the many conferences incidental to the city government changeover both mayor and city manager had their hands full, but Haddock said they were most anxious for this luncheon talk with us. Woodward hoped to have his committee slate ready for submission to the council Friday, July 8. I tried to give the group the picture of other bi-racial committees -- more particularly "mayor's committees" around the South and offered some advice on the principles to be followed in setting up the Richmond committee.

City Manager Edwards was thoroughly constructive in his practical approach, but echoed more than the others the gossip of "sophisticated" (i.e. prejudiced) circles. He thought it possible, for instance, that Negro pickets were being paid by someone.//

The mayor remained alone with me for fifteen minutes after the others left, and, thus privately, voiced a completely liberal attitude on the race question. He recalled how he had seen white and colored mingling "like brothers" at international Rotary meetings, in the Army, etc. This was as it should be. It had to come. The South had to clear this hurdle. He felt that this was his great challenge in Richmond, expected plenty of headaches, but was grimly confident.

Mayor Woodward was most inquisitive earlier in the matter of bi-racial committee structure -- and the best name for the committee. What is the usual size of the committee, how many white and how many colored? What businesses and professions are usually represented? How many preachers, if any, are represented?

A succinct report on this might be useful to other mayors and I plan to do some work on it. Incidentally, now that the Student Protest Movement has ceased to become a new phenomenon, other succinct reports would be handy for use by busy mayors and city managers -- without disparagement of the longer reports which are still invaluable.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Copy sent to DFF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1960

October 16, 1960

MEMORANDUM

New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Lafayette, La.

October 9-14, 1960

My principal purpose in flying to New Orleans was to talk with Monsignor Henry C. Bezou, the archdiocesan superintendent of schools, administrator of the 50,000-pupil system of Catholic parochial schools. I also visited Lester E. Kabacoff, the Stern family "executive assistant", and Dr. Albert Dent, president of Dillard U. and SRC vice-president. In Baton Rouge I called on former (until this year) State Senator J. D. DeBlieux and Chris Fraser, the Governor's administrative assistant. I went on to Lafayette on a pressing invitation from Father Alexander O. Segur, of our SRC executive committee, and took my plane home from there.

The New Orleans situation had reached a critical and fast-moving stage which tended to rule out general discussion and made strategy the whole concern of most of the busy principals in the drama. A burst of developments occurred during the few days of my visit.

It was announced Sunday, October 9, that 135 Negro children had applied for admission to the first grade of New Orleans white schools. Monday evening the school board met and voted to apply the Louisiana pupil assignment law (which has not been invalidated.) On Wednesday Superintendent James F. Redman announced that all integrated first grade classes would be segregated according to sex. On the other hand an organization called the White Education Association launched a fund drive to establish a 12-grade private school to escape integration.

A petition was being circulated for removal of the four (out of five) school board members who have accepted the desegregation ruling. This has now taken the form of a demand for such action by a special session of the legislature. Three extreme segregationists announced their candidacies for the school board, challenging Matthew R. Southerland, one of the "moderate" members, who is running for reelection November 8.

The pressure on Governor Jimmie H. Davis to call a special session is increasing and the principal objective of Kabacoff and his friends during my stay in New Orleans was to bring contrary pressure to bear. Efforts were being made to have a power structure delegation from New Orleans call upon the Governor to urge that no special session be called. It is significant that John F. Tims, president of the company which publishes the two newspapers, is working energetically with Kabacoff in this endeavor. (The press is now editorially helpful.) Cooperating also, as I learned from phone conversations in my presence, was Robert A. Ainsworth, president pro-tem of the Senate.

Incidentally both Kabacoff and Dent wished me to convey an expression of appreciation for the help of the SRC in this crisis, which, they said, had been valuable and effective. Kabacoff says he is working all hours on this

school problem (and needs a rest). He also finds time to strike a few blows for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, says Kennedy will carry Louisiana handsomely. A Belden Associates poll showed sentiment running 52 for Kennedy to 28 for Nixon and about 16 for the state rights ticket.

Meanwhile, New Orleans was shocked to learn of a serious accident suffered Sunday by Joseph Francis Rummell, Archbishop of New Orleans. The archbishop, who was within five days of his 84th. birthday, stumbled over a curbstone and fell on a cement pavement while leaving a dedication ceremony in Baton Rouge. He suffered severe leg and other injuries. Although subsequent daily press bulletins reported the archbishop "resting well," Msgr. Bezou told me his condition was more serious than was generally supposed. It would be six months or longer before he could walk and many months before he would "be himself again."

It is evident to all liberal observers that a beginning of desegregation in the parochial schools would tend to ease the problem in the public schools and improve the atmosphere generally. Kabacoff and Dent, for instance, felt very strongly about this. (The school population of Orleans Parish is roughly: 43,000 white and 52,000 Negroes in public schools; 40,000 white and 10,000 Negroes in Catholic parochial schools.)

When I called upon Msgr. Bezou we talked first about the accident of the archbishop and his condition. I observed that the archbishop's tragic disability must have thrown great responsibilities upon his assistants. The monsignor agreed with some feeling that this was the case.

Msgr. Bezou, however, is a rather gruff old administrator with little warmth of personality. He launched into a lengthy review of progress in eliminating race discrimination in the archdiocese of New Orleans -- the integration of Catholic conventions, societies, parades, seminaries, choirs, etc. Some priests were preaching interracial brotherhood with notable courage. The pastor of the church attended by Attorney General Jack P. F. Gremillion had deplored from the pulpit the attorney general's recent performance in a federal court with the attorney general present in his congregation. (Gremillion took it calmly.)

It was with some difficulty that I brought the monsignor around to the burning question of the integration of parochial schools. The archbishop, he said, had labored steadily for five years to prepare for this step. But prudence had to be employed; one evil had to be weighed against another. Few realized the magnitude of the economic problem of maintaining this vast system of parochial schools. Until a recent court order parochial schools had faced the loss of accreditation and certain state support in the form of school lunches, etc., in the event of integration. A withdrawal of tuition-paying white pupils and the alienation of some Catholic donors would be dangerous to the system's precarious finances. All this in addition to other possibilities of disruption and disorder.

I remarked that public school administrators, under court orders, had faced equal and greater risks in some districts but had gone right on. Delay by the archdiocese now would tend to strengthen the argument that school desegregation is not a moral issue but a case of judicial "tyranny." Whatever the difficulties, the Christian impulse should move ahead of legal compulsion.

Then, after a pause, I was rather startled when the monsignor said: "I agree with you, Mr. Muse. I was on my way to see the archbishop to ask his permission to move now, when the accident occurred!"

He gave me a little picture of distress and confusion in the archdiocesan hierarchy. The vicar general was technically next in authority. But anything like superceding the venerable archbishop was unthinkable. And in his present condition, how could he be burdened with this dreadful question?

I went on, with vigor unbecoming a layman, to stress the overriding importance of taking the Christian step now. If the archdiocese should fail in this crisis, I said it would be a source of "mortification" to Catholics throughout the nation. Many priests, and many laymen, in New Orleans would "blush."

Monsignor Bezou said only, in apparent spiritual pain, "What you say is true."

DeBlieux

In Baton Rouge, at the suggestion of Father Segur, I called upon former State Senator J. D. DeBlieux (about 40) appeared to be a dedicated liberal on the race question, and was eager to talk. I mainly listened. It was heart-warming, if somewhat redundant, to hear him review the race problem in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and the South. It was remarkable, however, to find a man with such views in Louisiana politics. He was only narrowly defeated in the last election -- by some 700 votes. He polled 26,000 out of 52,000-plus votes cast. He thinks it was perhaps fortunate that he escaped a frustrating and embarrassing experience in the present legislature. Expects to run again next time.

DeBlieux made an appointment for me by telephone with Chris Fraser, the Governor's administrative assistant. But he warned me that "they haven't any love for me at the capitol -- no love for people like us."

An hour spent in Governor Davis' crowded reception room the next morning was a perhaps fruitless, but not a boring experience. Among other concerns of the Governor, the joint committee on segregation was in session and Gov. Davis joined that group for half an hour. He left for the day before I got in to see Chris Fraser. The latter was affable and courteous and apparently a man of more depth than I expected. I remarked that Virginia had tried every conceivable plan of resistance and found that it would not work. School desegregation was inevitable. The problem was merely one of adjusting to it, politically and otherwise. I realized how difficult the problem was. I said the Governor had no doubt felt it necessary to fight integration to the last ditch, but after the last ditch has been reached, another course had to be followed. I noted that more school integration had taken place in the South at the opening of this school term than ever before, and that thus far there had not been one breach of public order.

Fraser was also impressed by this, and agreed that the South was moving "just a little" toward acceptance of the ruling. "It will take time," he said.

I told the Virginia story briefly and left with him a copy of Gov. Almond's "capitulation" speech of January 28, 1959. He seemed really interested in this, and thanked me. "The Governor may be able to use some of it," he said.

I advised above all against the Governor's calling a special session of the legislature. The Governor would have to resist a lot of pressure, but a special session now could do no good from any point of view, and could cause embarrassment and grief for all concerned, including the Governor. I urged repeatedly that the Governor "sit this out."

Fraser replied twice: "You can be sure the Governor is not going to do anything rash."

On my leaving, Fraser invited me to come to see him again -- whenever I should return to Baton Rouge -- an invitation on which I may be able to gracefully follow through on another trip to those parts.

As it happened I met Gov. Davis, quite insignificantly the same evening. When I arrived in Lafayette, Father Segur rushed me off immediately to an elaborate dinner to which he had secured an informal invitation for me. The dinner was in celebration of the elevation of the "institute" to the status of a "university." Father Segur is the chaplain in charge of the Catholic Center in the predominantly Catholic University of Southwestern Louisiana, and he offered the invocation. Governor Davis delivered the principal address (dull written text and incredibly crude ad lib,) and Lt. Gov. C. C. Aycock also spoke. A score of other legislators, officials and politicians present were asked to stand and be recognized. Little or no opportunity for conversation on my part, but an interesting glimpse of some f the political confraternity. I shook hands and exchanged amenities with Governor Davis. However, he insisted on taking me for a USL professor!

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Tues.

Dear Harold,

I am going to Richmond to lunch with Drew today. Off on our trip Thursday. Best regards to all.

Ben

cc Freeman
8/1/60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

July 18, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Silverman, Florida Commission

July 18, 1960

Saul Silverman, staff assistant, Florida Commission on Race Relations, phoned to say that his wife is recovering nicely from the illness which prevented my last visit to him and inviting me to come now -- a trip, however, which will have to be postponed until September.

He gave me off-hand this information on biracial committee structure in Florida: St. Petersburg and Coral Gables each, 5 members, 3 white and 2 colored; Daytona Beach, 20 members, 10 white and 10 colored; Tallahassee, 15 members, 9 white and 6 colored.

Silverman was enthusiastic over the biracial committee set up in difficult Tallahassee. An additional "advisory committee" of 60-70 members had been organized to bring more workers into the movement.

Silverman also had high hopes over the committee being formed in Tampa through the personal efforts of Cody Fowler and Perry Harvey. He said it would be a very influential group.

One Miami committee had apparently dissolved, and another was being formed. There was hope that the city might make this an official agency, with a paid staff. Many things were going on in the race relations field in Miami, with the Negroes planning several kinds of pressure, including (he was vague on this point) a telephone and electric power boycott.

The commission is working to bring about, among other things, uniform IQ tests for white and colored children.

J. Grant Peebles, of the State Beverage Commission, has succeeded Don Channing on the state commission on race relations. He is also an expert on law enforcement.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

cc to Freeman
8/1/60

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

July 15, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Raleigh, N. C.

July 12-13, 1960

Arriving Tuesday evening, July 12, I visited the News and Observer and obtained some interesting factual information.

Following some demonstrations, arrests, etc., the "Mayor's Advisory Committee on Lunch Counter Demonstrations" was appointed on March 11. There were 15 members, 10 white and 5 colored (whose names I have in my file). The committee held six meetings of approximately two hours each and reported on April 14:

"We regret that we have been unable to agree on any recommendations which we believe will lead to a solution of the lunch counter situation..."

It is of passing interest that the biracial committees of Charlotte, Laurinburg ~~and~~ Raleigh, and Fayetteville (which never got off the ground) were all led by Presbyterian ministers. In Raleigh the chairman was Dr. Harold J. Dudley, general secretary of the North Carolina synod (who is now in Europe) and apparently the next most active leader was Dr. W. C. Pressley, president of (Presbyterian) Peace College.

The Raleigh mayor's committee "gave up" and dissolved -- the first instance of this that I know of after regular meetings had been held. It did, however, formally recommend that the mayor appoint a permanent committee on human relations (which he has not done).

There are several reasons for the failure of the mayor's committee in Raleigh. The mayor himself was embarrassed by the fact that he is the district manager for a chain of moving picture theatres, where, of course, segregation is practiced. I think further there was no single white leader on the committee with determination and pertinacity to labor on to a solution. Patrick had mentioned to me Rev. W. W. Finletter, pastor of Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, as probably the ablest crusader for lunch counter desegregation in Raleigh. He was recommended to the mayor, but was not appointed.

There were six ministers on the committee, five white and one colored. The committee also included two college presidents (one white and one colored), two bankers (one white and one colored), a white lawyer and three white business men.

I had no introduction to Mayor William T. Enloe, but I described my errand to his secretary. The latter replied later that the mayor had "engagements for the entire afternoon." Maybe he did, but I doubt it. I talked with J. J. Sanson, Jr., Negro bank manager and former committee member. Dr. Pressley was only mildly interested when we talked over the phone. I might have visited him later, but I found my afternoon taken up. I spent it with Dr. Grady D. Davis, dean of religious education at Shaw U., recent unsuccessful candidate for the legislature and executive secretary of the Raleigh Citizens Association.

It was a crucial moment for this vigorous Negro organization, which was in the midst of planning and decisions as to its next move. A meeting of the executive committee had been held the night before and a full membership meeting was scheduled for the following day. Dr. Davis was eager for information and advice and did not want me to leave. He finally drove me to the airport, and said: "The Lord must have sent you."

I do not feel it my main job to advise the Negro protest leaders, though they are badly in need of advice, and on the several occasions when I have been drawn into the role my effort has been to channel existing unrest into orderly procedures.

The Negroes were prepared to resume picketing in full force and intensify boycotts. The gist of my advice follows.

Belk's had removed its lunch counter entirely, but Negroes were still angry and boycotting the store. Dr. Davis showed me a very courteous letter from Belk's manager (June 24) advising the Association that its lunch counter had been closed -- as the space was needed for other purposes.

I advised unhesitatingly that the Association reply to Belk's with equal courtesy, noting that the store no longer appeared to be operating a discriminatory facility. Negroes should resume patronage of Belk's at once. He should remind Negroes insistently that the objective is not coffee or hot dogs but an end to discrimination. Elimination of Belk's would make it easier to focus attention on the discriminating merchants.

If the mayor's committee should be revived, I said, the Association should deal with it, but for the present I advised

direct negotiation with the merchants. There should be no haphazard and meaningless demonstrations. A committee from the Association should call at each store with a segregated lunch counter and ask politely once more for desegregation. The manager should be advised that unless this happened, the protest activities would proceed.

Should the merchants show a desire to solve the problem and begin meeting for this purpose (as they did in Knoxville and elsewhere) demonstrations should be suspended for a reasonable time. "On and off" demonstrations are especially effective.

The stores should be notified in each case before picketing begins. The mayor should also be notified and kept regularly informed.

The Negroes should keep a disciplined organization, including the students and one individual, or a committee, should always be able to speak for the group.

I suggested that Dr. Davis send to the SRC a list of addresses of merchants to whom lunch counter reports might helpfully be sent.

I enclose for the file a copy of the constitution of the Association together with a copy of its financial reports. From this it will be seen that over $7,000 has been raised by the Association -- and disbursed in interesting ways.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

RALEIGH CITIZENS ASSOCIATION

REPORT OF TREASURER
2-15, 6-16-60

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS		
February	$2,099.84	Student lunches-meals		$ 234.03
		" gasoline		106.81
		" Intertainment		23.38
March	2,367.01	" Travel expense		90.00
		" Petty Cash		10.00
April	2,427.15	LEGAL EXPENSE:		
		Attorney Fees	$2175.00	
		" Trav.	91.87	
May	429.60	Reporting Serv.	174.40	
		Bail Bonds	2218.00	
		Photos	45.50	
		Total legal expense		4,704.77
		VOTE-REGISTRATION EXPENSE:		
		Materials-clerical serv.		324.15
		PUBLICITY:		
		Printing		312.83
		Distributing		29.00
		OTHER EXPENSE:		
		Postage & clerical		52.26
		City Auditorium rent		220.00
		S. Christian L-ship Conf.		275.67
		Error -debit band dep.		4.75
		Bank Service chg.		.65
		Treasurer's bond		6.25
		Grady Davis filing fee		18.00
		Gift, Grady Davis Campaign		300.00
		Loan " " "		300.00
		Grand total expenses		$7,012.55
TOTAL RECEIPTS		Balance in bank		311.05
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$7,323.60	TOT. EXPENSE AND BALANCE		$7,323.60

Repsectfully submitted,

C. C. Smith, Jr.
Treasurer

REV. JOHN W. FLEMING
President

MRS. MABEL B. WRIGHT
Secretary

DR. GRADY D. DAVIS
Executive Secretary

MR. C. C. SMITH
Treasurer

Raleigh Citizens Association

A Federation of Raleigh Citizens and Organizations

507 East Martin Street
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

CONSTITUTION OF THE RALEIGH CITIZENS ASSOCIATION

We, the citizens of the city of Raleigh, Raleigh Township and affiliated organizations, in order to form a more progressive and effective organization through which a fundamental civic consciousness may be developed and a more satisfactory opportunity given for a wider expression of citizenship opinions upon matters pertaining to the civic, economic, political, social and educational development of the citizens of Raleigh, do organize ourselves into the Raleigh Citizens Association.

SECTION I: NAME

That the name of this organization shall be The Raleigh Citizens Association.

SECTION II

That all power granted herein is founded upon and derived from the will of the citizens of Raleigh, Raleigh Township, and the affiliated organizations, and the said citizens have the exclusive right of amending this constitution or intervening into the affairs of the Association whenever it is expedient or necessary for their mutual safety and helpfulness by a committee chosen by the citizens for the said purpose.

SECTION III

The purpose of this organization will be to protect, encourage, educate and help the members of the Raleigh Citizens Association in their civic, economic, social, educational and political advancement.

SECTION IV

The members of this Association shall consist of representatives selected by the members of the various organizations in the City of Raleigh and individuals possessed with civic, economic, social and political concern for the general welfare of the citizens of Raleigh and Raleigh Township, who may express a desire to become members of the Association. Membership fees shall be as follows: 1. Organizational Representation, $5.00. 2. Individual Membership, $2.00.

SECTION V

The officers of the Raleigh Citizens Association shall consist of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, assistant secretary and treasurer.

 CONSTITUTION OF THE RALEIGH CITIZENS ASSOCIATION

SECTION VI: DUTIES

The duties of the officers of the Raleigh Citizens Association shall be in every respect consistent with and as outlined in Roberts Rule of Parliamentary procedure and such other duties as may devolve upon the officers by virtue of the nature and purpose for which this association is created.

SECTION VII: TERM OF OFFICE

The term of office for all the officers of the Raleigh Citizens Association shall be for one (1) year and until their successors are duly elected and installed.

a. Election of officers shall be by ballot and a majority vote.
b. Election of officers shall be held on the First Regular Meeting in November and installation on the first Sunday in December.

SECTION VIII

There shall be six standing committees; namely, the Executive Committee, Steering Committee, Civic and Political Committee, Economic Committee, Educational Committee and Finance Committee.

DUTIES

The duty of the Executive Committee shall be to act for the Association in all matters arising between the meetings of the Association and such matters as may be referred to it by the Association.

a. All elected officers and two representatives elected from the membership shall comprise the Executive Committee.
b. The chairman or vice chairman shall preside over all Executive Committee meetings.

The duty of the Steering Committee shall be to receive reports from all of the other committees, except the Executive Committee, to study said reports and report the same to the Raleigh Citizens Association at it's next meeting.

The duty of the Civic and Political Committee shall be to encourage registration, voting and to take a general interest in all matters relating to the civic responsibilities and duties of the citizens of Raleigh.

The duty of the Economic Committee shall be to make a study of employment, hear complaints, and to seek ways and means to raise the economical level of the citizens of Raleigh through employment.

The duty of the Committee on Education shall be to study the present and future needs of the schools of Raleigh and to keep informed on all matters pertaining to the schools and report the same to the Steering Committee from time to time, and a member of this committee shall attend regular meetings of the Raleigh School Board.

The duty of the Finance Committee shall be to devise ways and means of raising money, to carry out the purpose for which this Association is created.

SECTION IX

The Steering Committee shall be presided over by the Executive Secretary and the Executive Secretary shall further preside over all meetings of the Association in the absence of the Chairman and Vice Chairman. He shall work out an agenda for each meeting of the Raleigh Citizens Association.

TIME FOR MEETINGS

The Raleigh Citizens Association shall meet the 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at 8:00 p.m., at the Bloodworth Street YMCA, or at such other place as may be designated by the Chairman and Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may in the absence of the chairman or upon the refusal of the Chairman, call a special meeting of the Association when a majority of the members of the Executive Committee are of the opinion that an emergency has arisen which justifies such action.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution at any regular meeting of the Raleigh Citizens Association may be amended by a two third (2/3) majority of the members present; provided that no proposed amendment shall be considered unless it shall have been submitted in accordance with the following section.

(1) The proposed amendment shall be submitted to the Steering Committee at least two weeks before a regular meeting and the Steering Committee shall report the same to the Raleigh Citizens Association with its recommendation at the succeeding meeting. Voting may take place at the next meeting following a second reading or at a call meeting, provided all members have been properly notified of the meeting.

Copy sent to DFF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

September 30, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Birmingham -- September 22-24

And Alabama Plans

Birmingham, Alabama, is of all major Southern cities probably the most hostile to desegregation, the most repressive of free discussion of the subject and the most isolated from outside information and opinion. (Other National TV programs touching on the subject -- Ed Murrow's, Huntley-Brinkley's, "Face the Nation," etc. are not given by local stations.) It is also the big city most lacking in communication between its white and Negro citizens. One Birmingham lady, when it was suggested that it would be well to find out at least what the Negroes are thinking about was said to have replied,"Do you think these niggers can really think?" For a white man to argue for Negro rights is considered vicious or criminal.

Yet Birmingham is also the Southern city where Negroes have the highest per capita income. Those Negroes who cheerfully accept the servant-master relationship get along relatively well materially. Some are wealthy. White businessmen more or less surreptitiously seek the favor of A. G. Gaston, a Negro financial magnate.

Tension and fear are not evident to the casual visitor. For those who conform naturally, there is no hardship, and a majority of the white people apparently like it that way. Only the dissenters appear to suffer.

I am planning to spend several weeks in Alabama (probably in November) and have been collecting a list of names of individuals in various sections who would likely be hospitable to a liberal-minded visitor from the outside world.

My visit to Birmingham was in the nature of a reconnaissance. I was particularly anxious to make at least one real friend who would help and advise me in my larger undertaking. I seemed to do this in the person of Charles ("Chuck") Morgan. I spent several hours with him in the morning and he took me to his home later for drinks and dinner.

Morgan is a young lawyer, of the firm of Morgan and Shores, which successfully defended Rev. Robert Hughes. "Bob" Hughes

was jailed for his refusal to furnish information as to Council on Human Relations members, etc. in Salisbury case hearings. Morgan is also chairman of the legislative committees of the Alabama Mental Health Association and chairman of the speakers bureau for the Kennedy-Johnson campaign in Alabama. He is identified with many other civic activities, is well acquainted around the state and is preeminently a man-about-town in Birmingham -- all of which is amazing in view of the completely liberal views on the race question which he expressed to me.

I was asked by Rev. John Morris, of ESCRV especially to see two Episcopal ministers in the Birmingham area: the Rt. Rev. George Mosley Murray, bishop coadjutor; and the Rev. Robert L. Man, a Bessemer clergyman, in charge of Christian Social Relations. Dr. Murray is a cultivated and attractive gentleman, who I believe is entirely sincere in trying to combat race prejudice. He was somewhat critical, however, of John Morris and others who "want to go too fast." He said the church had to work cautiously in Alabama to prevent an aggressive counter-movement on the part of segregationist Episcopal laymen.

The bishop, Rt. Rev. C. C. J. Carpenter, was described to me as entirely uncooperative in human relations efforts. Dr. Murray is to become bishop in nine years, then serve for 20 years -- a period which he apparently thinks may be required to achieve the salvation of Alabama Episcopalians on the race issue.

In contrast to the bishop coadjutor, Mr. Man is a rough-hewn and passionate crusader who goes all the way. A veteran of many human relations battles, he resigned as president of the Bessemer ministerial association and stalked out of a meeting when it refused to condemn Ku Klux Klan activities. He spoke bitterly of a segregationist Methodist minister, Sansbury. He told lurid and incredible stories of Klan activity and Klan immunity from police action. Mr. Man said there was little that he could document, but he believed the stories were substantially true. (He had raised, by the way, $200 for the Bob Hughes legal defense fund.)

Jacob Wagnon came in for an hour's visit after dinner at Morgan's. Wagnon is a liberal, in Morgan's confidence, though the race issue is apparently only a matter of incidental concern to him. He is a professional public opinion analyst, now conducting a public opinion survey in Alabama. It is desired to keep the matter of his poll secret for the present and few people know about it. He seems to be engaged both by the Kennedy-Johnson campaign committee and separately by former Gov. James.E. Folsom.

Wagnon's returns on the presidential preferences were still pretty inconclusive, but comment on Folsom was revealing. It appears thus far that, if Folsom should run again in 1962, more would vote for him than before. Surprisingly, Folsom's more-moderate-than-Patterson record was almost never mentioned by people questioned. The question of segregation itself was never mentioned.

It was the opinion of several with whom I spoke that Folsom would be relatively moderate in the segregation situation if he were returned to the governorship. His heavy drinking, however, would be a source of uncertainty and danger. His action in a school crisis might depend on "whom he is drinking with at the time."

The power structure in Birmingham is largely dominated by the Tennessee Coal and Iron Division of U. S. Steel. A change in attitude on the part of TCI would affect press, TV, politics and all down the line. (A daughter of Roger Blough, U.S. Steel Board chairman, married William French, of Birmingham.) The president of the TCI is Arthur V. Wiebel.

(Mr. Man mentioned two friends in the larger business world who are interested in race relations and send him small contributions from time to time: Charles French, president Great Lakes Division, St. Regis Paper Co., Cleveland, Ohio; and Miss Mary Johnston, (described as principal owner) of Proctor and Gamble.)

I had a long talk with Jim Clayton, of the Washington Post, who is making an intensive study of the Birmingham situation and whose findings will shortly appear. Appropriately the Post chose for the job its legal expert. He is well versed in libel law!

Trial of the suits against the N. Y. Times in the state court at Montgomery (on the page ad) is set for October 31; the suit in federal court in Birmingham on the Salisbury articles is expected to be argued next February. Jim Clayton thinks that Salisbury will go to Birmingham for the latter hearing and submit to arrest.

I had a cordial telephone conversation with John Temple Graves. After referring to several friends whom we have in common, I said that I regarded him as one of the most eminent and able exponents of a point of view on the segregation question which I did not share. I said I would like to sit down with him and talk it over. He said he liked the idea; was sure we would find points of agreement. He was catching a plane this afternoon for Chicago. Would I be in town next Tuesday? I could not be in town Tuesday, but I look forward to following through on this at some later date.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Copy sent to DIF

LWA ✓
PRV
PA ✓
JC ✓
MF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

October 24, 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1960

MEMORANDUM

Virginia

State Senator Haddock, Atty. Gen. Harrison, Editor Wyatt

Thursday and Friday, October 20-21

I lunched Thursday with Richmond State Senator E. E. Haddock, who was bubbling over with the Kennedy-Johnson campaign, the obliteration of massive resistance, and what he feels is a liberal upsurge in Virginia. "We are throwing off some shackles," he said.

(A strong factor in the Kennedy movement in this state is a desire on the part of liberals and anti-Byrd people to embarrass Senator Byrd.)

Incidentally Haddock, while mayor of Richmond, visited Chep Morrisson, mayor of New Orleans, and has kept up a warm friendship with the latter. He will give me a cordial introduction to Mayor Morrison whenever I go to New Orleans again.

Haddock thought Attorney General Albertis Harrison most likely to win the Virginia gubernatorial race next year. The other most mentioned possibilities are Lieutenant Governor Stephens and State Senator Harry Byrd, Jr.

I visited Harrison during the afternoon and found him more cordial and confiding than ever before.

Harrison says massive resistance is dead as a political issue in Virginia and does not think it will figure significantly in next year's contest. No major political figure would advocate school closing now. Only the Defenders of State Sovereignty would be likely to put up a school-closer, and he would not go far.

Harrison was proud of Virginia's orderly acceptance of desegregation. The transition was taking place about as it ought to.

With regard to the Prince Edward County problem he thought the solution was more likely to come from white discontent with the situation than from court action. Some visible economic blow related to the school situation would

bring about a change there quicker than anything else -- if some industry should move out, or some industry decline to come in, because of the school situation.

Harrison recently announced his support of Kennedy, but believes Nixon has the edge in Virginia.

We discussed my travels and the situation elsewhere in the South. He thought it would be a fine thing if other states could be fully aware of what happened in Virginia. I told him a part of my job was to tell that story, and I told him for the first time about my forthcoming book on Virginia's massive resistance. He was intensely interested -- expressed some amusement at the thought that it would appear in the midst of the gubernatorial campaign.

If Harrison should be elected Governor next year, I feel that I could influence his policy on race problems, and I have that in mind. An official State commission on race relations would be one objective. However, it is possible, of course, that Harrison will not be elected.

I heard our SRC Vice-President Marion Wright address the Richmond Council on Human Relations Thursday evening, and noted there that Dr. Blair Buck, who headed the 25,000-member Virginia Committee for Public Schools is now taking a very active part in that organization.

Friday morning I visited Edward A. Wyatt, editor of the Petersburg Progress. Ed is an old and one-time intimate personal friend whom I had scarcely seen during the past five controversial years. He has been one of Virginia's most stubbornly anti-Supreme Court and anti-integration editors.

I conceded (1) that Petersburg had an exceptionally difficult basic problem and (2) that Negro leadership in Petersburg had been tactless and hard to deal with. In return I sought, not without some success, to obtain from him the concession that desegregation is necessary and inevitable and the course of wisdom is one of orderly acceptance.

Like most white Petersburgers Wyatt is still angry over the invasion of the public library, not by a small symbolic protest contingent, but by 140 Negroes, and by the recent Negro demonstration at the office of a Petersburg voting registrar. The latter demonstration was, not over Negro voting rights in Petersburg -- the NAACP has stated that it has no serious complaint in connection with Negro voting in Virginia -- but "out of sympathy" with Negroes who are deprived of their voting rights elsewhere in the South. To Petersburg white people it made no sense at all (and it makes little to me). It increased the feeling among many Petersburg whites that rational communication with Negro leaders is impossible.

Two points are noteworthy about the thinking of Wyatt, as a literate defender of the status quo: (1) he asks repeatedly: "Why don't Negroes concentrate on improving themselves and demonstrating their fitness for integration rather than on premature agitation for equality?" -- and (2) he is beginning to reappraise the whole matter as a result of the present international situation.

To his question under (1) I made more or less the usual answer, at some length. I remarked that in addressing Negro audiences I had often stressed the importance of demonstrating Negro excellence as a factor in advancing the cause of racial justice, but that other pressures were necessary too. Wyatt actually agreed with me that lunch counter desegregation was "obviously overdue." I agreed with him that, in all the circumstance, the calm and orderly acceptance of lunch counter desegregation by the Petersburg public was admirable.

Wyatt was definitely impressed by the thought that we need to be getting our house in order in the matter of race discrimination from the standpoint of our prestige with the burgeoning African states and the Asian powers. I believe this consideration is coming home to informed Southerners now as never before.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

November 30, 1960

MEMORANDUM

November, 1960, Tour

Preliminary Report and Comment on What the

Next Administration Might do

Traveling by car with my wife November 1 through 25 I made personal contacts in Petersburg, Va., Durham and Laurinburg, N. C., Columbia, S. C., Atlanta, Ga., and Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, Mobile, Tuskegee and Auburn, Ala. There were many interesting discussions which call for comprehensive reporting, but it seems advisable to give priority to delayed correspondence, etc. and translate my notes on the trip into reports when time allows.

I may say, however, that genuine friends met, or made, along the way made the trip a pleasant one for both my wife and me, and helped in many ways. An encouraging conversation with Henry Cauthen, editor of the Columbia Record, suggested that there may be more (partially) open minds in South Carolina than I suspected.

In Alabama, cordial reception by more or less silent liberals whom I found at each stop made us feel agreeably at home in that state. Nevertheless, the oppression of Negroes, the intimidation of moderates and the generally dangerous situation in the Birmingham and Montgomery areas were shockingly evident. At the same time there is a really numerous element in Alabama which is quietly opposed to all this, and something like an under-ground moderate apparatus, of which I shall write more fully.

I raised the question of what the next Administration might do in the civil rights field with a few thoughtful people in Alabama, and their reactions, as far as they go, may be of interest since they come from one of the most difficult states.

All with whom I talked felt that the moral force of positive and often expressed Administration support of the school desegregation rulings and civil rights in general would be immensely helpful.

My Birmingham friends all agreed that a helpful attitude on the part of Roger M. Blough, of New York, board chairman of U. S. Steel, could trickle down through the Birmingham power structure with a wonderfully beneficial effect. It was anticipated that Blough would be found to be stubbornly conservative, but believed that a private heart-to-heart talk with him by the President or someone near to the President would be effective.

A. G. Gaston, of Birmingham, the Negro millionaire, was apprehensive lest Senator Kennedy's obligations to Southern political leaders would tend to tie his hands in the civil rights field. Others felt that the new association of Southern leaders with a liberal President would work the other way. Dr. Donald Strong, professor of political science at the University of Alabama, said that Southern politicians would be eager to win the new President's favor with a view to federal money and federal projects of various kinds. (During my stay in Alabama, Governor Patterson flew to Washington on the off-chance of getting to see Kennedy on the latter's way to Florida -- and missed him!) George W. Dean, a Montgomery attorney close to the Alabama powers that be, said that Patterson was anxious to get "on the inside track" to the new Administration; he added that Patterson was instrumental in raising $50,000 for Kennedy's pre-convention campaign.

The possibility of the President's helping by an informal "word here and a word there" among Southern governors, etc. was discussed at length with "Chuck Morgan," chairman of the Alabama speakers' bureau for the Kennedy campaign, and Hugo Black, Jr. They thought in some cases this would be possible. Dr. Strong and Dr. A. S. Thomas, ULA professor of history, had more confidence in this possibility. All four of these thought the next Vice-President could be particularly helpful in this field -- with Lyndon Johnson's inimitable horse-trading techniques. Morgan thought Johnson could mesmerize even Eastland!

None of the Alabama liberals with whom I talked were much interested in new civil rights legislation, but all favored vigorous and thoroughgoing action under present laws to insure Negro voting rights. They believe that progress could be made on this front with the minimum loss of Southern good will generally. Many Alabamans are ashamed of their state's record in this regard. Also Alabama liberals, who are confident they will someday "rise again," feel that heavier Negro voting would help their cause.

One of those most interested in the problem of what the next administration might do was Neil Davis, courageous and astute editor of the Lee County Bulletin in Auburn, only a

few miles from Macon County and Tuskegee. "Southerners in Congress" Davis said, "are getting steamed up for an ugly civil rights fight. Kennedy should take the wind out of their sails and grab a lot of Southern good will by laying off in the matter of new civil rights legislation now. Then the next President could use moral force, with the backing of the courts and the powers he has, to get a great deal done. Above all, he should go all the way on Negro voting rights."

Benjamin Muse

PA —
PR ✓
MF

December 1, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Washington Post, November 30, 1960

I discussed the question of what the next Administration might do in the field of civil rights today with Bob Estabrook, editorial page editor, and Al Friendly, managing editor, of the Washington Post.

Estabrook thought something should be done to break committee log jams in the House of Representatives, but believed Senate Rule 23 should be left alone for this session. He wanted to see some changes in "structural procedure" to eliminate discrimination in employment on federal contracts and in federally subsidized housing. However, he felt that a great deal could be done without new legislation.

He expressed approval of these several suggestions which I made:

1) That an assistant secretary of state visit Southern governors and discuss with them the international implications of segregation, etc. in this country;

2) That the Federal Office of Education should publish officially a handbook on school desegregation similar to "Action Patterns";

3) That the President should speak privately with Roger Blough (and possibly other executives influencing Southern power structures.)

Estabrook thought Kennedy would be firm and clearcut in desegregation crises. Friendly thought the President-elect had genuine compassion for the underdog, in addition to strong civil rights convictions.

I asked how many Negroes had been entertained at the White House during the Eisenhower Administration. Friendly believed, none, except foreign officials. He called the society editors and they confirmed this estimate -- except in that Ralph Bunche might have attended something there.

Friendly remarked that this was not necessarily a matter of race prejudice. There had been no effort to bring representatives of American intellect and talent to the White House. He said, unkindly, that, apart from official entertaining, Mamie and Ike had received only a few oil and Coca Cola magnates, and there were no Negroes in that group.

Benjamin Muse

LWD✓
PR✓
JC
MF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

December 12, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Victor Stewart
President
Colonial Pine Co., Inc.
Petersburg, Va.

E. H. Evans
President
McNair Investments, Inc.
Laurinburg, N.C.

M.A. Briggs
President
Austin-Heaton Flour Co., Inc.
Durham, N.C.

Charles F. Zukoski, Jr.
Executive Vice-President
First National Bank
Birmingham, Ala.

A. G. Gaston
Smith and Gaston Interests
A. G. Gaston Building
Birmingham, Ala.

Here are brief sketches of five Southern business executives interviewed on my November, 1960, trip. Two, Stewart and Briggs, are segregationists, who spoke freely, however, as old personal friends. One, Gaston, is a Negro.

Victor Stewart has been for 14 years chairman of the Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development, the agency chiefly concerned with bringing new industries into the state. He is also owner of one of the famous James River plantations. A man of great personal charm, he is a familiar figure in both social and political circles. At 81 Stewart is still very active. We were friends and neighbors when I lived in Southern Virginia 20 years ago, but I had seen little of him in recent years.

Leaning heavily upon the Wall Street Journal, the United States News and World Report and Richmond dinner party conversation for his philosophical background, his approach to the race problem was conservative. There was a redeeming kindliness in his attitude, however, and a willingness to listen which could almost be called an open mind. He seemed quite eager to discuss the problem.

"We have much on our conscience," he said, and he launched into a discussion of the mistreatment of Negroes in past years. In the days when school buses were only for white, he often picked up Negro children along the road and drove them to school.

"I like Negroes, I'm sorry for them," he said, "but they are utterly incapable of taking care of themselves. We have 15 Negro families at Chippokes. My wife visits each home about once a week to see that it is clean and disinfected. They sit around on boxes when they could afford to buy furniture. Now why do they do that? There is hardly a home without one or more illegitimate children.

"The Negro is not, and never will be, the equal of the white man -- and I know Negro lawyers, Negro doctors and Negro professors."

He thought Negro children were precocious and cute, however, up to 12 years of age.

He told two or three Negro stories -- which I might have enjoyed 40 years ago. One of them was of an old Negro preacher who regularly preached about Noah and Ham and the "curse" placed upon the Negro race, concluding with the promise that Negroes who were honest and industrious and respectful would be equal with the sons of Shem and Japeth in the after-life.

I remarked that there were some pretty low whites in Virginia and gave him some statistics. He responded volubly to this. In his youth he had been a traveling salesman for a few years among the mountain whites. He was once warned to avoid a certain village -- "The Greens and McPhersons are fightin' and there is a little shootin' goin' on."

I gave him my usual repertoire. He was especially interested in information about the economic and cultural advances of the American Negro and asked many questions.

When I took my leave after an hour and a half, he said slowly, "It's a grave problem. It will take patience and kindness.

Marcellus A. Briggs was my favorite school teacher 45 years ago. I remembered him as a sort of a symbol of the pursuit of truth and beauty. I had heard that he left teaching for a successful business career, but I had not seen him again since I left the Durham high School.

I found him a lean, hard-bitten old gentleman -- and an intransigent racist. I decided after a few faint efforts that argument was useless, but that it would be interesting to get his thinking.

Briggs found Negroes, not only inferior, but obnoxious and generally "deserving no better than they get." His

Negro cook was dirty and slovenly. Eighty-five per cent of Durham venereal disease cases were among Negroes. He wouldn't employ a Negro in his office. He thought Sammy Davis' marrying a white woman was outrageous. He sympathized with Birmingham over the Salisbury articles in the N. Y. Times. Most of the trouble in the South, he thought, was stirred up by paid agents of the NAACP.

On lunch counter desegregation: "Well, the only solution for me and my friends is to stay away from places where Negroes are served." He was sure that demonstrators were paid by the NAACP.

Negroes were biologically inferior, and went on to prove it with learned sophistries. Look at Africa, for instance.

"There's a difference," he said. "White children and Negro children pass by my office (first floor) every morning on the way to school. The Negro children jump up and tap the awning -- never fail. The white children never do. They walk straight on."

I failed to see any evidence of inferiority in this demonstration of Negro initiative, but did not argue the point.

He was dead against inter-racial marriage -- not sure he even favored Anglo-Saxons marrying Latins.

He had organized the Durham centennial celebration in 1953. He asked one or two Negroes to serve on committees, but they refused because the Duke stadium, the parade and the church meetings were segregated! You couldn't talk sensibly with them!

E. H. Evans, Sr.: This sketch should be read in connection with my earlier reports and one to follow now on the phenomenally liberal and constructive approach to the race problem in Laurinburg, N.C.

Webb, the chamber of commerce manager, remarked to me: "You know how nearly every community has two or three people who sort of dominate the place -- power structure. Here it's one man, "old man Hersey Evans," I knew Hersey Evans, Jr., who was much in evidence as former president of the chamber of commerce, a member of the bi-racial committee, etc. He had lunched with Webb and me. But "the old man" was the one to see.

Webb said E. H. Evans, Sr. controlled 30 companies. This was probably an exaggeration, but evidence of Evans'

extensive interests in Laurinburg was present on every hand -- in addition to banking: hardware, seeds, real estate, construction, "investments," etc. (generally bearing the name of McNair, a maternal grandfather).

Big, hulking, simply dressed, "old Hervey" was a storybook type of small-town oracle and potentate. He sat facing the window and only turned to me now and then to drive home a point, as he slowly exuded homespun wisdom on the race question.

I imagined the technique was similar to that with which he had brought some Laurinburg fellow-citizens around to the moderate point of view. He seemed to be trying to convert me, rather than the reverse.

"The mistake" he said, "is to treat Negroes as a group. How would you like to be treated as a member of a group?...

"Of course, there are bad Negroes, plenty of 'em -- at the bottom and at the top. I believe Adam Clayton Powell is as crooked as a snake. But aren't there white people just as bad? It's the individual, not his race...

"Negroes are not going to swarm into white schools or churches or restaurants. They don't want to. That isn't the point. When I go to New York I never stop at the Waldorf-Astoria. That isn't my hotel. I haven't any desire to stop there. But, if anybody told me I couldn't stop at the Waldorf-Astoria, I would stop at the Waldorf-Astoria come hell or high water."

He told how Negroes had been recognized, and included, in Laurinburg civic events of recent years. To a reception in honor of a new president of the Presbyterian college, they sent 200 written invitations to Negroes -- which the Negroes prized -- and about a dozen Negroes came. Negroes participated enthusiastically in drives for libraries and a hospital. They built two libraries, one in the Negro section, but the downtown library was not segregated; a few Negroes patronized it.

The libraries were opened with a big ceremony. Laurinburger Gerald Johnson was the speaker. They gathered all other known Laurinburg authors to sit on the platform. These included a Negro who had written a book, called Lifelines.

Negroes contributed $26,000 to the hospital fund. Seventeen Negroes had their names engraved on the plac as donors of $500 each. (The hospital is integrated.)

The biggest celebration of all was "Awards Day," when Laurinburg was named "All-American City of 1956," A General

Electric vice-president made the speech. A local Negro minister sat on the platform and offered the invocation.

The Urban Renewal Commission was integrated. Evans also spoke of the bi-racial Committee on Community Betterment, on which I have already reported extensively.

I asked about North Carolina Governor-elect Terry Sanford, who is a native of Laurinburg. "I think he will be more liberal than Hodges," Evans said. "His mother's a fine woman. She's had a great influence on him."

I asked Evans if he had been visited by NAACP leaders. He said: "Yes, but not in a hostile way." (I learned later that the local NAACP cooperated closely with Evans and the Committee on Community Betterment.)

When I brought him to the question of public school desegregation, Evans said the politicians had made something big and ugly out of what was a relatively simple problem. In Laurinburg, where the Negroes had "fine" schools, there was very little interest in making any change. "But," he said, "we may push 'em to it. We may move ahead of 'em. We're studying that."

I remarked that such a move might save future headaches and litigation expense. He said: "Yes -- and clear our conscience."

I found that "Old Man Hervey Evans" was universally respected by the white community. Many Negroes seemed to share the enthusiasm of NAACP leader Morris: "I just love that man. If I got a friend in the world, it's Hervey Evans."

Charles F. Zukoski, Jr. seemed, from the point of view of the race problem -- one of the few upright men in an otherwise godforsaken city. As executive vice-president of the First National Bank his is probably the most persistently moderate voice in the top echelon of the Birmingham power structure. (This sketch should be read in connection with a report on Birmingham to follow.) Unfortunately, Zukoski is not a native (born in St. Louis, he only came to Birmingham in 1927), but he is very much a part of Birmingham and, with great discretion and tact, he holds high prestige among a wide circle.

We engaged in a little cautious sparring before we got our bearings on the race question, then he expressed completely liberal views. Only the outer edges of the problem, however, seemed relevant to the present difficult Birmingham situation.

Zukoski had labored, and was still laboring to restore some communication between the races in Birmingham.

As chairman of the Public Welfare Planning Committee, he had been instrumental in establishing a bi-racial sub-committee

He had helped sponsor a bi-racial Institute on Education in 1954, which was repeated in 1955; but strong hints from Commissioner Connor and others led to the abandonment of this in 1956. Then the bi-racial sub-committee also had to be dissolved to prevent the withholding of Community Chest funds from the PWPC.

Zukoski had not given up. He was considering, along with Dr. Stanford, of Birmingham Southern College, making another attempt at restoring communication by means of a bi-racial committee which, for the present at least, would ban discussion of school or lunch counter desegregation.

He asked many questions about bi-racial committees elsewhere.

I left with him our Report No. L-20, a copy of the Fowler Commission memorandum of October 17, a copy of the minutes of the meeting of August 11 of the Laurinburg Community Betterment Committee and a copy of the Congressional Record reprint on the Southern Regional Council.

A. G. Gaston received me in a motel cafeteria, one of the group of buildings which he owns on the edge of the Negro ghetto in Birmingham. His latest building, a $1,200,000 ultra-modern structure, houses a federal savings and loan association, an insurance company, a business college, a real estate company, a Wahlgreen drug store, and Gaston's personal offices.

Gaston (62 years old) is a hail fellow well met whose wealth enables him to take racial frustrations with a certain jovial nonchalance.

"My friends in the North ask me why don't I move out of this Birmingham mess", he said, "But I don't want to."

"You have roots," I suggested.

"Yes, roots," he said. "I don't know what the colored folks would do here if I pulled out -- economically." Apart from his 300-400 employees, he helped Negro business in many ways. In the past two years his bank had made over 500 home loans. His example had eased credit for Negroes at competitive white banks; these were now making even more home loans to Negroes.

Gaston was apprehensive over Kennedy's obligations to Southerners -- Governor Patterson, for instance. Would a Negro be appointed to the cabinet? He thought Ralph Bunche, with whom he had been associated on various occasions "a great man."

He wished the President, or somebody, could induce U. S. Steel's Roger Blough to put Arthur V. Weibel on the right track. Weibel is the powerful president of the Coal and Iron Division at Birmingham. Weibel, he said, had more influence in Birmingham than anybody else. He was a fellow Tuskegee Trustee and had other contacts with Weibel.

"When I run into Weibel in New York," Gaston said, "he slaps me on the back and says 'Let's have lunch.' But back in Birmingham he's just like all the rest."

Gaston thought Zukoski was the Negro's best friend in the Birmingham power structure.

He knew Governor Patterson personally, and had a low opinion of his intelligence. That might be a blessing, he thought. Patterson might change his attitude on race, if he were persuaded that it was a smart thing to do.

Gaston is not a crusader, but he noted that he struck a blow now and then. As a member of the financial advisory committee to the Birmingham school board he constantly advocated easing the tax burden on wage-earners. It increased his taxes but helped most Negroes. He had recently insisted on the elimination of the colored division of the Community Chest. He said Negroes would contribute more money in an integrated Chest drive -- and they did.

With reference to the broad race problem, Gaston wished vaguely "that Negro economic power could be properly organized and led." He said it was not boycotts that he had in mind.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
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December 13, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Laurinburg, N.C., November 3-6, 1960

In two full days, Friday and Saturday, in Laurinburg, I found the community still faithful to its policy of inter-racial cooperation, though Negro elements were restive in some respects.

I again had the sensation, strange in a Southern city, of finding tolerance, inter-racial cooperation the fashionable thing. The suppressed element -- which presumably exists -- was the bigotted.

I dropped into a place proclaiming "Doughnuts for Democrats" -- without political motivation, but because I saw no other handy place to get a cup of coffee. Asked what my business was, I said that I was studying the race problem.

"You've come to the right town," exclaimed the hostess, and she went on to describe enthusiastically the work of the bi-racial Laurinburg Community Betterment Committee. She said, incidentally: "We have an integrated hospital. I was in there myself yesterday, and they had some Negro patients right along side of white patients!" She said all this in a spirit of pride.

One fellow doughnut-eater was not so enthusiastic. He didn't like Negroes himself. But he thought the bi-racial committee was doing a great job.

Glenn Webb, the chamber of commerce manager, told me first about two newspaper editorials which had given the town much pleasure. The Charlotte Observer had advocated a permanent bi-racial committee for Charlotte. The Laurinburg Express replied patronizingly: "The Charlotte Observer need go no farther than Laurinburg to see one in successful operation and learn how it is done, etc."

Webb also said that some members of the Committee were working cautiously on a plan to bring about restaurant desegregation in Laurinburg. (There are no department store lunch counters.) The hope was that, without agitation or announcement, restaurants would simply begin to serve Negroes -- only two or three respected Negroes coming in at first by previous arrangement.

He told me about many matters under discussion by the Community Betterment Committee, but particularly the drive to secure two Negro policemen. The chamber of commerce itself was pushing this and had canvassed half a dozen cities with Negro policemen. All the replies were favorable to the idea.

Because of this and other important matters on the agenda, the mayor, city manager and city council had accepted invitations to attend the next meeting of the bi-racial committee November 11.

Webb planned a luncheon for me, but Saturdays most of the town's celebrities left at noon for fishing or golf. However, he arranged for the following group to meet with me from 10 A. M. to noon in the board room of the Southern National Bank:

Bank President K. J. Shaw, also president, chamber of commerce
A. W. Hampton, manager of Belk's
Mayor W. D. Lytch
Rev. Henry Ruark, Methodist minister
Glen F. Webb
(City Manager Guy Smith was unable to attend)

I found much to praise in Laurinburg, apart from race relations, especially the generally progressive spirit -- and the beautiful trees. The Mayor remarked that the city made a small appropriation for tree care and ordinances prohibited the cutting of ~~any~~ trees without permission.

Then we had a fine discussion of the race problem. If there was any foot-dragging in the matter of inter-racial cooperation it was on the part of the mayor, who was holding out against the appointment of Negro policemen, "for lack of funds." But he did not close the door. Hampton also expressed the view that, while the desegregation of department store lunch counters was right and proper, private restaurants should have the right to limit their clientele.

C. H. Morris, the NAACP leader and past president, gathered a group of Negro leaders to meet with me in his undertaking establishment Saturday afternoon. They included: Rev. W. F. Carlson and Rev. G. B. Gilchrist, Sr. Baptist ministers, president and vice-president respectively of the local NAACP unit; Rev. R. T. Gilchrist, son of the above and a member of the NAACP; and Rev. G. D. Nelson, chairman of the North Carolina Committee on Church and Society of the United Presbyterian Church.

All were respectful and cooperative, except one Rev. Roseborough, who asked suspiciously what the meeting was for, what I was trying to do. He was almost obstreperous at one point, which made the others apologetic to me.

There was evidence among about half of them of a feeling that the Community Betterment Committee wasn't moving fast enough, especially in the matter of the Negro policemen. Morris himself felt strongly about this. He had a set of "unanswerable" arguments and was prepared to fight to the limit on this one.

Incidentally, in my private conversation with Morris he mentioned several prominent Negroes "who didn't stand up for Negro rights." On the other hand there were apparently Negroes more belligerent than Morris.

I had an opportunity of calling upon Terry Sanford's father, a gas company manager, whom I found rather colorless.

Webb later sent me a copy of the minutes of the November 11 meeting of the Community Betterment Committee. The long document reported discussion of the newspaper editorials, my visit, truancy, misuse of public welfare funds, a project for a nursery for non-school age children, overcrowded Negro school buses, the financial status of the Negro recreation building

and the employment of two Negro policemen.

The following is ~~also~~ quoted from those minutes:

"There was general agreement by those present that employment of Negro officers would be beneficial. C. H. Morris suggested that a survey of Negro officers in other communities be made. City Manager Smith was in accord with having Negro policemen and explained the operation of the Laurinburg Police Department.

.....

"Dr. Wells assured the city fathers that the committee's aim was to provide a channel of communications affording frank discussion of problems affecting the races and no pressure was to be exerted on anyone. He asked for the continued cooperation of city officials and urged use of the committee on matters of community betterment between the races.

"Mayor Lytch spoke highly of the existence of the committee and its accomplishments and the city would continue to give its cooperation and support.

"City Manager Smith asked those present to let him know of problems which he has jurisdiction as he is a servant of all the citizens of the city.

"Rev. Gilchrist commended the city fathers on good government and administration."

Benjamin Muse

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December 13, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Henry F. Cauthen, Editor, Columbia Record
Columbia, S. C., November 7, 1960

Both S. L. Latimer, Jr., editor of the Columbia State and Henry Cauthen received me courteously. Latimer mentioned in a friendly way Dr. Dabbs and Marion Wright, both of whom he knew. However, he was on his way out to an urgent conference (apparently of a pro-Nixon nature) and asked me to come another time. Cauthen invited me in to his office, where we had a long talk.

I commented on the handsome new State-Record Building, and remarked that in visiting newspaper buildings throughout the South I had been impressed with the "marble halls" in which the press is now housed. Cauthen said: "But they turned out better copy in the dirty old city rooms we used to know." We talked about newspaper consolidations, the peculiar fascination of journalism, in spite of its poor financial returns, etc. Cauthen said he wouldn't be in any other business. I sensed a spark of something like friendship between us.

I am reporting this Cauthen interview somewhat fully, because I believe there is a possibility of reasoning with a strong segregationist who is still a gentleman. Some of my further unorthodox remarks, I submit, might suggest an approach which officials of the Kennedy Administration would find it effective to use in private conversation with Southerners.

I said that I was working on the segregation problem, gathering information and trying also to shed a little light. He asked if the Southern Regional Council was "just pushing integration or trying to solve the problem." I said emphatically that we were trying to solve the problem.

It was a difficult problem, I said, stupendously difficult -- far more difficult than many liberals in the North imagined. "It would be a good thing," I said, "if some of those people could come down here and live for a year or two in a Black Belt county. People who put all the trouble down to Southern 'meanness' don't know what they are talking about. I used to live in a Virginia Black Belt county, represented a county of 65 per cent Negro population in the legislature. I know what you're up against."

But, I said, the Supreme Court decision is there and no American wants to see a Supreme Court decision flouted. Also, great changes are going on in the world and we all know that race discrimination has

got to go. He did not disagree with any of this.

We each leaned backwards to find points of agreement. My apparent concessions to his view brought concessions in return. Something would have to be done about desegregation. He agreed that school-closing was no answer. In fact, he suspected that South Carolina's school-closing law had already been invalidated in effect.

He thought the NAACP was pretty hard to do business with, but he didn't think the NAACP had anything to do with Communism. That was nonsense.

He said if they could have moved first in some county of western South Carolina, where there were only a few Negroes, things might have been different. That was the only way it could ever be done -- starting in the easiest counties.

In the Black Belt, he said, hardly any Negroes had the least desire to go to white schools. I suggested that this offered a possible way out. The Supreme Court didn't order sweeping integration. We are not required to integrate any Negro against his will. I believed that in the best atmosphere very few Black Belt Negroes would request admission to white schools in the foreseeable future.

Cauthen asked questions about Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, etc. What plan would I suggest for South Carolina -- the grade-a-year plan, beginning at the bottom?

I told him what I knew about Nashville and the success of the grade-a-year plan there.

Cauthen was in no hurry to end the conversation, but he was struggling with an editorial when I came in, and I left him to finish it.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

December 14, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Birmingham, Ala., November 8-12, 1960

I have reported separately on my talks on this visit to Birmingham with Charles Zukoski, executive vice-president of the First National Bank, and the Negro millionaire, A. G. Gaston. I also spent a morning (Saturday) with Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College, and my wife and I entertained Mr. and Mrs. Charles ("Chuck") Morgan and Hugo Black, Jr. at dinner. (Mrs. Black is still crippled from an accident a few months ago.)

Dr. Stanford has an interesting philosophical approach. He calls himself a conservative. He is against big government, centralization, etc., believes in emphasizing the smaller unit right on down to the individual. That leads him, he says, to respect the dignity and integrity of each human being.

Dr. Stanford has been more exposed than Zukoski, in connection with his college, and has had "run-ins" with city authorities, as well as college trustees. One of his students, Tommy Rives, was arrested for befriending protesting Negro students. Dr. Stanford stood up for Rives then and again when his expulsion was demanded. He told his trustees they would have to expel Stanford first.

Last month Dr. Stanford got a B'nai B'rith award. The press accounts were favorable, and both "Bull" Connor and the detective who arrested Rives were present at the award ceremony!

Dr. Stanford has plenty of courage, but realizes that he can do little in Birmingham now -- except work for restoration of communication between the races. He felt strongly about the apathy of Birmingham business executives. Was very anxious to see Helen Miller's article in the Harvard Business Review, which I asked John Constable to send him. I also gave him a copy of our L-20.

We had a long evening's bullfest with the Morgans and Hugo Black, who are very close friends. The two lawyers are of an age when cynicism seems a wonderful thing. They knew "Advise and Consent" almost by heart and spent some time arguing over identifications of some of the characters. But Morgan got a lot of fun out of his cynicism, and is a naive optimist underneath. Black is bitter almost to the point of neurosis.

Black's case is, in fact, pathetic. I learned from various quarters that he has been generally ostracized in Alabama. Adding to the odium which attaches to the Black name over the race issue, young Hugo is an attorney for the AFL-CIO.

(His aunt, Mrs. Durr, whom I saw in Montgomery, talked about this. She also said that her brother-in-law, the Associate Justice, suffered poignantly over the alienation of so many old friends in Alabama. On the other hand, Neil Davis, a brave liberal editor whom I met in Auburn, took pains to show me in the place of honor on the wall of his office a portrait of Justice Hugo Black.)

Black hated LeRoy Hodges, from some of his experiences in defending Henderson labor union leaders. He was sure "Goldberg won't stand for Hodges' appointment as Secretary of Commerce." Black also had no love for NAACP lawyers, never could get along with them. "They never appreciate anything you do for them."

They both felt that public school desegregation in the South would have to wait on court rulings, then the best to be hoped for was to keep schools open. Something could be done by the next President and Vice-President by approaching Southern leaders with only limited objectives. No Southern leader would openly urge compliance with the Supreme Court decision. No Southern Senator, except Gore and Kefauver, would say it is the law of the land. But some Southern governors might be induced -- best by Lyndon Johnson -- to "pipe down" and lay off the issue. Governor Patterson was almost "frantic" to get "in" with Kennedy; he wanted a lot of favors.

They thought U. S. Steel and also the Southern Co., controlling power companies in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and North Florida, could do much to improve the situation if they wanted to.

They both thought there was a substantial submerged liberal element in Alabama; the race issue was keeping the reactionaries on top. Morgan, who is very much a politician, was apparently keeping a certain liberal organization intact.

Benjamin Muse

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December 15, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Montgomery, Ala., November 17, 1960

Birmingham is big enough to encompass a great deal of anti-Negro villany, of which a considerable element of the white population is little aware, but repression and tension permeate the whole atmosphere of Montgomery.

I called on Rev. Don Marietta, Jr., canon at St. John's Episcopal Church and chairman of a diocesan committee on race relations, (a cautious liberal). Then I spent several hours with Mr. and Mrs. Clifford J. Durr, with whom my wife and I lunched.

Mrs. Durr accompanies Durr, who seems in feeble health, at his law office. They struck me as two unhappy, frustrated people -- somewhat isolated in Montgomery -- who witness boldly for inter-racial justice under all circumstances.

We talked about embarrassments in connection with the adjoining Maxwell Air Force Base. White and Negro personnel who fraternized on the base have to pretend they do not know one another when they come into Montgomery. Colored Air Force personnel, including foreign officers, are completely barred from "white" restaurants, etc. in Montgomery -- until recently. An explosion resulting from insulting treatment of an Ethiopian led to the adoption of a system of identification cards. Each foreign officer is now provided with a "Welcome" card from the Montgomery chamber of commerce, which admits him to all public accommodations. A school attended predominantly by the children of white Air Force personnel is operated on a tract within the base area which has been leased to the city in order that segregation may be maintained there.

Montgomery Negroes were dismayed over the cancellation of the Thanksgiving Day parade, which for many years has been a big Negro event. A movement was also under way to bar them from Crampton Bowl for the Tuskegee-Alabama State football game, but as we read later, this did not succeed.

A semi-official bi-racial committee, with very limited functions, recently has been set up in Montgomery. It is scorned by the more aggressive Negroes. In fact, it adds one more to the list of inharmonious bodies dealing with the race problem in that city. They range from the Montgomery Improvement Association to a strictly Uncle Tom organization. One of them is the Montgomery Council on Human Relations, which is predominantly Negro.

We joined Mrs. Durr in attending a meeting of the MCHR. There were eleven others present, including a couple and one other from the Air Force base, who were white. Mrs. Durr said that, in addition to herself, only one other Montgomery white has attended recent meetings. The ~~sight~~ Negroes were largely clergymen.

The entire meeting was devoted to discussion of the new bi-racial committee, mainly by Dr. Crockett, Alabama State dean and a committee member. Dr. Crockett's chief concern was to point out that the bi-racial committee was worth while as far as it went and that its Negro members were not collaborationists. There were three Negro members, and a larger and varying number of white members.

Carl Bear, chamber of commerce president, was a prime mover in the bi-racial committee, along with the president of the YMCA. Its governmental connection was furnished by a representative of the county revenue department and attorneys for the city and the police department. The committee was forbidden to discuss either school integration or Montgomery parks.

It does deal, however, with police and housing problems. Dr. Crockett said that complaints of rough handling of Negroes by the police had resulted in a study being made by the police department of relations with the minority race. It had helped to ease housing loans for Negroes, and had worked on the problem of land. But it was less successful in the latter activity. One property owner who had offered sites for Negro homes was besieged with insulting telephone calls and harassed until he withdrew the offer.

"Chuck" Morgan in Birmingham had given me a list of half a dozen names of his political friends, mostly ex-officeholders, scattered about the state. I was to mention him in calling upon any of them, but I should assure them that Morgan is "not talking out loud about the race issue." One of these political friends was George W. Dean, of the law firm of Dean and Kaufman, Montgomery.

Dean carefully closed the door before we began to talk. He remarked, incidentally: "There was a fellow here just before you came in, talking about Chuck's political future."

Dean, with whom I was much impressed, gave me in clear, precise language his views on the race problem -- entirely liberal -- and on what could, and could not, be done in Alabama. He shared Morgan's view that there is a substantial liberal element in the state. "There are many liberals in disguise like me."

He said Governor Patterson had hopes of many favors from the Kennedy Administration. He stated as a fact that Patterson had raised $50,000 for Kennedy's pre-convention campaign -- largely by telephone calls.

Dean appeared to have much business with state officials, especially in the revenue department and knew many of them from Patterson down.

"Everybody knows desegregation is coming," he said -- "and they can't keep on with this mess forever."

Dean made one interesting confession: he made it a rule to call Negroes "niggers." It pained him, and he prayed for the time when it would not be necessary. But for the present it was a wonderful password in segregationist circles. It removed any suspicion of liberalism on his part. The one-eyed bandits of bigotry took him for one of the boys.

Indicative of the under-ground nature of Alabama liberalism, Dean suddenly changed the subject when I took my leave. As we walked from his office through the ante-room, he was talking about the gold reserve!

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

December 16, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Tuscaloosa and Auburn (Neil Davis), November, 1960

Conversations with a few other people on this visit to Alabama are reported only briefly, to avoid redundancy.

In Tuscaloosa, which I visited after Birmingham, Pulitzer Prize publisher Buford Boone was out-of-town. I saw editor Norman Bassett, of the Tuscaloosa News. He is quietly liberal, but I believe Boone shapes the paper's policy.

I called on two liberal professors at the University of Alabama, Dr. A. B. Thomas (history) and Dr. Donald Strong (political science).

"Chuck" Morgan had studied under Thomas and he spoke of him with great admiration. Thomas said the Autherine Lucy excitement was greatly exaggerated. He sat "right in this office" all the afternoon and didn't know about the riot until he started home in the evening.

Thomas saw no urgency about public school desegregation. "It'll take a long time, maybe 25 years." Pupil integration would usher in the more formidable problem of teacher integration. In the meantime the Negroes had better schools than the whites in Tuscaloosa.

He felt more strongly about Negro voting and hoped the Kennedy administration would move vigorously in this area. Property-owners in the Alabama Black Belt were afraid release of the Negro vote would enable liberals to revise the tax structure and make them pay reasonable taxes!

Thomas agreed with Morgan that Alabama is essentially a liberal state (many have-nots). Hill and Sparkman are liberal, and they have no trouble getting re-elected. His nearest approach to enthusiasm was over an editorial in the latest issue of the magazine of the Alabama teachers' association: it advocated federal aid to education!

Of the race problem as a whole, Thomas said: "I view it all as a historian."

Strong felt much more intensely about the whole matter. He thought the Salisbury articles did not exaggerate conditions in Birmingham. He gave first priority to stern Federal action in the field of Negro voting rights. This would not alienate the South, because the South's case was indefensible. He thought Southern support in Kennedy's election would enhance his opportunity, rather than handicap him, in the civil rights field. Southern politicians would be around Kennedy for all kinds of favors.

Driving back from Mobile, I called briefly on Dean Gomilion at Tuskegee (President Foster was away) and drove on to see Neil Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin at Auburn. Mrs. Davis is associate editor. My wife and I invited both to lunch.

Davis is another one of those magnificent fellows who restore one's faith in the South. His paper carried a courageous editorial on school desegregation on the day of our arrival. In the heart of Alabama, he fights bigotry all the time -- and he doesn't seem to suffer. He says the intimidation of moderates is mostly imaginary. They could speak out far more boldly without any harm coming to them. He favored strong action from the Kennedy Administration on Negro voting rights, and "moral force" in pushing school desegregation.

Davis said a number of the smaller papers in Alabama are liberal on the race issue, among which he named the following: Florence Times, Huntsville Times, Baldwin Times (Bay Minette), Decatur Daily and Monroe Journal (Monroeville). The Anniston Star had race prejudice, but was otherwise liberal and favored integration rather than school-closing.

In concluding this series of reports on my November tour, I should note that, while I have given little of my own part in conversations, as my arguments and views would be familiar to the SRC, I did as much talking as listening.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

December 16, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Mobile, Ala., November 18-21, 1960

Our visit to Mobile was made particularly happy by the kindness of Dr. C. H. Crowley, a chiropodist and a modest, sensitive man, whom I met a month earlier on a train journey, he to Mobile, I to New Orleans. Fellow-feeling about the race problem sealed a friendship between us, though I doubt if this retiring gentleman would put himself out for any public cause. My wife and I tend to remember Mobile in the glow of Dr. Crowley's hospitality and a memorable Sunday spent in sightseeing, strolling through Bellingrath Gardens, etc. with him.

Dr. Crowley also drove us through the Negro residential district, a small and shrinking area of pitiful shacks, and a growing expanse of comfortable modern houses. He took us to a little known suburban neighborhood of Negro elite, about 25 homes in the $30,000-to-$50,000 brackets. Here we called on a Negro friend of his, S. D. Bishop, dean of the Mobile branch of Alabama State. Bishop said: "Race relations in Mobile are basically the best in the South." Communication was free and complete; Negro leaders and city authorities conferred constantly. The city had "done a marvellous job of slum clearance," and whites and Negroes were neighbors in some of the new houses.

The other side of the Mobile picture had been brought home to me in several earlier interviews. The two newspapers, for instance, are a very bad influence. Father Albert S. Foley is professor of sociology at integrated Spring Hill College and president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He complained of the widespread race prejudice and the intimidation of moderates, and the lack of courage on the part of the latter. Some known moderates refused to be identified with the CHR for fear of harassment. He said: "History will record that the lethargy and cowardice of moderates is the cause of this distress."

But this seemed mild to me compared to what goes on in other places. The Mobile CHR has an attendance of about 50. Integration at Spring Hill is getting along fine -- 30-to-40 Negro students among 1,400 whites. Mobile buses had been desegregated de facto, without any trouble. Two men near the top of the power structure -- Alfred Delchamps, head of a grocery chain and president of the chamber of commerce, and Glenn Brock, president of the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railway Co. -- were contributors to the Alabama CHR.

Father Foley was pessimistic about prospects under the Kennedy Administration, and, in fact, pessimistic generally. "If he enables Negro voters to dominate the Black Belt counties," he said, "he will have the odium of Reconstruction visited upon him."

Incidentally, Father Foley has made a special study of social change. His paper on the desegregation of the Washington, D.C. parochial schools was requested by the Supreme Court in its deliberations leading to the decision of 1954. He was horrified over developments in New Orleans. It could have been done so easily there with a little planning for social change!

D. A. Toenes, the young Director of Civic Development at the Mobile chamber of commerce, is a graduate of Spring Hill. He taught in Mobile public schools until a few years ago. Toenes gave a shocking picture of prejudice among some Mobile high school students. Some had sympathized with the Poplarville lynchers. He told me of his problem of reprimanding a white boy who broke a bottle over a Negro's head, and seemed proud of the deed.

Toenes, however, was a grudging kind of liberal, who found things "just as bad in the North," and thought the Negro ought to "earn" his rights.

These latter views seemed to be shared by A. A. Weiskopft, general manager of the chamber of commerce, to whom Toenes took me when Weiskopft came in. Both these gentlemen were most courteous and cooperative in conversation, however, and in the present state of things in the South their approach to the race problem would have to be considered on the whole constructive.

Weiskopft's chief concerns seemed to be stability and order and, of course, more business for Mobile. The chamber of commerce was much concerned with race relations, which so far, were fine in Mobile. Communication? There was plenty of inter-racial communication both at the chamber and at City Hall. The chamber was studying ways to increase Negro employment and Negro promotions. They hadn't felt the need of a bi-racial committee, but he was interested in the idea and asked about bi-racial committees elsewhere. Public school integration? "We are studying that and have some plan -- when it has to be."

I rate Mobile City Commissioner Joseph A. Langan very high among Southern leaders whom I have met. I had heard about him earlier as Mobile's "liberal mayor," but three commissioners serve as mayor in rotation and this is not Langan's turn. However, as commissioner he seems to be the dominant influence in the city administration. Dr. Crowley arranged an appointment with him for me Monday morning.

Langan laid down the four priorities in raising the Negro to status of complete equality in a democratic society, as he conceived them, in this order: 1) religious rights, 2) political rights, 3) economic rights, and 4) human dignity. He (and apparently Mobile) moved in accordance with this schedule. There was some over-lapping, and all of the first three contributed to 4).

In the matter of religion there was no problem. Negroes had ample churches of their own. The Catholic churches were substantially integrated, and Negroes occasionally attended white Protestant churches. He did not sense any feeling about this. There were no signs of any "kneel-in" movement.

Negroes were completely free to register and vote; over 10,000 of them did. Six Negroes were members of the city Democratic executive committee.

Economically, the city was moving steadily forward with job opportunities for Negroes. The city government itself was employing more and more Negroes. One fire station was officered and manned by Negroes, and two more Negro fire stations were contemplated. (These, in addition to an ancient "creole" fire company, the racial composition of which was a subject of controversy!) There were 24 Negro policemen. He showed me a group picture of them, hanging on his wall. There were two Negro bus drivers; all buses were integrated. Three new Negro parks had been completed this year, and he showed me a picture of a handsome new Negro recreation center. A 3,500-unit housing project was under way.

The achievement of full human dignity involved complete desegregation, and the difficult matter of public schools. That would take more time. They had plans for public school desegregation when the time should come. It might not be difficult -- Spring Hill was integrated. Of course, he did not favor school-closing under any circumstance.

As for communication, he said: "Some of my Negro friends are coming in this afternoon. They come in every day."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

December 31, 1960

Condensed Report of the Activities of

J. J. Brewbaker

July 1 thru December 31, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker began his association with the Southern Leadership Project upon his retirement as superintendent of the Norfolk public schools, on July 1. His role is that of a part-time consultant on public school desegregation. The summer and fall months being the most crucial period in this field, Mr. Brewbaker devoted 77 days to the project during the period under review. He expects to give it approximately 48 days during the next six months.

Mr. Brewbaker has conferred with school administrators in the cities and counties listed below. To some districts several visits were made. With rare exceptions, he saw the school superintendent in each case. In some instances he conferred also with the chairman of the local school board and with other school board members.

School Districts Visited

VIRGINIA: Newport News, Richmond, Hopewell, Charlottesville, Roanoke, Martinsville, Galax, Bristol and Counties of Fairfax, Arlington, Prince Edward, Roanoke, Pulaski, Grayson, Lee, Smith, Prince William and Warren.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte, Chapel Hill, Durham, Raleigh, Asheville, Winston-Salem, High Point, Greensboro, Elizabeth City and Greene County.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Greenville and Spartanburg.

GEORGIA: DeKalb and Fulton Counties (Atlanta metropolitan district).

LOUISIANA: New Orleans and Baton Rouge.

TEXAS: Houston and Dallas.

ARKANSAS: Little Rock, Pine Bluff and Dollarway.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville, Chattanooga, Memphis, Nashville and Davidson County.

In addition to visiting school districts, Mr. Brewbaker attends conventions of various organizations of school administrators which give him an opportunity to fraternize with school men from the South and advise with them on the desegregation problem. These meetings give him occasion also to make known his availability as a consultant on this problem.

At a meeting of the Associated Public School System, held in New York in July, Mr. Brewbaker described this activity briefly to the meeting, and he conferred there with superintendents from Tampa and Panama City, Fla.; Natchez, Miss.; Muscogee County, Ga.; North Charleston, S. C.; and Martinsville and Norfolk County, Va. He also had an opportunity to discuss the Baltimore school situation with Dean John Fischer of Columbia Teachers' College, formerly Baltimore superintendent of schools.

In October he attended a zone meeting of the above organization which gathered school administrators from Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. Early in November a combined annual meeting of the Virginia Education Association and the Virginia APSS in Richmond enabled him conveniently to talk with public school administrators from many Virginia districts. He also conferred there with officials of the Virginia Pupil Placement Board, which in its new composition has abandoned the negative attitude of "massive resistance" days and is approving some applications of Negroes for admission to mixed schools.

Mr. Brewbaker earlier conferred with Virginia State Superintendent of Public Instruction David Y. Paschall, and, following the latter's resignation in July, he established friendly relations with his successor, Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson.

Mr. Brewbaker has worked most intensively in Virginia, not only because it is his home state, but because -- since the collapse of massive resistance -- of a really widespread trend toward public school desegregation here. I am sure his counsel helped ease the transition in the districts which desegregated this year and has given confidence to other school administrators who are looking toward desegregation in the near future. He has been helpful in a similar manner in North Carolina and Tennessee, in both of which states desegregation was extended this year.

Two other situations upon which Mr. Brewbaker especially concentrated his efforts are those in New Orleans, where some desegregation was effected in November amid turmoil, and in Atlanta, which is facing a crisis in the next few months. In these two cities his activities extended beyond consultation with school authorities to meeting with various civic leaders, addressing public meetings and giving interviews to press, radio and television. In Atlanta he conferred at one luncheon with half a dozen of the officers of HOPE and at another with the Fulton County P-TA council. He addressed three P-TA meetings.

Mr. Brewbaker began with a wide acquaintanceship among Southern public school administrators and he has made many new friends on these rounds. He has met with no case of incivility on the part of a school administrator, and most of them have been eager to talk with him. Significantly, he has found Southern school superintendents very generally constructive in their personal approach to the desegregation problem.

His own Norfolk experience with litigation, closed schools and then desegregation had been almost unique. He has now become familiar also with the experience of a dozen other Southern cities in public school desegregation. He is thus increasingly qualified to advise with school administrators on the technical aspects of the problem. He is able above all to assure skeptical or wavering school administrators -- as he is doing effectively -- that the thing can be done.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

February 25

Dear Mrs.Flowers:

I will appreciate your kindly correcting an error made in Mrs.Miller's copying of my deplorable script in the MEMORANDUM of Feb.11 on Higgs. (2 copies)

First sentence, last paragraph, first page should read: "Higgs' co-plaintiff, Robert L.J.Smith, a Negro, has put $600 on the line."

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

LWD ✓
PR ✓
PA ✓
MF

MEMORANDUM February 11, 1961

William L. Higgs
707 N. Congress Street
Jackson, Mississippi
Fl 3-4155

Enthusiastic young lawyer (25) who is out to reform Mississippi. Was chairman of Mississippi Citizens for Kennedy and Johnson.

Ran for Congress in Democratic primary against John Bell Williams. Friend of Harris Wofford, in constant touch with Civil Rights Division of Justice Department and Civil Rights Commission. Saw Wofford 5 days ago, was on the phone with CRD today.

Associated with Hazel Brannon Smith and writes column for liberal North Jackson Reporter and Lexington Advertiser, which she publishes. These papers carry cartoons by Ronnie Shaffer, a Higgs buddy even younger looking than he, whom I met. The cartoons are broadly liberal with only oblique references to the race problem. Began circularizing this week in effort to sell the cartoons to other Mississippi newspapers.

Advises with Negro leaders. Has drawn up a form on which to report all manner of violations of civil rights. He went over this with the CRD. (Ihave a copy. This whole matter is strictly confidential.) His copies are models to be copied by various Negroes and widely distributed. (Tougaloo College is making 3,000 copies.)

His big undertaking is the case against the Mississippi subsidy to the Citizens Council. He thinks this case, with the things which it will reveal, can go far toward discrediting the Citizens Councils both in Mississippi and throughout the South. He is fitting out special offices for the job, three rooms in his home. His proud father and his pal Ronnie Shaffer were busy with hammer and saw, putting in shelves. Higgs plans to assemble all manner of evidence and exhibits. Has purchased thermofax and other equipment. Hopes he will get some money from somewhere.

Higgs' co-plaintiff, Robert L. J. Smith, a Negro, has put $600 on the line. Tougaloo College professors have contributed $300. Other donations thus far have brought his total stake to approximately $1,150. For a long-drawn litigation, which he expects, he may need $5,000.

Believes federal district judges and federal D.A.s are a major obstacle to the prosecution of civil rights violations in Mississippi. D.As. will make no move in this area.

Borrowed a copy of our "Federal Executive" from Harris Wofford while in Washington. Delivered a lecture on it to a Tougaloo College group.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

LWD ✓
PRV
JC ✓
PAV
MF

March 6, 1961

MEMORANDUM

Visits in Virginia, North Carolina,

South Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee

January 24 — February 25, 1961

I called upon one or two key people in the other states mentioned and carried out a more intensive program in Mississippi, where I spent approximately two weeks.

My most important contacts on the trip were:

Attorney General Albertis Harrison, candidate for Governor of Virginia and generally favored to win in the election next November,

Governor Terry Sanford, of North Carolina,

Henry F. Cauthen, editor of the Columbia State and close friend of Governor Hollings, of South Carolina,

J. Oliver Emmerich, a leading business man and editor of the State Times, of Jackson, Mississippi,

Former Governor James P. Coleman, of Mississippi, and

Governor Buford Ellington, of Tennessee.

No one of these men is publicly urging desegregation. They range in attitude from Governor Sanford, who, I believe, is fully liberal at heart, to Henry Cauthen, who thinks integration is only a lesser evil. But all six are convinced of the inevitability of desegregation and anxious to see the adjustment effected in their states within the framework of law and with a minimum of disorder.

My aim was to strengthen them in this attitude, and, in discussing various aspects, to further liberalize their views and arm them with information in support of a moderate, or liberal, course. I may add that my personal relations with each of these gentlemen were most cordial.

Each of these emphasized the danger in "stirring things up," the importance of making "quiet progress," or "unnoticed progress," and keeping the thing out of politics and out of the papers as far as possible. I agree that this is a sound practical approach, but in North Carolina and Tennessee I note that the way is clear now for more actual progress to be made. In South Carolina and Mississippi a small first break-through in the wall of resistance -- with a minimum of disorder -- is the most that can be aimed at now; even the most marginal public approach requires courage, and is, I feel, to be applauded.

I spent several hours with the newspaper confraternity in Raleigh, N. C., seeing: Sam Ragan, executive editor of the two papers; Jonathan Daniels, editor of the News and Observer; Herbert O'Keefe, editor of the Raleigh Times; and others. In Columbia, S. C., I had a long friendly visit with (intransigent segregationist) S. L. Latimer, Jr., who retired January first as editor of The State, is now "Editor and Publisher Emeritus" and is writing a book.

In Mississippi I saw the following in addition to those mentioned above:

Hodding Carter
Greenville

Rev. Murray Cox
Chairman, Advisory
Committee, CRC)
2316 27th. Ave.
Gulfport, Miss.

P. D. East
Editor, Petal Paper
Hattiesburg

Dr. Ralph Nuncaster
Pres., Wm. Carey College
Hattiesburg

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
P. O. Box 1326
Hattiesburg

Bishop Joseph B. Brunini
123 N. West St.
Jackson

W. L. Higgs
Attorney
707 N. Congress St.
Jackson

Paul Tiblier
Exec. Editor, State Times
Jackson

Miss Eudora Welty (novelist)
Jackson

Alben Fine
Fine Bros.-Matison Co.
301 Central Ave.
Laurel

L. E. Barry
Port Director
Natchez

Easton King
Editor, Chronicle Star
Pascagoula

John Haien
Piney Woods School
Piney Woods

Dr. Ernest Borinski, Dean
Tougaloo Southern Christian
College
Tougaloo

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Tougaloo Southern Christian
College
Tougaloo

Hon. Joel Blass
Wiggins

In Mississippi a major problem of moderate leaders is that of finding oblique ways of encouraging constructive thinking. Editor Emmerich, for instance, has urged parents to prepare to teach their children at home -- not because he favors such a course, but because it might draw attention to the dreadful alternative to orderly desegregation. Former Governor Coleman's favorite approach is to urge that Mississippi get back into the Union and join the march of progress. The most effective approach is on the economic angle. Mississippi business men are nervous about news of business troubles in Little Rock and New Orleans -- and the failure of Mississippi to attract industry. Executive Editor Paul Tiblier, of the Jackson State Times said that in spite of the brave advertising campaign, Mississippi did not get a single new industry in 1960.

Most Mississippi moderates hope that somehow a school crisis can be postponed (three years) until the end of Governor Ross Barnett's term of office. They are fearful of what might happen under an extremist and irresponsible governor. They look to former Governor James P. Coleman as Mississippi's best hope and they expect him to be elected again in 1963.

Editor Emmerich thinks the crisis may come much sooner and appears to have a feeling of urgency about getting ready for it. The power structure might force some change in state policy even under Barnett.

The Citizens Councils, which presently form a sort of government within a government, comparable to the Communist Party in Russia, are unpopular with many Mississippians. Bill Higgs' legal attack upon the CC's is one of the indirect approaches. He finds it effective to emphasize the fact that this is a fight for the rights of white people.

Higgs is not suffering any significant ostracism or harassment because of this undertaking. He estimates that at least one third of the people of Jackson are in sympathy with him. The prestige and power of the CC's vary greatly from city to city. They are feeble on the Gulf Coast, all powerful in the Delta. Many citizens enroll in them because they feel that they must.

Much needs to be done, but what can be done in Mississippi? The approach has still to be marginal. Dr. Borinski describes the attitude as one of "positive marginality". But a marginal campaign needs to be pushed vigorously and systematically.

Rev. Murray Cox, of Gulfport, said he kept in touch with half a dozen moderates in that city and would like to form a Council on Human Relations, but he feared the repercussions. Dr. Beittel, at Tougaloo College, the most likely leader of such a movement in Mississippi, if it were possible, definitely ruled it out. He said there should be no formal organization of liberals at this stage. He is, however, actively interested in getting in touch with moderates in

all sections of the state. He thinks the best and safest way to help this movement would be to have some itinerant worker quietly making the rounds, building up a list of moderates and stimulating them.

Dr. Beittel, who came recently to Tougaloo College, was one time president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He wrote Rabbi Mantinband a few days before my arrival requesting a list of names, and the Rabbi sent him a dozen. In his reply on February 6, Dr. Beittel said:

"We are glad to build up a circle of friends in this area who are not at all in sympathy with the Citizens Councils. We attended a meeting in a private home last Thursday evening where a small group of people of this kind were gathered together. Dean Ferguson and his wife were in the group. The propaganda of the Citizens Council throughout our country may convince many people that they represent Mississippi. As you well know, there are many people in the state who hold other views. Some of them speak out, then take their punishment. Others are waiting for a happier day."

A certain frontier concept of "honor" and a propensity to violence are, I think, more marked in Mississippi than in any other state. Novelist Eudora Welty, for instance, almost trembles at the thought of what may yet happen in the Delta region. Many thoughtful Mississippians view the future with deep anxiety.

On the other hand I found many more moderates in Mississippi than I expected. Although my reconnaissances in Alabama and Mississippi were far from conclusive, I found it easier to discuss the subject freely with more people in the latter state.

We can help the Mississippi situation with information. Most Mississippians know little of desegregation progress elsewhere in the South and get little "information" not of a Citizens Council color. Information on the economic effects of school disorder is most in demand. There is also intense interest in the recent Georgia retreat; politicians are still interested in the Virginia story.

I left material which I carried with me and have forwarded more. I am sending selected packages to some with personal letters. I have entered a few names on our regular distribution list and am preparing a longer list of addresses with indication of material to be sent to them.

I did not find the odium which I expected with reference to the Southern Regional Council. Few knew anything at all about us. Port Director Barry referred to us as the "Southern National Council" and Governor Coleman called us the "Southern Industrial Council." (Remembering what Shakespeare said about a rose, I did not labor the correction.)

I have already filed a special report on Higgs and his anti-Citizens Council suit, as this matter required early attention. Generally speaking, I am giving priority to correspondence with my contacts and other desk work, but, as time allows, I shall submit fuller reports on some of the more significant conversations which I had on this trip.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1961

March 8, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Governor Terry Sanford, of North Carolina

Thursday, January 26, 1961

A compensating aspect of the blizzard which caught me in Raleigh was the opportunity for a very fine talk with Governor Terry Sanford. On my arrival the afternoon before, Administrative Assistant Tom Lambeth had suggested (in a very friendly way) that I postpone my visit until Monday as the Governor was trying to give "every possible minute" for the next two days to legislators working on his program for the coming session. It disrupted my schedule, but I said, of course, that it would be fine.

However, Thursday morning the television reported an amazing sleet storm, which promised to paralyze most North Carolina activities; it announced that state offices and nearly everything else in Raleigh would be closed for the day.

I suspected that something would be going on at the Governor's office, nevertheless, and had no trouble making my way to it from the Carolina Hotel. The members of the Governor's staff were on the job, and they received me with great cordiality, (including a cup of coffee). The first word was that the Governor would not come to his office at all, as none of his callers would be able to get to the Capitol. However, Lambeth who was in frequent contact with the Governor by phone, presently told me the Governor would come to his office sooner or later and suggested that I make myself at home until he should come. He thought it was ideal to get over my visit while the traffic was slack. A few minutes later Lambeth said the Governor was sorry I had to wait and would see me in half an hour.

Governor Sanford arrived almost on the dot and led me immediately into his office. I began with a description of the Southern Regional Council and its work, also my own assignment.

The Governor launched into a review of his campaign for election -- first and second primaries and general election --with related commentaries on the political approach to race relations.

"Public opinion," he said, "public opinion is a terrific thing. You have to handle it with care, watch it all the time. The race problem is something you can't meet head-on. The best way to advance is in ways that are little noticed."

In the campaign, he recalled, Seawell set out to meet the segregation problem head-on, and look what it did, -- Beverly Lake. I had to shape my whole campaign to beat Beverly Lake (the fanatic segregationist). Lake said I would have the NAACP moving in and taking an office in the Capitol. You remember his stuff...

"You've got to be careful not to stir things up. You've got to be careful your liberalism doesn't bring out fiercer agitation on the other side. Take the Graham-Smith campaign. I worked for Graham, but Willis Smith didn't mean to get into that extreme position. He was not a bigot. He was a fine Christian gentleman. This business killed him."

"My sending my children to the integrated school in Raleigh was nothing -- it was the only thing to do."

I said I thought his comment to the press on this was just right.

He said they had made a lot of that incident in the North. He had been congratulated on all sides up there. He had received laudatory messages from many quarters, including some from Europe.

I asked if he had received any messages to the contrary. He said, "only two -- or possibly three."

I said I didn't just go around saying "integrate, integrate." I came to discuss a very real problem. Too many Northern liberals failed to see that school desegregation posed a stupendous problem for public men. The trouble wasn't just a matter of "meanness" on the part of Southerners.

This got hearty response. "God preserve us from crusaders," he said --"on both sides. They'll never get anywhere on this by throwing things at Southerners. Most of them have no idea what we're up against."

He asked how things were going in Virginia. I said a gubernatorial contest was shaping up between Harrison and Stephens, with Harrison favored to win. The Byrd machine was backing a moderate.

"That's a good sign."

Sanford suggested that it might be a good idea for the two candidates to sign a pledge not to discuss the race issue.

I said there was little likelihood that the race issue would get into the campaign anyway. Massive resistance was dead. A public pledge like that might call attention to it.

"I meant a pledge which wouldn't be revealed until after the election," Sanford said. I had planned to make an agreement like that with John Larkin before the others got into the race!"

I went on to describe the steady and orderly progress of school desegregation in Virginia. I said in a "quiet" way it was moving faster in Virginia than anywhere else in the South.

"Quiet," Sanford repeated with emphasis. "Quiet --" that is the key to it...

"I reckon you heard about John Baker --" John Baker is the Negro former Los Angeles Rams football star, whom Sanford had appointed assistant director of recreation in the state prisons. "He's getting along fine, and there's been no complaint whatever. They phoned to ask me about his eating at the cafeteria with white officials. I said, 'Just go on and take him in there.' There was no trouble at all." (A Raleigh Times reporter later phoned the director of prisons, at my request. The latter said that Baker is at present occupied in planning, but that he will eventually have some supervision of both white and colored prisoners.)

Asked how President Kennedy should handle the desegregation problem in the South, he said off-hand that the President should approach Southern leaders "on moral grounds." But in further conversation he discussed the problem more realistically and agreed that a great obstacle would be removed if governors and legislatures in the Deep South would stay out of it. New Orleans, he said would have been only a mild problem, if Jimmy Davis had stayed out of it. He commented similarly on Faubus' intervention in Little Rock.

He expressed the opinion that Vandiver had "seen it coming all the time -- like Almond." I reviewed briefly the developments in Virginia and Georgia.

With reference to Gov. Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, Sanford said, "I would hate to have to live with that man's thoughts. It must be a miserable existence."

Sanford agreed that the administration should push the matter of Negro voting rights. There was no interference

with Negro voting in North Carolina, but, he observed, "We don't encourage them to vote in some of our Eastern North Carolina counties. Where they are not fit to vote, and not interested, they are not denied the vote, but we don't encourage them. I realize that, if they are not fit to vote, it is our fault and we are going to remedy that. But we don't encourage them to vote now."

I urged that efforts be made to increase opportunities for Negro employment in North Carolina. The Governor said he had in mind getting more of them into state jobs. With regard to the campaign to bring industry into North Carolina, Sanford said: "We want industry. We offer every inducement we can. We can't lay down any conditions about employment." I suggested that he could get in a word privately here and there to encourage the employment of Negroes in private industry. He said he would do this.

Governor Sanford impressed me as a vigorous and liberal statesman with a determination to "carry North Carolina forward" on all fronts, though with caution in the matter of race relations.

Benjamin Muse

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RECEIVED
MAR 1961

March 8, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Attorney General Harrison

Richmond, Va., January 24, 1961

As will be recalled from my memorandum of June 17, 1959, I saw in Attorney General Albertis Harrison a likely prospect for Governor of Virginia in the 1961 election and began to cultivate friendly relations with him.

On a number of subsequent visits I have drawn Harrison out more and more on the race problem and offered information and considerations in the hope of broadening his views. In the process Harrison has become increasingly cordial and we have become, I think, real friends.

Harrison is now an announced candidate for governor. He is opposed in the Democratic primary by Lt. Gov. A. E. S. Stephens. Harrison is the recognized favorite of the "Byrd Machine," but he has received support from many moderates on the segregation issue. The choice of Harrison by the Byrd organization was to some extent a concession to the moderate sentiment, which is now predominant in Virginia, as well as a recognition of the Attorney General's popularity and ability.

Stephens has received more of the anti-Byrd liberal support, but he is no more liberal in his public statements than Harrison, and knowing Harrison as I now do, I believe the latter will accomplish more for civil rights in Virginia than Stephens could. Best informed newspaper men now think Harrison's election is practically assured.

I called on the Attorney General January 24 and told him that, while I could take no public position and take no part in any political campaign, as a citizen I expected to vote for him.

I observed that while he was on the record as "opposed to integration" and I was in favor of integration, when he got through qualifying his position and I got through qualifying mine, I believed that our positions would not be far apart.

Harrison laughed and concurred. I said that I did not urge sweeping integration everywhere tomorrow, etc., and for his part, I knew he believed "in public schools, law and order, the Supreme Court and the Government of the United States." Harrison repeated, as he has often said to me in the past, that he respected the Supreme Court and its decisions and that no good American could want to see a Supreme Court decision flouted.

He was happy over the present situation in Virginia. Desegregation was going forward quietly and without disorder. He expressed real pleasure over the desegregation the previous week of the restaurants in Thalhimer's and Miller & Rhoads. "I haven't heard a single complaint," he said.

The school business, he said is "out of the press," and that meant a lot. I added that it was out of politics, and that meant most of all. He agreed and hoped it would stay out of politics.

"I will stick to my position as being opposed to integration," he said, but I will soft-peddle it. I am not going to say anything to arouse race feeling."

I asked if he expected to get the Negro vote. He said, "No -- on account of my label" (Byrd machine). But he said that he intended to do what he could to open new opportunities for Negroes and bring able Negroes into greater participation in state affairs.

We touched briefly on several other state problems, and I asked if he intended to bring more industry into Virginia. He said he was going to do everything possible to accomplish this.

I made a little speech here about industrial progress and race relations -- my usual line with Southern politicians. I said I would like to see Virginia in the forefront of Southern progress. I would like to see Virginia lead the South toward the solution of the great problem of race relations. "That is essential to any kind of progress -- smooth race relations."

"Yes, smooth race relations," Harrison agreed. "We've got to have that."

--"And smooth race relations means adjustment to the inevitable advance of the Negro to full citizenship."

Harrison agreed with that also. I said it would be a great feather in Virginia's and in Harrison's cap nationally if Virginia should lead in this.

I also broached the problem of a state commission on race relations. Harrison was distinctly interested in this. "But not now," he said. "It wouldn't do for me to suggest such a thing now. I would be called a traitor in the Black Belt. (Harrison is from the heart of the Virginia Black Belt.) But later on it may be possible."

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RECEIVED
MAR 15 1961

March 13, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversations with Mississippians

February 5-18, 1961

James P. Coleman, former governor, at Ackerman, February 18: Governor Coleman was busy fitting out his new library in a newly constructed one-story building behind his house. We sat on a workbench and had a very informal talk. Present also was one Sam Willheight, political associate and former state official, whom Coleman said was completely "in his confidence."

We discussed various angles of politics in Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi and the United States. Governor Coleman is an enthusiastic Kennedy man and wholeheartedly liberal. For instance, he would like to see a minimum wage law in Mississippi, which would raise the general wage scale and put more money in circulation.

Governor Coleman would certainly not say that he favors school desegregation, and I would not ask him to make such a politically dangerous assertion. But he implies all along that desegregation is inevitable and that it would not be as bad as many Mississippians fear. He was very much interested in hearing how integration was working out in Virginia. He had some jokes about Senator Byrd, for whom he has no love.

He attacks the prevailing attitude indirectly as a part of a backward-looking complex and wants Mississippi to face the present and the future. He is eloquent in recalling the Civil War and Reconstruction, denouncing the Carpetbaggers, etc., but he insists that "we were licked," and all that is over. Mississippi should now get in the Union and go forward. He points out that Mississippi in 1860 had the fifth highest per capita income of any state in the Union; now it is at the bottom. He wants to see Mississippi "get going again."

Governor Coleman wants to be elected governor again in 1963. He has to have an effective line of talk, and that is probably as effective as any. He cannot meet the desegregation issue head-on; he has to orate and even "get mad" over something else.

Negatively, he will attack Ross Barnett, for whom he has great contempt. Barnett, by the way, is getting the state into financial difficulty, among other failings.

However, Coleman boasts that when he ran for governor in 1955, in spite of the anti-Supreme Court furor, he kept the race issue out of the campaign, and was elected by the biggest majority in the history of Mississippi.

Coleman's keen interest in the economic penalties of school trouble is another evidence of his intention to strive for orderly adjustment to school desegregation. He was following this phase closely in New Orleans and Little Rock. Willheight volunteered the information that Little Rock was now on the point of getting its first new industry since 1957.

While avoiding liberal statements of his own on the race issue, he took no exception ~~with~~ to my remarks on the desegregation problem.

Coleman is a very attractive and able man. I am not sure that I would want to hear him express more liberal views on the race issue, because the important thing for the cause of tolerance and sanity now is for him to be elected governor of Mississippi again.

I may add that my liberal contacts in Mississippi invariably expressed a high opinion of Coleman.

J. Oliver Emmerich, editor of the Jackson State Times and also of the Enterprise-Journal at McComb, where he lives. His attempt to launch a moderate movement is the more important because of his identification with the business community and the power structure, including members of the Citizens Council, and his desire to hold the friendship of these elements. His cautious, somewhat devious approach, to the desegregation question is better understood when this -- and the general Mississippi climate -- are borne in mind. He is a forceful, dynamic person, and is much in demand as a public speaker.

Additional significance attaches to Emmerich's position because of the unusual background and character of the State Times. This paper was established five years ago by a large group which objected to the Hederman family monopoly resulting from the acquisition of the Daily News by the Clarion Ledger. The State Times advertises itself as the paper "owned by the people", and carries 86 names daily at the top of its editorial column.

Twenty-one of these are officers and staff, and 65 are listed as "Board of Directors and Advisory Board." Presumably Emmerich's views must be shared to some extent by this large number of substantial citizens.

Paul Tiblier is executive editor of the State Times. I called first upon Tiblier. (February 16 a.m.) He seized with alacrity upon my offer of information and help. He was particularly interested in the idea of bringing Little Rock School Board Chairman Everett Tucker and Little Rock Chamber of Commerce Executive Vice President Ridgway to tell groups in Mississippi about the Little Rock experience.

Tiblier felt that it was most important that Emmerich and I should get together, but he explained that Emmerich was always "on the go." Now in McComb, he had engagements to speak to a state convention of young business men in Jackson that evening and to a breakfast meeting the next morning in McComb. He invited me to attend the dinner meeting in Jackson, but, upon further consideration, we agreed that the contingent of Citizens Council brethren expected might cause me some embarrassment. I prepared to drive to Macomb the next day, and Tiblier promised to phone me further. After several phone calls during the afternoon, it was agreed that Tiblier and Emmerich would come to see me at my motel at 9 p.m. -- which they did.

I give these details to show the eagerness of these gentlemen to do something about the Mississippi situation and to get possible help from me. I only hope that Emmerich's extraordinary energy and impulsiveness may not lead to early embarrassment and discouragement. He wanted to get things moving at once. Tiblier was to set up an appointment for him with the president of the chamber of commerce for "next Wednesday" -- to discuss the possibility of a visit from the Little Rock leaders. He wanted all possible information on danger of school troubles to business, also information on the harmlessness of public school integration, the impracticability of private school substitutes, etc. I gave him a complete bound file of our L-Reports. He handed it to Tiblier and said: "Go through it all and see what we can use."

Emmerich gave the impression that he was -- or wanted me to believe that he was -- completely liberal on the race question. But he wanted to work with the community and not be ostracized "like Hodding Carter." Hodding, he said, had "lost all his influence in Mississippi." He didn't want that to happen to him. Consequently, he said, somewhat apologetically, he had to "handle this thing in a special way."

(Coleman said of Emmerich that, although he was glad to see him trying to help on the race question, he was a "reactionary" in other respects. Carter said Emmerich was an old friend, who had considerable ability and might do some good.)

Emmerich said he had just attended a Federal Reserve meeting in New Orleans, where he heard an earful about the damage to business in that city -- store sales off 30 per cent, etc.

I am corresponding with Emmerich and have prepared Tucker and Ridgway for a possible invitation to visit Mississippi. I am afraid, however, that Emmerich will run into more difficulty than he anticipates in making arrangements for this at the Mississippi end.

Joel?

Paul Blass, Wiggins, Miss. (February 9): Blass is a former leader of the moderate bloc in the Mississippi legislature (mentioned in "Magnolia Jungle"). He declined to run for reelection last year, he said, because he couldn't accomplish enough now to justify leaving his law practice. After an hour's conversation in his office, he took me out to lunch and further talk.

He appears to be sincere in his disapproval of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and in his preference for segregation. He believes, however, in orderly adjustment and open public schools, is bitterly opposed to Governor Barnett and the Citizens Councils and is an ardent admirer of Coleman. Thinks some school integration would be possible in Wiggins, for instance, under a different state policy. He remarked that many legislators expressed views to him privately which were very different from their public expressions.

He thinks mass Negro voting in Mississippi would be dangerous. I argued this point with him.

Blass mentioned Sam Lumkin (Tupelo), a former lieutenant governor and a former Speaker as a politician with views similar to his own. (I did not get a chance to see Lumkin.) He tried to get Governor Coleman over the phone to prepare him for my visit, but Coleman was then in Washington.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo College was of all my contacts the one who seemed to have the strongest feeling of responsibility for stimulating and uniting

liberals in Mississippi. Tougaloo, I found to be a veritable center of Mississippi liberalism. Integrated lectures, followed by integrated luncheons, were frequently held. This had been going on for so long that the authorities did nothing about it.

Dr. Ernest Borinski, sociologist and dean, was Tougaloo's intellectual powerhouse. Anti-segregation literature was lying about in his basement office, where I visited him. He seems obsessed with the race problem, which he has studied from various angles. He discusses it frequently with students and Negro visitors. A gathering of ten whites and ten Negroes meeting there last week discussed the question: "How can we establish a civilized climate in this community?" A similar discussion was planned for two weeks later. A white speaker at the last meeting said: "School integration is not in the cards for the near future. We must concentrate on Negro voting rights and desegregation of buses and some institutions of higher learning."

Borinski said there is practically no communication with Negroes in Mississippi on the official level, except through Dr. Fortenberry, supervisor of Negro education.

He said he found many people disturbed over the situation in Mississippi -- at drug stores, shopping centers and churches. A core of liberal young adults was to be found in nearly every church.

He thought an all-white movement would be more effective now in Mississippi than a bi-racial one.

Easton King, editor of the Pascagoula Chronicle Star, is a well-known liberal warhorse. We had the Kings over (Feb. 5) for dinner. Incidentally, they are ardent admirers of Coleman's. King said he was having no trouble now with the power structure, that the Citizens Council is feeble in that area.

Rev. Murray Cox, Gulfport (Feb. 6), chairman of the Mississippi advisory committee to the Civil Rights Commission, is an indomitable old gentleman and a dedicated liberal. He lost two churches as a result of his taking the CRC post, but, Citizens Council pressure having been removed, the congregations are apologetic now.

P. D. East came in for an evening at Rabbi Mantinband's. He seems discouraged, maladjusted even with his liberal friends and not to be doing very well.

Dr. Ralph Nuncaster, president of William Carey Baptist College, Hattiesburg, (February 9) was exceedingly cordial, as a fellow Virginian. A silent liberal. He said, incidentally, that he knew nearly every college president in Mississippi and he believed they were all liberal at heart on the race issue.

Allen Fine, Laurel (Feb. 10): Fine, a friend of Rabbi Mantinband, is a realistic, "hardboiled" business man, who doesn't see how school integration could be accomplished anywhere in Mississippi in the foreseeable future. He said, "A definite majority of the prominent people in Laurel are members of the Citizens Council." Fine stressed the backwardness of Mississippi Negroes as a major difficulty. "The good ones move out of the state." There were no Negro leaders in Laurel, he said, with whom the white leaders could deal. He seriously urged that the best thing for race relations in Mississippi would be for us to "induce some educated, respectable Negroes to live in Mississippi."

L. E. Barry, port director, Natchez, (Feb. 13) to whom I had been directed by a member of our council, was a liberal and a realist but did not seem inclined to do anything about the matter.

John Haien, Piney Woods (Feb. 10). I had a fascinating visit with this former Chrysler Corp. executive, who is spending his retirement in the role of a Big Brother and financial benefactor at this small Negro College.

Miss Eudora Welty, novelist, invited my wife and me to lunch (Feb. 16). A gentle, retiring person, she keeps out of controversy, but is gravely concerned.

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Bishop Joseph P. Brunini and Hodding Carter are members of our Council. I had a pleasant visit with each.

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MAR 15 1961

March 14, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Governor Buford Ellington, of Tennessee

Nashville, February 20, 1961

Governor Ellington, who ran for governor in 1958 as an "old-fashioned segregationist" and alarmed many moderates during the campaign, took a quietly moderate course after election and now appears to want to join the liberal club. I applauded his moderate moves and sought to encourage the latter impulse.

Anxious to keep the conversation on a cordial note, I did not argue with him about the tent village of Fayette County evictees, beyond observing that this affair had done a lot of damage to Tennessee. Governor Ellington felt strongly about this. It had done a lot of damage, and unjustly, he thought. He had plain clothes men around there all the time and he knew something of how much inaccuracy and exaggeration there was in the reports.

I remarked that I had read that a Negro church organization was going to take care of these people. The governor did not think much would come of this. "They don't want jobs," he said. "They don't want homes. They want publicity." He discussed at some length the trend toward farm mechanization and the displacement of Negro agricultural labor. He said that eviction went on all the time -- as an inevitable economic development.

He said that he had interested himself in Haywood and Fayette Counties last June. It was not generally known that it was on his initiative, but he had sent a friend to call on the registrars and told them to register Negroes without any monkey business.

Apart from the tent village affair I found many gratifying evidences of desegregation progress in Tennessee. With regard to the desegregation at the University of Tennessee, he said, confidentially, that the trustees were at first divided six and six on the question; he had a talk with some of them and they voted unanimously to accept the Negro applicants.

Governor Ellington was another apostle of "quiet" progress. He had done a few things in this area that were not generally known. He had had Negroes employed as guards over Negro prisoners and as revenue inspectors. The former were twice as rough as the white guards and the latter collected more taxes -- from Negroes!

Immediately after his inauguration he had all the members of the legislature come to his office, in groups, and he told them he wanted them to "lay off" the race issue -- and to a large extent they did.

I remarked that the publicity attending the desegregation moves in Nashville, Knoxville and elsewhere had been good for Tennessee. He agreed and said that industry was coming in right along, especially in Nashville.

I said that Tennessee was setting an example for other Southern states in many respects. The Governor was pleased at this, but said: "I tell my Negro friends: 'We've gone so far here, why don't you relax a little in Tennessee and let the other states catch up?'"

I made my little speech about the upsurge of colored races throughout the world and the necessity for adjustment to Negro progress. Every advance in desegregation was a hurdle cleared. "The Negro will not stop," I said, "until he has all the rights and status of full citizenship."

Governor Ellington replied emphatically -- and that was the best part of the interview -- "He should not stop."

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RECEIVED
MAR 15 1961

March 14, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Henry F. Cauthen, Editor, Columbia State

February 24, 1961

My February visit confirmed my impressions of last November that this man and I would be friends. It is a satisfaction apart from the objectives of my project, and yet I believe it may be of value in furthering them.

I try to place myself in the supremely difficult position of a man near the center of opinion and policy in one of the most fiercely segregationist states who earnestly wants to do the right thing. Since my previous visit Cauthen had moved up from the editorial chair of the Record to that of the much larger and more influential State. He is also a friend and adviser of Governor Ernest F. Hollings, --"Governor Hollings was sitting right there in the chair you're sitting in yesterday."

Cauthen was struggling now with the problem of how Hollings could get the Negro vote in a prospective contest for Olin Johnson's Senate seat. The Negroes didn't like either of them, and the Negro vote could be decisive.

Cauthen began the conversation more or less facetiously by saying: "I could do something in the matter in which your organization is interested if our revenue came from somewhere other than readers and advertisers," and philosophized briefly on the problems of operating a newspaper.

His seed of liberalism has not germinated to the extent of giving him much sympathy with Negro sitters-in, and he feels that for Negroes to come from Ohio, Michigan, etc. to sit in at South Carolina lunch counters is an "outrage." Yet I think he has a growing feeling that segregation must end.

South Carolina, he said, is doing very well in getting new industries, but he was conscious of the danger of school trouble to the industrial program. School-closing he considers unthinkable.

But how is one to begin? How can one approach the subject? Where can you put your hands on it without getting them burned?

I suggested that one might safely begin to point to the inevitability of the thing and insist on open public schools.

"I might say integration is an evil thing, but --"

I did not comment on this possible approach.

He was glad to get copies of the recent Georgia "retreat" laws, which I gave him, and would like to have more of this sort of thing.

Cauthen said he would tell Governor Hollings about me and he was sure the Governor would be glad to see me on a later visit.

It may be preferable not to make all of my conversation with this confiding gentleman a matter of record.

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March 31, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

J. Barrye Wall and B. Calvin Bass

Prince Edward County, March 28-29, 1961

The most influential leader of the extreme resistance and school-closing movement in Prince Edward County is chubby, pugnacious J. Barrye Wall, 62, editor for the past 40 years of the Farmville Herald.

B. Calvin Bass, onetime chairman and long a member of the old Prince Edward County school board, which resigned last year, was a witness in the Supreme Court hearings and has been closely involved in the school fight in that county. He is now an active leader of the group which wants to see the public schools reopened. Bass said there were five leaders of the resistance group of whom he would say that, if they should vanish, public schools could be reopened without much trouble. The dynamo among the five was J. Barrye Wall.

I drove to Wall's office first, Tuesday afternoon. We talked for an hour. Then he went out to greet my wife waiting in the car; we talked for about half an hour on the sidewalk and went inside again for another half an hour. A chamber of commerce banquet prevented him from dining with us, but he urged us to stay overnight and see him again in the morning.

I understand that the Salvation Army procedure in dealing with a derelict is to win his friendship first and try to save his soul afterward.

In Wall's case I had some elements of friendship to begin with. We had had friendly association 25 years ago when I lived two counties away; he had dined at my house and my wife and I had been entertained by him.

We recalled the good old days, and I presented him with an autographed advance copy of my book, which he appeared to appreciate -- although he knows I disagree with him. Of course, we kept up a running conversation about Prince Edward and the school problem. He did most of the talking, while I demurred only gently from his segregationist drivel. Whenever the conversation tended to become heated, I found some way to recall the good old days again.

I called on Calvin Bass after dinner, and came back to Wall the next morning. Wall accepted an invitation to lunch with me and asked me to drive with him to see the private school under construction. He told his secretary he would be back in 20 minutes. Actually we drove and inspected and talked for the entire morning. We saw various private school locations and abandoned public schools, including the fair-to-medium new Negro high school, which, he declared, was "the finest high school in Virginia."

We spent some time at the site of the new consolidated high school under construction -- a group of very modern one-story structures in a pleasant hilltop setting. Construction foreman Garrett came over to greet Wall, both beaming. The work was going forward briskly.

Wall at first wanted to give the impression that this was a kind of free-offering project. The men were working for very little (which I suspect is the Farmville wage level) and the suppliers had "given" many things -- bricks for instance. On pinning him down, however, this illusion vanished; he said merely that they had got some concessions. The cost would come to some $200,000 and, he thought, they would get a $250,000 school.

He was as pathetically enthusiastic as the builders of the Bridge over the River Kwi.

Lastly, back in town, we visited the private school foundation's proudest present exhibit -- the student library (11,000 books by donation.) It was a nice little library. A dozen attractive teenagers were quietly pouring over books and papers at the tables. An attractive lady librarian greeted us. In a quick glance at the bookshelves I was agreeably surprised to find a number of <u>liberal</u> authors, including Hodding Carter and James McBride Dabbs. (I am sending them a copy of "Massive Resistance.")

My four or five hours of conversation with Wall covered a wide range of race question controversy -- nearly all old stuff. Wall used all the cliches. I got in about 20 per cent of the talking.

I found something to admire in the enterprise of the private school devotees. I did not say that the brave new building would be wasted. It might be used for many years to come -- along with public schools. The private school could be a safety valve in places like Prince Edward County during the transition period.

However, I insisted that public schools should, and would inevitably be reopened with integration required by the courts.

I may have made an impression on a few other points. I tried to make him, not angry, but uncomfortable.

By lunch time, Wall remembered that he had been due back at his office in 20 minutes and that he hadn't touched the work on his desk. He would have to forego lunch and get back to work. We exchanged emotional assurances that differences of opinion on the segregation question had nothing to do with friendship.

I visited Calvin Bass Tuesday evening in his home, six miles from Farmville. He was most anxious that his remarks be held in confidence.

He said that from 70 to 80 per cent of the people of Prince Edward would like to see the public schools reopened. But he painted an almost incredible picture of repression and intimidation in the county.

He asked me if I knew about the "bush meetings." That was the name given to recent meetings held among prominent citizens favoring public schools, beginning with two or three, then a dozen, etc., until one final meeting drew 60. At the final meeting a band of private school fanatics waited outside, then flashed electric torches in autos and in the faces of departing participants.

A few days later a circular was distributed to key people among the private school faction, giving a complete -- and accurate -- account of the meeting. Bass showed me a carbon copy. Except for the insinuation at the top that this group was betraying the people of Prince Edward County, it read much like a copy of a secretary's minutes. The names of all 60 were given, together with the names of sympathizers who sent regrets. (Dean Moss was present, President Lankford, of Longwood College sent regrets.) The persons listed had subsequently suffered abuse and reprisals of various kinds.

Bass said "that crowd" (the private school promoters) intimidated the whole community.

He said there had been no need for closing the public schools in the first place, from any point of view. Not only had no Negro applied for admission -- which is well known -- but every Negro pupil had accepted assignment to a Negro school in written form.

The private school crowd had worked so hard for so long and had raised so much money, and had developed so much enthusiasm that they would not be stopped.

If public schools should reopen now, he said, he knew of one Negro family which wanted to put two children in white schools. In view of all the agitation of the past year, there might be a few more. But it would not be an unmanageable situation.

Both Wall and Bass discussed the pending litigation with me, each anxious about the outcome -- from a different point of view.

Bass thought the sequence of federal court orders would be of vital importance. If the tuition grant plan is to be invalidated, he earnestly hopes that that decision will be delayed until after the public schools are reopened.

The myth about the "mess" in Washington and the flight of whites from the Capital City has still a big place in Prince Edward segregationist talk. Wall brought it up four or five times. Even Bass has some misconceptions. I shall send each some information on this subject.

Bass was also anxious to learn more about the Southern Regional Council. I told him something about us and will send more material.

Benjamin Muse

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April 6, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

W. S. Meacham, Colgate W. Darden, Jr.,

and Albertis Harrison

Norfolk and Richmond, April 3-5, 1961

I visited Meacham, associate editor of the Norfolk-Virginian Pilot Monday evening, April 3; Darden, former governor and former president of the University of Virginia, Tuesday morning; and Attorney General Harrison Wednesday morning. Tuesday afternoon I called at the Norfolk Journal and Guide and visited with its 77-year-old editor, P. B. Young.

Meacham, Darden and Harrison are all intensely -- and actively -- interested in the Prince Edward County situation. Meacham is urging both personally and editorially that the state move to bring this scandalous episode to a close. Darden similarly would like to see Prince Edward public schools reopened without waiting for court action. He thinks an issue should be made of it in the present gubernatorial campaign and believes voters statewide would support a program of reopening Prince Edward schools. Darden knows most of the prominent people in Prince Edward, but, "my contact there," he said, "is Dr. Lankford (president of Longwood College)."

I gathered from Meacham, Darden and Harrison the definite impression that even in official quarters it is expected that the federal court will order the public schools reopened. (The court will not accept the argument that the allocation of tuition funds fulfills the state's constitutional obligation to maintain public schools.) Harrison, who is preparing for another hearing Friday, thinks the court decision will probably be delivered in time to take effect with the September school opening.

All three of these gentlemen asked how I got on with Barrye Wall. Wall's attitude is a matter of general concern.

(I am sending copies of my book to Moss and Bass.)

Harrison asked if I had read the newspaper report that the Prince Edward County School Board had presented to the board of supervisors budget proposals which include provision for public schools. "That is a little step in the right direction," he said, and he added: "Of course, I knew about it before." Harrison is at present in an extremely delicate combination of roles: defense council in the Prince Edward County case and a candidate for governor. However, he is informally active in many ways in this situation. Calvin Bass is among those who have conferred with him.

Bass' estimate of the percentage of Prince Edward whites who would welcome reopening of the public schools (with required integration) was probably excessive and he doubtless would have qualifications. Bass said from 70 to 80 per cent. Darden estimated "about 45 per cent" and Harrison, "about 40 per cent."

With Colgate Darden I have a friendship dating from a rather pleasant gubernatorial contest in 1941, when I was his Republican opponent. We talked about a number of things from Laos on back to the Roman Empire.

Darden is emphatically opposed to defiance of the Supreme Court and to race discrimination -- more firmly opposed to segregation itself than he was five years ago. Nevertheless, he has a lurking doubt as to the innate capabilities of Negroes. In his travels, he found the Asiatic a superior type of human animal to the African native, etc. "Do you think we can ever bring the Negroes up to par?" he asked.

We argued this point at some length. When I cited Negro leadership in the world of sports, Darden agreed that Negroes more than held their own in the top echelon, but he doubted if they were "up to 10 per cent" at the medium athlete level. I had no reliable information on this point. He was interested in Negro prominence in the entertainment field, but I could not give him anything like percentage figures for Negro participation in TV, radio, etc. programs. He was interested, and impressed, by such other examples of Negro excellence and evidences of Negro cultural progress as I was prepared offhand to offer. His mind is not fully made up.

I mention this as a reminder to our research department of a concept, here gently held by a humane and deeply thoughtful scholar, but prevalent in a more vicious form among a vast number of Southerners. It also suggests more home work on my part!

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

April 28, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visits to Laurinburg, Columbia,

Tallahassee, and Winston-Salem

April 10-22, 1961

This motor tour developed around visits to Atlanta for several days of consultation relative to the projection and distribution of L-Reports and the reorganization of staff there, and to attend the executive committee meeting. Laurinburg and Columbia were visited on the way to Atlanta, Tallahassee on an intervening week-end and Winston-Salem on my return trip.

Laurinburg: (April 11) I conferred informally with several business men and invited to lunch Glen Webb, chamber of commerce manager, and Rev. Henry Ruark, president of the N. C. Council on Human Relations.

I found the bi-racial Committee on Community Betterment still active and dealing effectively with minor problems, though nothing being done about school and lunch counter desegregation. The chamber of commerce voted last month to admit Negroes to membership and possibly six Negroes are expected to join it. Some pressure is developing for the desegregation of two drug store lunch counters. Webb expressed a wish to have someone who was close to a lunch counter episode in some other North Carolina city come and talk with Laurinburg business men, and I undertook to arrange this.

Members of the C.C.B. were particularly impressed with a speech at its last meeting by John R. Larkin, Negro assistant to the N. C. Director of Public Welfare, on the shocking rate of illegitimate births among Negroes. Larkin explained admirably the relation of Negro illegitimacy to discriminatory attitudes and practices, but he said also that he was waging a vigorous campaign among Negroes to combat this evil. He had recently addressed a gathering of 600 Negroes on the subject.

Columbia: (April 12) I had a long talk with Henry Cauthen, editor of the State, not unlike previous conversations which I have reported with this friendly gentleman.

(He began by reading an editorial which he had just written on the Russian cosmonaut feat -- and I had the pleasure of making a small change in it.)

Cauthen was amused at the desegregation of the Charleston golf course and the reaction of Tom Waring (Charleston News and Courier). He said Tom was weakening. He had said jokingly to Tom over the phone: "Law of the land, you know!" Waring answered glumly: "I suppose so."

Speaking of Leon Dure, Cauthen said: "I suppose you are against his stuff." I said, on the contrary, that I had been in correspondence with Dure and that there were helpful elements in his philosophy. Then Cauthen said that he could tell me "confidentially" that Dure had conferred with the Gressette Committee (the S. C. Special Segregation Committee).

Asked what school plan I would recommend if I should appear before the Gressette Committee, I said briefly that I would recommend first of all, that a policy of local option be firmly established. Then I would encourage a token start of school desegregation, as a voluntary move, in some of the counties of smallest Negro population. I thought such a demonstration of South Carolina's good faith might tend to lessen pressure and allow more time for gradual adjustment in the state as a whole. Cauthen seemed to like the idea.

Cauthen inquired as to the attitude of the courts toward the staircase grade-a-year desegregation plan in Nashville and elsewhere. I am sending him more information on this subject.

During the afternoon I called on Mrs. E. H. Spearman, executive director of the S. C. Council on Human Relations, and discussed the general situation with her, with particular reference to the attitude of various influential individuals.

Tallahassee: (April 15-17) Frank Trippett, head of the Tallahassee bureau of the St. Petersburg Times and the Miami Herald, invited my wife and me to lunch Sunday, and we dined with John Griffin, of our SRC executive committee. Monday morning I called upon Assistant Attorney General Odom. I had tried earlier to get an appointment with Governor Bryant, but had been put off until after the legislature adjourns.

I missed the genial group which surrounded Governor Collins. Odom was the only one of my former contacts still in office. Nevertheless, Trippett said that the new administration showed signs of being more constructive on the race issue than had been widely expected. (I am increasingly impressed with Trippett, a serious, knowledgeable young man with a fine personality -- who would be an asset, by the way, in our organization.)

Trippett recalled that Governor Bryant had not mentioned segregation in his inaugural address and that he had asked the legislature for $17,000 to finance a state commission on race relations. He had offered the chairmanship again to Cody Fowler, but Fowler had declined it. The segregation issue had figured very little in the legislative session thus far.

The Governor's support of the Reedy bill (which Governor Collins vetoed) he regarded as a relatively harmless "sop" to segregationists. To override the veto would require a two thirds majority. Even to pass a new bill to the same effect would be difficult. Should the plan finally be adopted it would probably be a dead letter since it would go into effect only after concurrent action by four more states, with an appropriation of $500,000 by each. The object of the Reedy bill is to set up a multi-state commission to advertise the "Southern point of view" on segregation. The Governor probably felt that if segregationist legislators insisted on sounding off they could do so with least damage on something like the Reedy bill.

Assistant Attorney General Ralph E. Odom has been the state's chief "expert" and most vocal spokesman on school desegregation since he argued before the Supreme Court in the litigation leading to the Brown decisions. He studies the problem constantly and confers with officials in other Southern states.

Odom was definitely eager to talk about the situation in various states. He had attended one of the recent "crazy" sessions of the Louisiana legislature, when they were passing laws as fast as they could "scratch them off on a piece of paper." He has paid several visits to Va. Attorney General Harrison. He was pleased when I gave him a copy of my book. He gave me a copy of Vol. 33, No. 1 of "The Supreme Court" (H. W. Wilson Co.), containing a speech of his printed earlier in the U.S. News and World Report, entitled, "What the South Must Do."

Although continuously concerned with litigation to delay school integration in Florida, Odom is a moderate influence in the present climate of opinion. He favors state tuition grants, pupil placement legislation and separation of the sexes and has said that "as far as can now be ascertained, an overwhelming majority of the white people of Florida will not send their children to an integrated school." At the same time he preaches respect for law and the inevitability of ultimate compliance and points eloquently to the folly of attempting to substitute private for public schools. With reference to pending litigation, he said publicly in March: "The federal courts are going to compel Escambia, Hillsborough, Volusia, Duval and any other counties where such suits are pending to have some integration."

I find that he is coming increasingly to recognize the feasibility of school integration. He expressed concern over the attitude of local authorities in Pensacola, where the attitude is still one of blind resistance and where no preparation is being made.

Incidentally, he could not understand why the NAACP would press cases in Pensacola and Jacksonville when a number of school districts in southern Florida would move "promptly and without trouble" on an order from a federal court.

Greensboro: (April 20) I called briefly at the office of the Greensboro Record for a run-down on the situation there. There had been a short-lived flurry of agitation for theater desegregation following a showing of "Porgy and Bess." This picture was shown at the Cinema Theater, which has no accommodations for Negroes, and Negroes were entirely excluded!

Winston-Salem: (April 21) Here I was entirely in the hands of Dr. Clarence Patrick, of Wake Forest College. We conferred in the morning, he arranged a luncheon in the college dining room to which Irving Carlyle (Wachovia counsel and a member of our board) and our three ladies were invited. Later I spoke to Patrick's class in Race and Culture.

The most urgent concern of Patrick and Carlyle was the prospect that the board of trustees meeting the following Friday would reject the application of Edward Reynolds, a Ghana boy, for admission to Wake Forest. There have been active movements among both faculty and student body for Wake Forest desegregation. This boy's application was the result of the efforts of a group of students made through a Baptist missionary in Ghana. There were indications, however, that the segregationist trustees were still adamant.

(The following Monday, April 24, I discussed this situation with Assistant Secretary of State Brooks Hays in Washington and he promised to "get to work right away.")

After my talk to the sociology class, I was accosted by a student, Jimmie B. Young (Box 6056, Reynolds Station, Winston-Salem, N.C.), who expressed an interest in following a career in the race relations field. I am sending him some literature about the Southern Regional Council. Patrick said he would look into Young's record and write me further about him.

Dr. Patrick also agreed to visit Laurinburg some time in late June to discuss lunch counter desegregation there.

He said that he was still receiving requests constantly for copies of his brochure on lunch counter desegregation in Winston-Salem. Several hundred had been sent out in recent months. Less than 100 remained; a new printing might be necessary.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
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Manassas, Virginia

May 18, 1961

MEMORANDUM

Our Role in Equalization of Employment Opportunity

Conversation with Dr. Fred Holly, Etc.

I was asked to explore the possibilities of giving stimulation and help in the elimination of race discrimination in industrial employment in view of the new urgency of the problem for government contractors, and to look for a competent expert who might serve as part-time consultant in this field under Southern Regional Council auspices.

It was recognized that both management and labor are vitally concerned, and the possibility was considered of engaging both a management consultant and a labor consultant.

I discussed this first with Paul R. Christopher, AFL-CIO regional director and a member of our board, in Knoxville, Tuesday, March 9. Paul reminded me that the AFL-CIO is still looking for a man to try to liberalize Southern unions in the matter of race. President Meany is deeply concerned, and impatient, about this. The former salary figure of $9,000 had been supplanted by an "almost no limit" order; he was willing to put $25,000 into this. The AFL-CIO would like our help in finding a man who could do an effective job.

This has a bearing on our problem, though not precisely what we have in mind. In helping particular industries to equalize employment opportunities Paul thought that one consultant could deal with both management and labor, and he knew of an ideal possibility -- Dr. Fred Holly, head of the economics department of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

Dr. Holly, a man of about 45, is very active as a consultant and more particularly as an arbitrator, in labor-management disputes. Paul guessed that Dr. Holly received about $12,000 per annum from the state of Tennessee, and an equal amount in fees from industry. (His fee for arbitration: $100 per day.) He has many contacts among corporation executives, with whom he is much in demand. He is equally

popular among labor leaders. Dr. Holly holds an annual work-shop, or Conference on Current Trends in Collective Bargaining, which is attended by about 500 representatives of management and labor. Paul spoke enthusiastically of Dr. Holly, with whom he is on terms of warm personal friendship.

After consultation with Atlanta by phone from Nashville, I asked Paul Christopher to try to get me an early appointment with Dr. Holly. The latter was away from Knoxville, expected back Sunday night. I drove back to Knoxville Sunday, and conferred with Dr. Holly Monday morning at eleven.

Dr. Holly was interested, although he said the idea was new to him as a personal concern. He had not given it much thought until Paul Christopher called him two hours earlier. He became intensely interested as our conversation developed.

He began by saying that he would not be able to serve in any capacity personally, but could recommend others. He mentioned first John Hope. I said that Hope was already associated with us and would probably find a place in the equal employment opportunity picture. We were particularly interested in enlisting the cooperation of someone of prestige comparable to his own and with wide acquaintanceship among corporation executives. He spent some time in thinking of possibly suitable individuals and going over their qualifications. (A list of his suggested names is appended hereto.)

Later, when I came back to the possibility of his serving, Dr. Holly did not close the door. I said that if a situation should present itself in which both he and the SRC felt that he could help, compensation would be at a rate comparable to his fee for arbitration. More interested at this stage, Dr. Holly said that money would not be his concern but that he would like to help if he could in a job that needed to be done.

In talking for another hour, we each became increasingly conscious of the magnitude, complexity and urgency of the problem which now confronts a large segment of American industry. There would be a need for many specialists, or consultants, and teams of specialists. And for most this is a new study and a new science. Specialists will have to be developed.

Some corporations would doubtless pay for their own consultants. I ventured the thought that we might see a consultation service in this field developing on a commercial basis. Dr. Holly said that was quite possible. He wondered nobody had thought of it. "It's all too new, I suppose."

He said he would like to do some more thinking about the matter and would write me within a few days.

Returning the same afternoon I stopped at Newport, Tenn., to discuss the matter with the Stokelys (writing team of James Stokely and Wilma Dykeman). Here we pictured hopefully a sort of a groundswell of integration of the Negro in American industry, which we might help in some measure to bring about. Mrs. Stokely thought of the possibility of a magazine article on the subject -- this important new concern of American industry and of ecomomists and personnel specialists. One might suggest that some university establish a year's course in equalization of employment opportunity.

This thought occurred to me later. We might, in cooperation with Dr. Holly, promote a conference, or a workshop, on equalization of employment opportunity to which representatives of both labor and management would be invited.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Names Suggested by Dr. Holly

John Hope.

William Wesson, Department of Labor Economics, Univ. of South Carolina. (Formerly at University of Chattanooga and L. S. U.)

Langston Holly, Univ. of Alabama. Not as deep as Wesson or Hope, but gets along well with businessmen. Does some arbitration.

Howard W. Wissner, Tulane. Good man.

As members of a team, or assistants, Dr. Holly suggested two younger men (in their thirties) at U.T.:

B. Douglas Stone, Jr., department of Industrial Management, a specialist in personnel and industrial psychology, and --

Dr. J. Earl Williams, Dept. of Economics.

In general Dr. Holly said that good talent might be found among retired commissioners of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and suggested talking to Col. George Strong, FMCS counsel.

BENJAMIN MUSE
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Manassas, Virginia

May 30, 1961

MEMORANDUM

Nashville Visit, May 10-13, and

Subsequent Activities

A variety of activities have prevented my reporting earlier on my Nashville trip, May 10-13, which was mainly devoted to exchange of ideas and information with people associated with us or concerned with our problem. I visited Knoxville and Newport both going and coming, as indicated in my report on equal opportunity of employment, etc.

In Nashville, I spent an evening with George Barrett and another with John Hope and called on Miss Katherine Jones, Rev. John Marion, and Will Campbell. I especially valued my talk with Will Campbell, who is in close touch with developments in Mississippi, and I got useful leads from him for my next trip to that state. I spent an entire afternoon at the Southern School News, where Executive Director Reed Sarratt showed me over his establishment and introduced me to all the personnel. Sarratt, Associate Director Tom Flake, and Assistant Director Jim Leeson and I sat around the board room table for a full two hours of good conversation.

Outside of this "professional" circle, I called upon Greenfield Pitts, vice-president and treasurer (active head) of Harvey's Department Store (Nashville's largest), and Charles Moss, executive editor of the (strongly segregationist) Nashville Banner.

Greenfield Pitts made some interesting points regarding the lunch counter desegregation episode of last year. According to him:

The whole thing was accomplished by "seven store managers and four Negroes." Others who tried to intervene didn't help (although he spoke favorably of George Barrett.)

White demonstrators were a particular provocation to violence. The intervention of white clergymen annoyed the merchants. They felt like saying--and sometimes said: "Why don't you go back and integrate your churches?"

The genius of the episode was (Negro Baptist) Rev. Kelly Miller Smith. Smith was able to speak responsibly for the Negroes and all the merchants had high respect for him. He was a "real guy."

All five restaurants, of various kinds, at Harvey's had now been desegregated. Several Negroes had been added to personnel and he was planning to employ a substantial number. Employment of Negro sales girls offered a special problem, but he expected to break through there. (Incidentally, he noted, that from Nashville's large element of educated Negroes he could get a higher type of help for the same salary!)

When I started to leave, Pitts held me a moment to show me a telegram from Mr. Harvey a short time before the latter's death and while the lunch counter negotiations were in progress. He was traveling in Italy at the time. The telegram read approximately:

"Desegregate everything. This is the modern trend to which we must, and should, conform, etc. etc."

My talk with Moss, of the Banner, was significant mainly as an indication of a spirit of defeatism which, I believe, is spreading among Southern segregationist leaders.

"I'm tired of the whole business," Moss said. He did not mean that he was not disposed to talk to me. On the contrary he was most cordial and in no hurry to terminate the interview. When I left, he thanked me for coming. He was tired of trying to prevent the inevitable.

In the lunch counter desegregation episode Moss had tried to follow the wishes of the negotiators in the matter of publicity and had cooperated at all times in efforts to preserve public order. Now Nashville was leading the South in integration. He did not think it a matter for pride, but it couldn't be helped. He had supported Buford Ellington for governor; now Ellington had joined the integrationists. He didn't think it would help Ellington politically. Anyway, he was tired of it all.

My remarks were to the general effect that desegregation is bound to come, that, when it comes, it is not as bad as many people imagined it would be and that Nashville is fortunate in having cleared a few hurdles which still lie ahead of other Southern cities.

While in Nashville, I engaged Hedrick L. ("Rick") Smith, (3613 Meadow Dr. Nashville 12) head of the local ~~VPI~~ UPI bureau, to give us a story of theater desegregation in Nashville which might be helpful in other cities.

In a letter of May 22, Smith expressed discouragement. "The movie managements," he wrote, "are reluctant to say a thing. The Negro leaders feel obligated not to disclose details of the negotiations or intricacies of the control period, vital to the report, until the movie managements are also willing to talk."

I am replying today, asking Smith to keep the undertaking a backlog, and let me know if, after another month, he still finds it unfeasible.

I have kept a running correspondence in this connection with Barry Bingham, president of the Louisville Courier Journal, who requested our help. He wrote me on May 20:

"I can well appreciate the difficulty your correspondent in Nashville is encountering, in getting a report on the situation there in regard to integration of moving picture theaters. We have been going through a similar phase in Louisville, where proprietors of business houses did not want to publicize their immediate integration plans. We have now moved to the point, however, where two downtown theaters have completely desegregated and all the others but one have agreed to do so before June 23, barring any unforeseen circumstances."

I attended an excellent all-day conference of the Southeastern Regional Office, American Friends Service Committee, in Greensboro May 27. After a general discussion of the overall picture, the AFSC wanted advice on the orientation of its school desegregation program--whether to continue to concentrate upon North Carolina and, if so, what approach to the North Carolina situation. It wanted to break down "tokenism." The first proposal discussed was one to promote general desegregation in the western counties. I heartily approved of this and suggested that its main effort should be concentrated here. We discussed at some length plans for inducing the western counties to go ahead with full desegregation. In many instances, the small Negro school population there is sent to out-of-county schools. I stressed the importance, as the first order of business, of a comprehensive and accurate survey which would show both the hardship to Negro children and the economic unwisdom of this cumbersome system. I understand the AFSC intends to concentrate on this western North Carolina plan.

I did a piece entitled, "Violence in the South, Etc.," for the Outlook section of the Washington Post, May 28, a clipping of which is enclosed herewith.

I am scheduled to speak to the annual meeting of the Arlington Council on Human Relations June 1.

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
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Manassas, Virginia

June 12, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Cooperation with USIA

Visits June 5 and 8, 1960

I called on William C. Gausmann, Labor and Minorities Advisor, United States Information Service, Monday morning, June 5.

I suggested that a brochure reflecting foreign opinion on race discrimination in the United States would help to bring home to segregationist leaders and others the vital importance of this problem from the standpoint of our world position.

Gausmann thought this was a fine idea, but said the USIA could not touch it. "Our business is to speak to the outside world, not to Americans." Besides there was the matter of representatives in Congress from "a certain section," whose support is badly needed by the USIA.

However, if we should undertake to get out a brochure, he would cooperate. He would give us a pile of their surveys of foreign opinion. He showed me some of these. His communications were usually "restricted," but, he said there was little reason for classification. Nevertheless, it might be necessary to paraphrase or declassify some before releasing them to us.

Gausmann was quite eager to hear about the race relations picture in the South. New at his job (three weeks), after about 14 years overseas in the Foreign Service, he had only a very general knowledge of the race problem and he was anxious to learn more. He considered the "Minorities" end of his job much more important than the "Labor" end. He knew little about the SRC, beyond the fact that he received New South and had seen recent reference to us in the N. Y. Times. He would like to keep an SRC file and receive everything that we put out. He wants me to come back every time I'm in Washington -- will "shoot me, if I don't."

JC

I called again Thursday afternoon, June 8, in answer to a phone call from him, to collect material on foreign opinion and to leave with him a collection of Special Reports, L-Reports and pamphlets issued by the SRC.

From an hour and a half of conversation this time it was evident (1) that USIA plans to give much more attention to the race problem than it has in the past and (2) that it wants to cooperate very closely with us.

Gausmann said he wanted a great deal of help from us and he hoped there would be ways in which the USIA could be helpful to us in return. In this connection he suggested that he might call on some of our officers or board members for overseas broadcasts. He suggested that that might have prestige value for us. I said I believed some of our leaders would be glad to do that as a service to USIA. He was particularly interested in John Wheeler and Dr. Albert Dent in this connection.

He said that USIA had long considered producing a film depicting the progress of the American Negro from emancipation up to today. He was pushing this, but there was some opposition, or hesitancy, about it.

Very much interested in a CORE meeting for Sunday night, June 11. He was promoting the idea of having a message sent to CORE from the White House -- did some phoning about it during my visit. He planned to attend the CORE meeting.

Gausmann said he will definitely fly to Atlanta at an early date to visit our office, very anxious to meet Dr. Dunbar.

He gave me a 15-page survey of "Worldwide Reaction to Racial Incidents in Alabama" and copies of half a dozen communications from overseas. It is impressive stuff and should be effective wherever patriotism outweighs race prejudice.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Extra copies in case it should be desired to send them to Burke Marshal and Harris Wofford.

BM

PA ✓

~~JAY~~

Can some Bar least confederate mil. here be incorporated in state reports?

ML ✓

PR ✓

SM-file

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

July 13, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visit to North Alabama, Birmingham and Tuscaloosa

June 18-28, 1961

The purpose of this trip was, in conversation with a few knowledgeable and influential people, to hear views, to preach law enforcement and the inevitability of desegregation and to wrestle generally with the Alabama problem.

I talked with the following:

Dr. Duncan Hunter, Methodist district superintendent and member of SRC executive committee -- Huntsville, June 18.

Senator John J. Sparkman -- Huntsville, June 19.

Rev. A. J. Yunker, Jr., pastor, Central Presbyterian Church, and Human Relations Council leader -- 526 Lanier Rd., S. W., Huntsville, (phone: 536-3883), June 19.

Milton Cummings, president, Brown Engineering Co., 1100 Meridian N. Huntsville, (phone: 536-5536), June 19.

James E. Folsom, former Governor -- Cullman, June 20.

Louis A. Eckl, executive editor, Florence Times and Sheffield Tri-Cities Daily -- Florence, June 21.

E. F. Martin, mayor of Florence, June 21.

Howell T. Heflin, chairman, local board of education and president, Alabama Committee for Better Schools -- 100½ W. 6 St., Tuscumbia, June 21.

Charles Morgan, Jr., atty., chairman, speakers bureau, Democratic State Committee -- Morgan and Shores, Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, (phone: FA 2-2642), June 22 and 23.

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, Negro secretary of the Birmingham CHR, June 22.

Charles Nice, Jr., atty., former state representative -- 210 Frank Nelson Bldg., 205 N. 20th. St., Birmingham, (phone: FA 3-8371), June 23 and 26.

Rev. John Rutland, pastor, Woodlawn Methodist Church, (Study) -- 118 N. 55 St., Birmingham, (Res. phone: 595-3212), June 24.

Douglas Arant, atty., White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose -- Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, (phone: FA 3-1551), June 24.

David Vann, atty., formerly in Justice Black's office, chairman Jefferson County Democratic Campaign Committee -- White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, June 24 and 25.

Norman C. Jimerson, executive director, Alabama CHR -- 1224 Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, June 24 and 25.

Buford Boone, publisher Tuscaloosa News, Pulitzer Prizewinner -- Tuscaloosa, June 26.

State Senator Ryan de Graffenreid -- Tuscaloosa (briefly) June 26.

J. Thomas King, unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Birmingham -- Morgan and Shores, Comer Bldg., Birmingham, June 27.

Art Hanes, mayor-elect of Birmingham (briefly, exchanging pleasantries), June 27.

George C. Hawkins, former state representative and former candidate for governor -- 930 Forrest Ave., Gadsden, June 28.

Human Relations Workers

On the evening of my arrival in Alabama (Huntsville), I had dinner and a long, immensely helpful talk with Dr. Duncan Hunter, of our executive committee, which is not being reported except as some of his observations may be reflected in my further report.

My visit with Rev. A. J. Yunker, whom Dr. Hunter urged me to see, is interesting mainly as a human interest story and as one more case of a hard-pressed Southern clergyman who may lose his pastorate because of his zeal for racial justice. Hungry for sympathy and encouragement, he invited my wife and me to lunch at his home. The family was struggling to build up a human relations council in Huntsville. (Current attendance was about 20, with 60 on the mailing list; half a dozen more whites had joined since the May riots.)

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, the Birmingham CHR secretary and a Negro, told me stories of brutality to Negroes like many we have heard before. He, like Mr. Yunker, had noted somewhat increased interest by whites in CHR activity since

the May riots. His last meeting drew 45 members, compared to the average of about 30. I asked him about the relations of A. G. Gaston, the Negro millionaire, with the Negro community. He indicated that Gaston is careful not to offend the white power structure, and is not popular among the militant Negroes.

Rev. John Rutland was described to me by Dr. Hunter and others, as the most effective crusader among the Birmingham clergy. Mr. Rutland was the most optimistic of all the people with whom I talked. Not in the nine years of his ministry in Birmingham had he sensed such a widespread desire as now to "do something" about interracial relations. Some were interested in joining the Council on Human Relations. Many others had suddenly found that public order was more important than segregation. Business men were concerned at last. There was increased interest in collaboration between the white and colored ministerial groups. He almost felt like thanking God for the Freedom Rider riots!

I talked a great deal with Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, newly appointed executive director of the Alabama CHR, who was present with me at a luncheon and a dinner. He impressed me as an earnest, dedicated man, anxious to learn more about the race problem, and eager for information and suggestions.

Moderate Sentiment in Alabama

In attempting to appraise the amount of liberal or moderate sentiment on the race question in Alabama one is handicapped by an almost universal care on the part of white liberals to conceal their liberalism. The instinct for survival has led to the development of almost incredible skill and ingenuity in this.

Two young politicians of whom I saw a great deal, Morgan and Vann, are about as liberal as Roy Wilkins. Yet one of them holds on as chairman of the speakers bureau of the State Democratic Committee and the other, as chairman of the Jefferson County Democratic Campaign Committee.

In a number of instances I talked to a political or business leader, described to me only as cautiously moderate, and before the conversation was over he revealed himself an all-out liberal on race. They would let this be known to few of their associates and least of all to known liberal crusaders in the community, who might embarrass them. Superficially it would appear that there is almost no leader who is not an uncompromising segregationist, but close observers can go over a list one by one and name a substantial number who are gravely concerned over the present situation and are prepared to accept desegregation.

"Niggering" is a common expression and a handy one in Deep South politics. It is said that elections in Alabama are simply contests to see which candidate can "out-nigger" the other. This is not strictly accurate, because more character and less "niggering" often wins. Occasionally a very liberal candidate whose true sentiments are buried sufficiently deep inside and has no "nigger-loving" items on his record wins election. But in a hotly contested electoral campaign the faintest public deviation from the segregationist line is seized upon by a "niggering" opponent with generally disastrous results.

The recent contest for mayor of Birmingham was significant in this connection; the results, in all the circumstances, indicated a substantial moderate element in that city. J. Thomas King, of the law firm of Morgan and Shores, campaigned as a "progressive." There was notably little reference to race in the first primary (May 2) campaign. King led in a field of seven.

However, Art Hanes, runner-up and the favorite of "Bull" Connor, the Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, quickly brought out a tabulation by precincts which showed that King had received the bulk of the Negro vote. To this it was added the fact that King had lived for some years in Washington, D.C., "cesspool of integration," and that his law partner (Morgan) had defended the director of the "notorious" Council on Human Relations. I have a collection of the handbills and newspaper ads playing this tune. Some of them were sponsored by a so-called "Committee to Keep Birmingham White." The campaign for the run-off (May 30) was dominated by the race question. Nevertheless, King lost by less than 4,000 votes. The vote was 21,133 to 17,385.

It may be of extra significance that King was supported by the Birmingham News and had the apparent support also of the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co.

(The riots occurred in the midst of this campaign, and the connivance of "Bull" Connor is believed by some King supporters to have been calculated to stimulate racist support of Hanes.)

The attitude of the noisier, and the dominant element, reflected in the press and in public statement, is one of defiant racism -- and one of hostility toward the federal government. One gets the disquieting feeling that the Government of the United States is regarded as the enemy!

Is sentiment any better since the May riots? The Ku Klux Klan and the political extremists are still

uninhibited. Patterson and Connor are actually trying to make capital out of their shameful performance. The segregationist press is aiding them in trying to ridicule Attorney General Kennedy. On June 26, Connor delivered an address to a state convention of law enforcement officers, which was not conducive to law enforcement. He referred to "white women of immature age traveling around....with a bunch of Negro men....expenses paid by the NAACP, CORE, Communists and other people who have never been in the South." Etc. Etc. If the President sends marshals to Birmingham, he said, "I am informing him and them now that they are going to have to stay behind the police and police dogs..."

The danger of violence remains. Some mentioned Tuscaloosa as the likely next scene of disorder -- in view of the possibility of application by a Negro to attend the University of Alabama and the unrestrained activity of the Ku Klux Klan among the student body and the populace of that city.

On the other hand, moderates are asserting themselves in Alabama as never before. My Birmingham friends reported a great number of young business men protesting the older leadership on this question. Some of them declare that, if the men under 40 could get control, the city would accept orderly desegregation. The chamber of commerce is talking about setting up a bi-racial committee.

Whether the faint moderate upsurge in Alabama will continue or peter out depends on many factors, including the tone and outcome of an incipient gubernatorial campaign.

Miscellaneous Contacts

My most frequent companions in Birmingham were three young liberal politicians, who were eagerly available for help of any kind. They were Charles "Chuck" Morgan, Charlie Nice and Dave Vann, attorneys in different law firms.

I spent most time with Morgan, my friend of two earlier visits. In addition to his strictly political activities, Morgan is president of the Alabama Heart Fund and chairman of the legislative committee of the Alabama Association for Mental Health. Having taken a dynamic part in the recent mayoralty contest, I heard a great deal about that from him.

One much-discussed incident of the campaign: King paid a courtesy visit, by appointment, to "Bull" Connor. Shortly after he emerged, he was accosted by a strange Negro man. The latter extended his hand and King shook it. A camera flashed. King men were ingeniously successful in obtaining the negative first and reproduced it in a page ad the next day, exposing the Connor trick. (Many believed, nevertheless, that this handling of the incident had damaged King.)

Morgan, and others, mentioned the following names of persons particularly influential in the Birmingham power structure: Cooper Green, former mayor, Alabama Power Co. (moderate leaning); James Simpson, Exchange Security Bank (Connor spokesman, ran against Lister Hill for Senate); W. H. Parker, executive director, Alabama Mining Institute; Frank Dickson, Alabama Associated Industries (former governor); Roper Dial, manager, Sears; and Thomas W. Martin, board chairman, Alabama Power Co. William P. Engel, of Engel Realty Co. (1921 1st. Ave. N.), former chamber of commerce president, was indicated as a moderate whom I should see; I was unable to make connection with him.

Incidentally, my liberal friends spoke favorably of Macon Weaver, recently nominated United States attorney.

(Recalling the desire of the AFL-CIO to find a capable man to try to liberalize Southern locals, reiterated to me by Christopher, I broached this matter with "Chuck" Morgan, and phoned, recommending him.)

I had a long talk also with Tom King, Morgan's law partner and the defeated candidate for mayor. King called himself a segregationist, but added that he realized the necessity for adjustment to the law of the land and he realized also the gravity of the Alabama situation from the standpoint both of the state's economy and of America's world position. He had campaigned above all as a "progressive", which many (correctly) took to include a desire to see the desegregation hurdle cleared.

(I met Art Hanes, the winning candidate at The Club and we talked only briefly, and affably, about the attractions of Birmingham and of Virginia.)

I traced Charlie Nice from a letter in my file in which he requested permission to reprint a column of mine in the Washington Post in 1957. Nice was then in the state legislature. Out now, he is planning to run again next year for one of Jefferson County's seven seats. I was very much attracted to this quiet, conscientious and courageous young man. We talked a great deal about the race problem and plans for his coming campaign; he was very anxious to have practical advice. In a countywide election of seven representatives, Nice would seem to have a chance.

I met Senator Sparkman accidentally in a Huntsville restaurant on a Sunday evening and made an appointment with him for Monday morning. My conversation with the Senator was not very satisfactory, but the incident was fortunate in one respect. Milton Cummings (a backer of Senator Sparkman) was with him when I arrived, and an introduction by the Senator was helpful in my later meeting with this industrialist.

Senator Sparkman gave the appearance of being sympathetic and anxious to help, but revealed no deep convictions on the race issue and no feeling of outrage over the May riots. He remarked that "social change can't be forced." I suspected that he is similarly congenial with his segregationist supporters. The Senator doubted there would be another breakdown of law enforcement.

Mayor E. F. Martin, of Florence, has no office in the fine City Hall but deals with municipal affairs in his shabby office as Southern Railway ticket agent. Apparently a shrewd politician, and no liberal, he views the race problem primarily as a matter of keeping the Negroes quiet. Florence Negroes, he said, were happy with their excellent schools and he knew of no "agitators" among them -- unless possibly, one ex-Army sergeant. However, he seemed to agree that public order should be preserved in all circumstances.

Howell T. Heflin, president of the Alabama Committee for Better Schools and board of education chairman at Tuscumbia, was mentioned by three or four others as a wholesome influence.

Hardly a liberal on the race question, Heflin had a curious theory about school desegregation. It was in part, no doubt, a gimmick to make the idea more acceptable to others. He said: "Integration won't last. The Negroes will want to return to their own schools after the novelty has worn off." Of course, I challenged this, but pointed out that we would not see the rush of Negro children to white schools which many fear. We seemed nearer to agreement on this point when I left.

In other respects, Heflin, a big, lumbering man, seemed properly concerned over the situation in Alabama, disgusted with Patterson, Connor et al., and alarmed over the breakdown in law enforcement.

Of former Governor Folsom he said: "It may be better to be drunk on bourbon than drunk on defiance."

He showed me two letters from former presidents of the Alabama Committee for Better Schools, urging that the Committee formulate plans for a campaign against school-closing to escape integration should such action be more imminently threatened. The writers (who seemed more liberal than Heflin) were: John W. McConnell, Jr., atty., Mobile, and C. B. Gilmore, atty., Grove Hill.

Editors and the Press

A major impediment in Alabama is the press, which exercises on the whole a more harmful influence, perhaps,

than the press of any other Southern state. This is particularly true of the two papers in Birmingham. After a golden hour of editorial responsibility following the riots, these two papers dropped back into their old attitude of encouragement to racism and defiance.

The forthright endorsement by the News of the moderate candidate for mayor (without reference to the race issue) was a faintly encouraging sign. I am told that this editorial adventure was decided upon by a 3-to-2 vote of its editorial board.

The three consistently moderate voices in the Alabama press appear to be Neil Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin at Auburn; Louis Eckl, executive editor of the Florence Times and Sheffield Tri-Cities Daily; and Buford Boone, now publisher of the Tuscaloosa News. (I heard two favorable reports also of the Selma Journal*) Boone was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for his editorials during the Autherine Lucy crisis. If the editorials of these three are merely "moderate," the men themselves are actually liberals on the race issue. The Lee County Bulletin is a weekly, but Davis is an able writer and a man of outstanding courage. I visited him last November. On this trip I talked with Eckl and Boone, who edit daily papers of substantial circulation.

Louis Eckl, after a few brief exchanges, became avidly interested and wished me to give him as much time as possible. We talked in his office and then lunched together. He wanted information about Virginia, Georgia and elsewhere and was much interested in the matter of foreign comment on the Alabama riots. He talked about many of his experiences and discussed at length the problem of a safe and effective editorial approach to the race issue.

A Presbyterian convention was in progress in Florence at the time. Presbyterian leaders had inquired as to the advisability of holding integrated meetings -- as had leaders of an earlier Episcopal convention. In both cases Eckl replied: "By all means!" and promised the cooperation of his newspapers. A handful of Negro ministers attended each convention and there was no trouble.

I gathered that the atmosphere in Florence is excellent compared with most of Alabama. The city library is integrated -- and also the buses, although Negroes rarely mingle with whites on them. Eckl mentioned a number of moderate and concerned individuals among community leaders. He said that more Negroes vote in Lauderdale County than whites in proportion to the population.

Discussing the gubernatorial outlook, Eckl said he had never supported Folsom because of "Big Jim's" personal behavior and the smell of corruption about him. The gang

* Also the Baldwin Times, Decatur Daily and Monroe Journal.

around Folsom seemed to be "taking whatever they wanted." Nevertheless, Folsom might be the best man on race who could get elected. Much interested in Folsom's statement to me that he would campaign for law and order.

The question of Folsom remained on Eckl's mind. When we said "Goodbye" in the afternoon, he turned back to say: "If Folsom talks about law and order he may get some surprising support."

Buford Boone was analytical, well-informed and depressingly pessimistic.

Among the gubernatorial possibilities, he thought Gallion and Englehardt the most dangerous, with Wallace and Boutwell only a little better. It would be wonderful if de Graffenreid (his Tuscaloosa fellow-townsman) could be elected, but he doubted if the latter would run. Boone was "afraid" it might be Folsom. He described Folsom as a big man who loves everybody and has a sort of animal attraction. Folsom might be the best prospect if he had the right people around him.

As for Patterson's future, Boone said the Governor had bought a fine house in Montgomery and he imagined he planned to run for governor again four years hence.

Boone did not think it would do much good to approach the financial leaders in Birmingham. They couldn't help much if they wanted to. The political demagogues were not that subservient to the financial hierarchy, and they had found "too good a thing" in stirring up race prejudice.

He agreed with others that Tuscaloosa was simmering for another explosion when the next Negro should try to enter the University of Alabama.

He knew that they were having some trouble getting and holding faculty members at the University -- not only because of school and community uncertainty, but because of the stifling intellectual atmosphere.

Did Boone see any hope for the Alabama problem? Not for a long time to come. For his own part, he would just keep running his newspaper and "trying to do the right thing day by day."

Economic Power Structure

I talked with two individuals of prestige in business and financial circles: Milton Cummings, president of the Brown Engineering Co., of Huntsville, and Douglas Arant, corporation lawyer, in Birmingham.

Cummings, who seemed anxious to express his views, spoke slowly in carefully measured sentences. Some of his terse remarks are given substantially below:

Anyone who discusses the problem is a nigger-lover. That's the crux of the problem.

Preachers talk about gambling, temperance and juvenile delinquency and Sabbath observance -- and by-pass our greatest problem. He had a friend in Birmingham who left his church because his pastor preached segregation and labeled social change sinful! (I have a copy of a sermon by another Birmingham clergyman on this theme, ~~entitled~~, "Do Not Force the Hand of God.")

You read about Patterson and Barnett reviewing a division of the National Guard the other day -- flags, etc. -- "patriots." Few people are doing more than those two to jeopardize the security of the United States. (He was interested in foreign comment on the Alabama riots.)

The greatest trouble in Birmingham now is in the economic power structure. Some of the "corporation boys" like race tension. It helps them fight the unions: anti-integration employees are likely to be anti-Reuther and anti-AFL-CIO.

The sub-conscious fear of Negro competition has old roots in Alabama. The first large influx of Negroes into Birmingham came during the labor shortage of World War I.

Did not think the violence "lesson had been learned" in Alabama. The danger was still there. He foresaw trouble in Tuscaloosa.

Patterson is a pathological case. He saw no hope of Patterson's changing.

Wholesale school integration is not necessary -- probably never will be. A handful of Negro children admitted to white schools next year and gradual desegregation over a period of ten years. -- It wouldn't be a very difficult matter, with real law enforcement.

Vigorous law enforcement -- with stiff penalties for violators -- is the thing most urgently needed. The authorities are too often allied with the Ku Klux Klan and other law-breakers.

The riots last month did more damage to Alabama's economy than many realize. They had affected his personnel recruitment. Some top level specialists engaged by his company to report June 1 had decided since the riots that they could not come to Alabama. I asked if there were a substantial number of these. He said, "six."

Douglas Arant, of the important law firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, is a former president of the Alabama Bar Association and is prominent in the National Bar Association. He is well acquainted with the financial leaders in Birmingham and acquainted also with some of their New York associates. An alumnus of the University of Virginia, we had a humber of friends in common. He revealed himself more and more a liberal as we talked.

I asked what he saw ahead for Alabama. Was there any possibility of any change in the attitude of Gov. Patterson?

He had given much thought to that. There was a faint chance that Patterson might try to accommodate in the hope of getting a job in the Kennedy Administration. The only basis for this was the lack of political future for him in Alabama. Under Alabama law Patterson could not run for reelection as Governor and he could not run (within a year) for the Senate. The only political chance he saw for Patterson lay in the possibility of a failure of the present efforts for Congressional redistricting. If it should become necessary to elect eight Congressmen at large, Patterson would have a good chance to win a seat in Congress.

It was likely that Alabama would have to wait (1½ years) for a change of administration before a more constructive policy could be expected. What were the chances of electing a moderate governor?

The situation now was very fluid. Arant mentioned favorably Ryan de Graffenreid (Tuscaloosa, State Senator) but the latter was in doubt about running. State Senator Bert Haltom, of Florence was a good man; he understood Halton was going to run for lieutenant-governor.

The central figure in the gubernatorial picture was Jim Folsom -- a man of little moral or physical stamina, smelling of corruption and alcohol, and yet a good man on the race issue. There were disturbing stories about Folsom's health and how long he might live. Yet the next governor might well be Folsom.

I found no one more earnestly concerned than Arant, and none more anxious than he that something should be done to arouse the Birmingham economic power structure. He thought the big industrialists and financiers could change the situation if they would, but they were inclined to ignore or evade the issue.

If the national Administration wanted to help, it could talk to half a dozen people outside of Alabama with possibly farreaching results. I told him that I had had thoughts along the same line, and asked him to give me a few names -- beside Roger Blough (president of U. S. Steel).

"Well," he said, "there is, of course, Roger Blough. Another is Newhouse, in Newark, N.J." (S. I. Newhouse is owner of the Birmingham News and local Television Channel 13). He emphasized the damage being done by the two Birmingham newspapers. "Somebody ought to get at Scripps-Howard too (Birmingham Post-Herald). They used to be crusaders!"

Then he said New York bankers had a great deal of influence with Birmingham bankers and industrialists, and they might be the handiest to approach. He named three (whom he appeared to know personally):

Harold Helm, Chemical National New York Trust

George Champion, Chase Manhattan

Henry C. Alexander, Morgan Guaranty Trust

I saw Arant Saturday morning. He called me that evening at 9:30 p.m. to ask when I would be back in Birmingham and to press further the suggestion that the Administration should contact Blough, etc. and the New York bankers. If the bankers would point out emphatically to their Birmingham associates "that the anti-Negro business is threatening the economic stability and progress of Alabama, things would change." They might do this as a patriotic service.

(It occurred to me later that Secretary of the Treasury Dillon might have a convenient opportunity to talk to New York financiers about the gravity of the Deep South situation from a national and an international point of view.)

Candidates for Governor

The possible candidates for Governor to succeed Patterson in January, 1964, (subject to the Democratic primary next May), are discussed below with particular reference to their attitudes toward the race problem.

Attorney General MacDonald Gallion, definitely in the race, is considered the most reckless extremist on the list. Cultivating the support of the Citizens Council and probably of the Ku Klux Klan. At outs now with Governor Patterson.

Sam Englehardt, state highway commissioner and author of the bill to gerrymander Macon County, apparently seeking similar support, is considered almost as dangerous. Englehardt maintains a pose of not being a candidate, but is expected to run, nevertheless, probably with Patterson's support.

Judge George Wallace, a former circuit court judge, Patterson's opponent in the 1958 run-off, (the vote: Patterson, 196,859; Wallace, 162,435). Wallace once threatened

to jail FBI or Civil Rights Commission investigators who might inquire into voting or the jury system in his judicial circuit, but he later yielded on this point.

Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwell, generally considered a candidate, close to the three above-mentioned in his attitude toward the race problem, is, nevertheless, a soft-spoken, even-tempered man.

The above four appear to be the major candidates among the extremist group. Another, Gen. Walter J. Hanna, commanding the 31st. National Guard division, is conspicuously letting it be known that he is available, but his chances are considered slight. Birmingham's police commissioner, "Bull" Connor, is occasionally mentioned in this connection, but he has little statewide following and is not considered likely to sacrifice his job in Birmingham for this uncertainty.

There are also three possible candidates believed to have moderate, or even liberal, leanings on the race question. They are State Senator Ryan de Graffenreid, former Rep. George Hawkins and former Gov. James E. Folsom. I visited these and shall discuss them more fully.

I talked with de Graffenreid only a few minutes. A conference which we had planned for the afternoon was prevented by the prolongation of a case which he was arguing in court and we talked for only a few minutes in the court-house corridor. A handsome, attractive, very serious gentleman, he was cordial and apologetic for the mishap. His brief comment was to the effect that Alabama might have to learn the hard way.

De Graffenreid is of a distinguished family, and his personal integrity and high-minded attitude generally give more comfort to liberals than anything he has actually said on the subject of race. Moderate elements in Birmingham express a high opinion of him. Buford Boone, the liberal editor of the Tuscaloosa News, is an enthusiastic admirer. De Graffenreid has had considerable publicity recently as a leader in the fight for legislative reapportionment.

He encourages talk about his running for Governor, but some of his friends insist that he is planning only to run four years hence.

George Hawkins was Folsom's floor leader in the House of Representatives who ran a pathetic race for governor in

1958. The most liberal of the major contenders (although calling himself a segregationist), he ran sixth among 44 candidates in the first primary, with some 25,000 votes. Hawkins was active in efforts to restore sanity in Tuscaloosa at the time of the Autherine Lucy riots. I found him rarely mentioned among gubernatorial possibilities this time, but I learned in conversation with him that he is very definitely planning to run.

My good friend, "Chuck" Morgan, was Hawkin's campaign manager. Morgan having prepared him for my visit, he was quite eager, when I called at his office in Gadsden, to discuss his plans and seek information and advice.

Though for various reasons, many people doubt that former Gov. Folsom can be elected again, "Big Jim" appears to be the central figure in most gubernatorial speculation. Hawkins seemed more confident than any with whom I talked that Folsom could not possibly be elected again. He had lost his magic. Hawkins had felt out sentiment in several former Folsom strongholds and was convinced they would not go for him again. In one county where Folsom formerly got about 80 percent of the vote, he said, Folsom would not get more than one third of the vote today.

Hawkins was deeply concerned with the Alabama problem, not only from a local, but from a national and an international point of view. I talked about the reaction to the Alabama riots abroad and the collection of transcripts of foreign comment that I had got from the USIA. Whether or not he could use it in his public campaign, he wanted me to send him the fullest information on this subject. He was interested in the Virginia story and seemed particularly glad to get a copy of my book, which I gave him.

We talked at length about the problem of how the race problem could be handled in his campaign. I made my usual suggestion: law and order, and the inevitability of desegregation. He felt that he would have to steer clear of the latter, but he could fight for law and order, and he intended to do so. He agreed with me that a platform of law and order should be as unassailable as Southern womanhood; that a bold campaign for this, even if he should lose, (which will probably be the case) would be a service to Alabama and a record upon which he could always look back upon with pride.

Should he fight the Ku Klux Klan? It had always been against him anyway. It was weak in Gadsden, but strong in neighboring Anniston.

I though he should fight the Klan openly, with all his might and with no holds barred.

The stories about "Big Jim" Folsom are numerous and colorful. By all accounts he is the candidate most likely to divert attention from the question of race -- which is

surely what the doctor would order for Alabama. He is an example, rare in the Deep South now, of a politician who can hold the support of masses of ignorant whites without appealing to race prejudice.

But he has other characteristics which fill even liberal Alabamans with anxiety or disgust. He is believed by many to be corrupt, though he is not wealthy and some say rather that he is more careless and inept than others in financial matters. His addiction to alcohol is considered a more serious matter. During his second term, the question, "How drunk is the Governor today?" was acutely related to the public welfare. He is said to have deteriorated since.

Many are disturbed over the caliber of Folsom's "drinking pals" and others who are likely to surround him. The fifteen apparently small-bore politicians whom I saw in his anteroom at Cullman were not inspiring to look upon. (Morgan mentioned among Folsom cronies Louis Freeman, Frank Long and Joe Booth). Buford Boone, for one, suggested that it would be a public service for some more respectable politicians to attach themselves to Folsom and raise the level of his entourage.

No one with whom I talked is happy at the prospect, but most thought Folsom might win, and also that he is the "least bad" candidate who could.

Stories of Folsom's alcoholism are clearly stimulated now by supporters of other candidates for governor, and they are, of course, exaggerated. A mayor, supporting Wallace, said Folsom might not live through the campaign, that he would "pass out" during rallies and have to be taken home. Some say that Folsom rises and begins to drink at 5 a.m. However, when I visited him from noon until 1 p.m. I found him entirely lucid, with no smell of alcohol, and he was punctilious enough to write me a letter a few days later, expressing appreciation for my visit.

My conversation with Folsom was interrupted by several telephone calls. One caller evidently asked: "How are you?" The reply was:

"Well, I've got cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis and pneumonia and I'm expecting to bust out day after tomorrow with syphilis!"

Governor Folsom knew our organization. He asked about George Mitchell (a former executive director, with whom he had apparently had some contact while governor.)

On the inevitability of desegregation, Folsom said: "Of course, it's inevitable. We can't beat the federal government. Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson couldn't."

On the recent riots: "I would have avoided all this. I had a plan to solve the bus problem which would have prevented the boycott and all the rest. I proposed that white

be seated from the front and colored from the back, with the line drawn according to the load. The Negroes agreed to it, but I couldn't sell it to the Montgomery crowd. That would have settled the whole thing -- and Martin Luther King never would have gotten famous!"

Folsom is conscious of the bearing of race discrimination on our world position, though it is not a major concern with him. I said, "The Alabama problem is a national problem." He added " -- and an international problem." He seemed interested in foreign comment on the Alabama riots, and I left him with excerpts from transcripts which I had got from the USIA.

Folsom said, without suggestion from me, that he will appoint a bi-racial committee on race relations "when" he gets in.

He said he would campaign for law and order and added: "The property-owners will like that."

Would he fight the Ku Klux Klan?

"Sure I'll fight the Kluckers. They've never voted for me. I unmasked those s.o.b.'s. Six states copied our law."

Folsom said he would put in a lick for law and order when he spoke at a Masonic celebration at Florala the following Saturday.

(Florala is way down on the Florida border. Birmingham papers Sunday in their brief account of Folsom's speech, quoted him as saying: "I stand for law and order.")

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

The Weekly Tribune News, Cartersville, Ga., Aug. 10, 1961

Lions Club Heard Speaker Urge Gradual Integration

The question of integration is a "hurdle which some day will have to be cleared in many other communities. The challenge will come to some within a few months, to others within a few years,' said Benjamin Muse, Virginia political leader, author, a former member of the Diplomatic Service, and now a member of the Southern Regional Council, and one-time Republican gubernatorial nominee in Virginia, at the Tuesday meeting of the Cartersville Lions Club.

"However the challenge may come, there is no real reason to fear any interruption in the orderly life of this community, and when you have established yourselves as a city, which has cleared this hurdle, and where white people and negroes are working harmoniously together, a surer road will be opened to economic and industrial progress,' Muse continued.

Muse said, "No one of us, and no group of us has an excuse for ignoring, or considering himself detached from the problem of race relations. Probably the greatest single obstacle to orderly admustment in this field, is the reluctance of people to talk about it, the reluctance to grapple with it. The problem would be less difficult and disturbing if it were discussed less by dubious organizations in secret conclaves and more by respectable citizens in the clear light of day."

Muse, a resident in Manassas, Va., said that recent Gallup polls showed that 76 percent of Southerners now think segregation will ultimately end and only 19 percent hold a contrary view.

"This doesn't mean that Southerners like the idea," he commented.

However, he added, "Many people think the Supreme Court made a mistake (in 1954). What we must unite in saying is that the orders of all courts of this nation shall be respected and their decisions upheld — so that law and order may prevail."

Muse said he believed the many efforts to break down school segregation has convinced many Southerners that the Negro has at last resolved to assert himself as a full-fledged citizen of the United States.

"Racist extremists of the Deep South are actually doing more than any other group in the United States to undermine our world position and aid the Communist cause," he declared.

Muse said he did not believe integregation can come, or should be in effect overnight. "What I think we must do is move gradually into that direction," he said.

"What we must certainly avoid doing is moving in the opposite direction that is fatal," he is confident.

Desegregation, especially in the case of schools, does present problems, and complexities which have nothing to do with race prejudice. And yet to make a beginning, to start a gradual process, is not nearly as difficult as many imagine it to be," the speaker believes.

Lion Gene Cragg of Marietta was a guest of John McCollum, and J. E. McKelvey, Adairsville, was a guest of W. C. Henson, the latter introducing the days guest speaker.

The Daily Tribune News, Cartersville, Ga., Aug. 10, 1961

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Press Feature Services
THURSDAY AETERNOON, AUGUST 10, 1961

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

August 23, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM

Memphis

August 12-16, 1961

Persons Seen

E. William Henry, attorney, Home Federal Building, 2nd. and Jefferson.

A. Eugene Cox, Delta Foundation, 933 Chambliss Road

Hollis F. Price, president, Le Moyne College, (first vice president MCRC) 807 Walker Ave., WH 8-6626

Edward J. Meeman, editor, Memphis Press-Scimitar, 495 Union Ave.

Miss Margaret McCullough, 858 Whitford Place, WH 6-4570

(I also heard some discussion of the Memphis problem later with liberal professors at the University of Mississippi.

I made unsuccessful efforts to see Lewis R. Donelson III, chairman of a CRC sub-committee on lunch-counter desegregation, and Lucious Burch, one of the founders of the CRC. Burch was in Europe.)

Situation in Brief

It is assumed by all with whom I talked, that there will be no school integration crisis this fall. The NAACP lawsuit, on appeal, is not expected to be heard, by the U.S. Court of Appeals, before November. Under the school board's plan approved by the district court April 14, the time limit for appeal from assignments to previous schools has expired and action can be taken only on applications for enrollment in Memphis schools for the first time. The NAACP is not encouraging any Negro enrollments under this plan.

The most serious immediate danger of public disorder is in connection with the demonstrations and pressure looking to department store lunch counter desegregation. Negotiations are in progress among merchants and with Negro leaders.

General Observations

I am hesitant to express opinions on a Memphis reconnaissance necessarily limited to two days (plus Sunday), but these observations may be submitted.

Memphis is far behind Nashville, for instance, in desegregation, but is making notable progress compared with neighboring Mississippi. Eugene Cox, well-known human relations crusader, was impressed by the progress made during the past 15 months. This included desegregation of library, art gallery, zoo, several parks, McKeller Park Docks, and buses. Integration at Memphis State University has been extended from 2 or 3 to 34 Negro students. Library rest rooms were desegregated during my visit (Aug. 14). There are two Negro members of the local Democratic Committee. Recently Negroes have been appointed to a number of minor public offices and to one office of major responsibility. There were Negro deputies in Shelby County, a Negro assistant public defender, and a Negro assistant in the county trustee's office. The appointment of a Negro assistant appraiser in the county assessor's office was announced during my visit. A really epoch-making event was the appointment of Maceo Walker, a wealthy Negro insurance company executive, as one of three members of the Memphis Transit Authority. He succeeded Edmund Orgill, a former mayor and former candidate for governor, on that body.

The impress of the old Crump regime is still felt in Memphis in many ways. One legacy is a strong Negro electorate (now about 80,000 registered voters in county and city) with a keen interest in local politics, and a group of active Negro politicians, who secure promises, or "make deals" and figure in every white politician's calculations. The Negroes operate through a "Democratic Club," and I was told that three leaders can "deliver" the Negro vote. One theory, ventured by some, is that a remnant of the subservience of the populace to City Hall under Boss Crump might prove beneficial in a race crisis. The elements most likely to stage a riot are inclined instinctively to take their "line" from City Hall and in such an event the "line" would be, "Lay off."

The Citizens Council in Memphis is said to be feeble. The most important organizations concerned with race relations are: the NAACP, the Memphis Council on Human Relations and the Memphis Committee on Community Relations. The MCHR operates much like the usual unit under the state CHR and the SRC. The third body, which is more often called the Community Relations Committee, or the CRC, is a large interracial organization, with a white membership of varying attitudes, and includes a considerable representation from the city's power structure. (The editors of both newspapers are members.) The CRC's role was described as one of "mediation." It is deeply concerned now with the problem of lunch counter desegregation.

Business men speak through three groups: the chamber of commerce, Future Memphis, Inc. (100 executives of the largest corporations) and the Downtown Association. (The president of the last mentioned was described as a "last-ditcher.")

Lunch Counter Desegregation

Earnest efforts are being made to solve this problem. Details were difficult to get at owing to the secrecy which surrounds the negotiations and which CRC members are urged to observe. I was told, however, that two prime difficulties were the usual one of obtaining assurances of united action, and the incidental problem of department store rest rooms.

Further notes on my visits to some individuals are given below:

E. William Henry

Henry was not well informed on race relations developments around the South, and he was not acquainted with our organization. He was, however, deeply interested in the Memphis situation and anxious to help. He might "have some part" in the lunch counter negotiations. He wished the fullest information from us. He said the mayor and other city commissioners were shrewd, opportunist politicians and segregationists but that they would probably show a sense of responsibility in the event of a threat to public order.

Hollis Price

The jovial, mundane Negro president of Le Moyne College, a keen observer of the local scene, said that he had witnessed a remarkable change in white attitudes during the past two years. "Two years ago many said 'Never,' now all the important people agree privately that segregation must go -- just a question of time."

Edward J. Meeman

Although their editorial conservatism irritates many, both Memphis newspapers have cooperated with the CRC and have treated the recent desegregation moves in a way calculated to promote public acceptance. Commercial Appeal editor Frank R. Ahlgren was described by some of my friends as a hopeless extremist. Press-Scimitar editor Meeman was called from slightly moderate to "fine."

I saw only Meeman. He began by quizzing me in detail about the SRC and my own activities, then said, "I understand. Now we can talk." A fidgety, hard-bitten elderly gentleman, he then treated me to a rapid fire discourse on Memphis politics, race relations and the policy of his newspaper. It was all intended to be helpful and from a liberal point of view as far as the race issue is concerned.

Mayor Henry Loeb came into office as a die-hard segregationist, strongly opposed by the Negroes. Some liberals

described him to me as stupid and unscrupulous. On the other hand Dean Farley at the University of Mississippi thought Loeb had shown great ability in steering Memphis through a series of steps of race relations progress. Editor Meeman said Loeb "had shown himself a statesman." Meeman was obviously a friend and ally of Loeb and had worked closely with him. He dealt at length with the sensational developments which culminated in the appointment of Walker to the MTA. The furor started when the city commission, under pressure from misguided Negro groups -- as Meeman put it -- voted 4 to 1 to appoint A. W. Willis, NAACP counsel, to the post. Mayor Loeb vetoed this and secured the appointment of a much better qualified and less controversial representative of the Negro community. Then in order to make everybody happy over the outcome the Press-Scimitar had Clark Porteous (a liberal staffer about whom I had heard from Johnny Popham) do a 6-column, page-deep write-up, streamlined, "Getting Acquainted with A. Maceo Walker," with appropriate photos, somewhat like the write-up of a newly elected governor. Meeman, insisting that I see it, sent for a copy of the issue (August 2) and gave it to me. It was very well done, and must have helped to make white citizens agreeable and Negroes proud.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

August 23, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM

University of Mississippi

August 16-17, 1961

Thanks to the dynamic hospitality of Jim Silver, my visit to "Old Miss" was a saturation operation; I left feeling like a UM alumnus. I met a number of faculty members casually and talked at varying length with the following:

Dr. John Davis Williams, chancellor

Hugh H. Clegg, assistant to the chancellor and director of development

Dr. Robert Joseph Farley, dean of the law school

Dr. Charles Nolan Fortenberry, dean of the graduate school and chairman, political science department

Dr. Russell Hunter Barrett, associate professor of political science

William Patrick Murphy, professor of law

Dr. James Wesley Silver, professor of history

Conclusions in Brief

No integration crisis is expected at "Old Miss" in September or during the first semester. In the case of Negro applicant James H. Meredith, the court has set September 5 for briefs for the state and allowed ten additional days for plaintiff's answering brief. Registration begins September 20 and classes, September 22. Judge Sidney C. Mize said that his ruling will apply "to the next ensuing session," but appeal by one side or the other is regarded as a foregone conclusion. No newspaper men are to be seen at "Old Miss," in contrast to the situation in earlier crises, when swarms of these descended upon the University.

When integration finally comes to "Old Miss," the University -- and the town of Oxford -- appear to be well prepared to take it without serious disorder. Violence is improbable unless it

should be from visiting "caravans". With the present state emphasis on law and order these would probably be discouraged or prevented.

A greater danger of violence in Mississippi in the near future would be in connection with a possible ICC requirement for the desegregation of buses and bus stations. The consensus of people with whom I talked was that even this crisis can be surmounted without great disturbance if initial bus integration is effected with planned discretion on the part of the Negroes.

The Meredith Case

The hearings in progress in the Meredith case were the subject of avid discussion among my friends on the campus.

In the course of a long evening's bullfest among a liberal group (all the contacts listed except the chancellor and his assistant) shock was expressed in varying degrees at the testimony of Registrar Robert P. Ellis who testified that race had not been taken into consideration in denying Meredith's application, that he had no instructions to deal with Negro applications differently from others and there were no regulations to that effect; but that Meredith had been found unqualified for various reasons other than race.

Silver said Ellis was a liar and thought he should be charged with perjury. Others thought Meredith's attorney should have had Chancellor Williams and others testify. Dean Farley said there was in fact a regulation not aimed at Negroes originally, but at Japanese at the end of World War II, requiring that applications from persons not of the Caucasian race be referred to higher authority. It had been observed subsequently in the case of Chinese, and other Orientals, who had generally been accepted with approval of chancellor and trustees.

Clegg, assistant to the chancellor, was described to me by Silver as a shrewd segregationist but an extremely able man and the No. 2 power on the campus. He is the man in closest touch with the Meredith case from the University end. Clegg said to me in a conference the next day that Ellis' testimony was correct. He said that the University was forthright in its position that it had not discriminated against Negroes at any time because of race. It simply happened that no qualified American Negro had ever applied for admission. He went into some detail in pointing out Meredith's shortcomings. The Negro was erratic in filling out his application and in his testimony in court. He said that Meredith's lack of educational qualifications was evident from his failure to answer many questions put to him.

At this point Silver, who was with me, asked Clegg if it were not true that half the white students could not answer the same questions correctly.

Clegg replied: "Probably they couldn't -- but they are not going to court."

The assistant to the chancellor said that it was practically certain there would be no integration crisis before next February. He did not think there would be one then. He confidently predicted that the decision in the Meredith case would run like this: the district court would enjoin all state institutions of higher learning from denying admission to any applicant on account of race, but would rule that Meredith had not met the requirements for admission to the UM.

In my interview with Dr. Williams the chancellor expressed "pride" in the fact that Registrar Ellis had been able to go into court and "tell the truth" about the policy and practice of the University. He thought there was something epoch-making about the registrar saying to a federal court -- and to press and public -- that qualified Negroes are not barred from admission to the University of Mississippi. He added -- and it is obviously in part a legal precaution -- that a search of University files, trustee's minutes, etc. would reveal nothing contrary to that statement. He was happy that the University had such a"clean record."

Clegg and several liberals also expressed the opinion that Constance Baker Motley, NAACP counsel for plaintiff, was handling the case ineptly.

The Danger of Violence at "Old Miss"

All of my informants agreed that there is little danger of violence, or serious disturbance at the UM when integration comes. There are no extremists among the faculty and many members are moderate-to-liberal on the race issue. (Only conflicting engagements prevented Hector Currie (law) and J.R. Tatum (sociology) from joining in our liberal talks.) There are no signs of protest among the students. Race relations are good and there is much moderate sentiment in the town of Oxford.

My liberal friends thought it would be wise to have some federal marshals around when the time came. Silver said he had advised Burke Marshall "one marshal." I suggested two -- to make it possible to say "marshals" in the plural. All agreed that it would have a stabilizing effect to let it get around that there were federal marshals on the campus. The Mississippi "red necks" had a lot of respect for federal marshals.

There has been some careful planning for the contingency by the remarkable Hugh Clegg, assistant to the chancellor. Clegg had been an FBI official before he came to the University.

He told me, as I had heard before, that the football squad is prepared to preserve order if need be. The three coaches like the idea and they know what to do. Clegg said the Oxford chamber of commerce also has plans for keeping the community quiet and orderly.

Chancellor Williams said he had no fears as far as the University and the local community was concerned. He felt there was little danger even of visiting "caravans." There would have been a swarm of them and "blood would have flowed," he said, if integration had been attempted two years ago. But there was a new feeling about law and order in Mississippi now.

Dr. Williams, who was in an optimistic mood, attached great importance to the pride which the public is taking since the arrival of the Freedom Riders in the demonstration that "Mississippi preserves order." Governor Barnett had received praise from near and far. Even the Citizens Councils had urged orderly behavior. He believed the public order principle had enough momentum to carry over into crises to come.

Close "Old Miss?"

John L. Kennedy is a young moderate politician who lost his seat in the legislature in the last election to an extremist opponent. I was introduced to him in an Oxford restaurant and we talked briefly. He said that, in the event of an order to admit the Negro, the governor would close the University.

Silver said later that Kennedy is not very well informed. No one on the campus with whom I talked seemed to have any serious fear of the University closing. Chancellor Williams, law school dean Farley have good relations with the governor and see him from time to time. The alumni generally would oppose the closing. The devotion of the public to the famous football team of "Old Miss" would be an important deterrent.

Violence in the Wake of an ICC Ruling?

At the session of the liberal faculty group I invited speculation as to the effect upon public order in Mississippi of bus desegregation under an ICC order. Dean Farley said: "There won't be any trouble." I said the Negroes would have to move discreetly and without fanfare. Farley said: "Of course. -- I mean if the Negroes handle it right."

All thought that state authorities would be inclined to continue their recent firmness in keeping public order.

Nevertheless, Dean Barrett thought the ICC order could produce an explosive situation. Negroes would have to proceed with extreme caution and a minimum of publicity at the

beginning. Federal marshals should be used, possibly one on each bus with the first unsegregated Negro passengers.

Chancellor Williams

In my further conversation with the chancellor he revealed a kind of master-servant racism. He thought the Negroes were "making a great mistake." Why didn't they continue to develop their own culture -- spirituals, etc. -- among themselves? Like the Irish and the Indians? (I gently demolished the Irish comparison.) He recalled a visit to the Cherokee Indian Reservation and the enthusiasm of his guide over Indian achievements. "They wanted to have as little as possible to do with palefaces."

We were unable to prolong the conversation, but he invited me to come again at a later date and talk some more.

He is a smooth diplomat, skilled in soothing extremists and defending the University and himself in an intensively segregationist milieu.

Getting Rid of Bill Murphy

During a visit in his home, law professor Murphy gave me a long account of the efforts during the past several years to secure his separation from the University. He was the one chosen for first attention in a list of ten liberal professors cited in a Citizens Council alumni manifesto two years ago. Legislature, governor, trustees, chancellor and dean had all gotten into the act as one move after another had been thwarted. Dean Farley had been Murphy's most effective champion, pointing out the damage which the law school would suffer if a professor should be dismissed because of his liberal views. The University has used every means short of dismissal. During the summer Murphy was retained on the faculty and paid his salary, but not allowed to teach. He was offered a similar arrangement for the coming semester -- compensation for not teaching. He refused, but, after a struggle succeeded in getting himself kept on the faculty roster with a year's "leave of absence." He will teach next year at the University of Missouri.

Benjamin Muse

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BENJAMIN MUSE
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Manassas, Virginia

PAY
PRV
CHPV
MLV
MMB. file

September 2, 1961

MEMORANDUM

August, 1961, Activities

This is to account for my principle activities during August.

August 6-21, Southern tour by auto

August 8: I addressed the Lions Club of Cartersville, Ga. Reports of my talk in the Cartersville Daily and Weekly, Tribune News are enclosed herewith. After the luncheon I continued to Dalton, Ga., and conferred with Julius Longley, industrial consultant.

August 9: I called upon Erwin Mitchell, State Senator and former Congressman in his office at the First National Bank Building, Dalton, and spent most of the morning with this fine liberal political leader. In the afternoon I visited our good friends at the Chattanooga Times -- Martin Ochs, editor, and Johnny Popham, executive editor. I was particularly glad also to meet Charles Norman Bradley, associate editor, and a native of Mississippi. Bradley was editor of the Jackson State-Times from its first issue, February 28, 1955, but was too liberal for Jackson and left after about one year.

August 10: Proceeded to Nashville and conferred with Harland Randolph, director of the Southern Student Leadership Seminar, at which I had agreed to conduct a class in "Politics" August 11.

August 11: Conducted class in the morning at Fisk. In the afternoon I drove to the Vanderbilt-Peabody area in the hope of seeing some of our professor friends, or Will Campbell. All away. However, I fell into a conversation with Dr. W. Knox McCharen, Director of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation at Peabody, who proved to be another liberal Mississippian. He told me about successful integration at Peabody and expressed a high opinion of some of the Negro students. Suggested I visit his brother, Travis McCharen, State Dept. of Education, Jackson, Miss.

August 12: (Saturday) Proceeded to Memphis. (See my memorandum of August 23 on my Memphis visit.)

August 16: Proceeded to Oxford, Miss. (See my memorandum of August 23 on my visit to the University of Mississippi.)

August 18: Left Oxford, driving east, and, at Tupelo, Miss., called upon George McLean, publisher-executive editor of the Daily Journal, one of Mississippi's most articulate and effective moderates.

August 19: Another conference with Longley in Dalton, Ga.

August 21: Returned to Manassas, Va.

On August 24, I flew to Detroit to attend the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. My assignment was to confer, August 25, with a "by-invitation-only" group of about fifteen school administrators and other concerned prelates on parochial school desegregation. We labored all day. I may have justified my presence by a sentence which, coming from layman to clergy, had some reaction; it was used as the text for Director Matt Ahman's address to the evening assembly. When priests expressed fears of loss of communicants and financial support, I remarked that "the time may have come once more in the long history of the Church for Christians to suffer for the truth."

I stayed through the Saturday evening banquet (August 26) on my own account and returned Sunday. It was of incidental interest that all of the principals in the UAW-auto industry negotiations came to our banquet. Ford Vice-President Gossett was MC and Secretary Goldberg, a scheduled speaker. Walter Reuther and American Motors, General Motors and Chrysler vice-presidents also came. The Archbishop expressed gratification at seeing them break bread together in Christian fellowship. Fred Routh and I chatted with Reuther and expressed appreciation for AFL-CIO support of SRC.

During the week after my return to Manassas, complying with a request of Matt Ahman, I prepared a paper (about 3,000 words), "The Problem of Integrating Parochial Schools in the South" and forwarded it to him. A copy of this paper is enclosed herewith.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

File: S.C. Prof. Ben Muse field reports 1961

Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Va.

October 14, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Mississippi, September 19 -- October 2, 1961

MODERATE LEADERSHIP RESOURCES IN MISSISSIPPI

A very large element -- some say, a majority -- of educated Mississippians are silently, or privately moderate on the race issue. That is, they are prepared to accept the inevitable without disorder. An unpredictable number of public officials and business leaders at a high level, now silent, will undoubtedly come forward in support of moderate policy at the showdown. Chancellor J. D. Williams of the University of Mississippi is a conspicuous public figure, on cordial terms with Governor Barnett and most of the power structure. Dr. Williams' chief concern is protection of his university, but he has exercised some moderate influence on the broader question. It is believed that Boyd Campbell, of Jackson, a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce and a man of nationwide contacts, would exert moderate influence in a crisis, but he is now silent on the issue. Campbell's firm supplies Mississippi school books, and he is closely identified with the power structure.

Some important leaders are more definitely known to close friends, or even to a wider public, to favor a moderate and constructive approach to race problems. Among politicians in this category I would name first these seven:

James P. Coleman*, former governor, now state representative, Ackerman;

William Forest Winter*, state Tax Collector, Jackson;

Joel Blass*, former state representative, Wiggins;

Rep. Joseph E. Wroten, Greenville;

Rep. Karl Wiesenburg, Pascagoula;

State Sen. David Flavious Lambert, Jr., Belmont;

and Sam Lumpkin*, Tupelo, former House Speaker, lieutenant governor and unsuccessful candidate for governor.

* I have met only these four.

Superintendent of Public Education Jackson McWhirter Tubb has taken a strong position against closing public schools to avoid integration.

Cong. Frank E. Smith is considered a moderate, but apparently does not consider the Mississippi race problem a part of his responsibilities.

At the next level either of influence or of dedication to the moderate cause, upon further exploration, perhaps a score of politicians could be listed. One of these, whom I visited, would be John L. Kennedy, Holly Springs, a young former representative and close friend of Lumpkin and Blass, ardently liberal, but of more limited influence and not now interested in returning to the political arena. Kennedy said he knew of the moderate leaning of the following incumbent legislators:

State Sen. James R. Christenberry, Rolling Fork;

State Sen. John Clark Love, Kosciusco;

State Sen. Gillespie V. Montgomery, Meridian;

Rep. James N. Bailey, Jr., Coffeeville;

Rep. Edgar Lee Boteler, Jr., Grenada;

Rep. Philip D. Bryant, Oxford;

Rep. William C. Butler, Eupora;

Rep. James P. Dean, Corinth;

Rep. Charles M. Deaton, Greenwood;

Rep. Eugene B. Gifford, Rienzi;

Rep. John D. Guyton, Kosciusko;

Rep. Horace L. Meridith, Greenville;

Rep. Ray S. Mikell, Kosciusko;

Rep. Albert V. Miller, Rolling Fork;

Rep. George W. Rogers, Vicksburg;

Rep. Billy W. Shelton, Tupelo.

Also:

Associate Judge William N. Ethridge, Jr., Mississippi Supreme Court, Oxford.

Claude Ramsey, Jackson, chairman, Mississippi Labor Council, seems devoted to the liberal cause in race relations almost as much as in the field of organized labor.

William L. Higgs, Jackson, is an enthusiastically liberal lawyer, 25 years of age, who has unsuccessful political adventures. A close associate and adviser of Negro lawyers, legal counsel of the CCR advisory committee, he holds Negro voter classes and is active in the liberal cause in many ways.

Rev. Charles Granville Hamilton, Aberdeen, might be classed among politicians, as he has been a candidate for lieutenant governor, and has been active in presidential campaigns. Now lecturing at Dillard University, Hamilton is an Episcopal minister without a charge and is considered eccentric by many. He broadcasts, and otherwise expresses, shockingly liberal views on race and a variety of subjects.

Moderate Newspaper Editors

Among the editors of moderate leaning, because of his influence both personally and through the Jackson State Times and the McComb Enterprise-Journal, which he edits, first mention should be made of:

J. Oliver Emmerich, McComb.

Robert Webb, associate editor of the State Times is a liberal, who makes a helpful contribution.

Hodding Carter, Jr., is continuing in his father's footsteps as editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times.

George McLean is publisher-executive editor of the second largest moderate paper, the Tupelo Daily Journal.

Easton King, long editor of the Pascagoula Chronicle-Star, is not longer identified with that paper, but continues to be an aggressive liberal influence and may get back into journalism.

A number of editors of smaller papers make cautious efforts to promote moderation. Among them are:

Hunt Howell, The Panolian, Batesville;

Curtis Mullen, Madison County Herald, Bay Springs;

Hall Decell, Rolling Fork;

Paul Pittman, Tylertown; and

H. H. Crisler, Jr., Jasper County Herald, Canton.

Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington Advertiser and Jackson Northside Reporter, belongs to the group of crusading liberals.

Other Influential Leaders

Hodding Carter, Sr., is widely execrated for his outspoken liberal views, but to many silent moderates he is still a voice of conscience and common sense.

Joseph B. Brunini, Jackson, Catholic auxiliary bishop and a member of SRC.

Dr. James W. Silver, irrepressible liberal at the University of Mississippi, exerts some influence beyond that campus.

Dr. Robert J. Farley, dean of the law school, University of Mississippi, exerts a shrewdly moderate influence.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, is a crusading liberal.

Dr. Ernest Borinski is the veteran liberal dean at Tougaloo.

President H. Ellis Finger and Dean Jos. S. Ferguson, of Millsaps College are moderates less persona non grata to the power structure than Beittel.

Nearly all of the white college presidents in Mississippi are probably privately moderate. One of them who knows all the others told me he believed this to be true. They walk a tight rope among state authorities and trustees, while they tolerate and protect many liberal faculty members.

White Leaders Active in the Desegregation Cause

The following individuals are aggressively dedicated to the cause of desegregation:

Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo College, near Jackson, has been a central figure among white "integrationists" in recent months. He states his views boldly on a Jackson TV program. Two white young ladies are now enrolled in the otherwise all-Negro Tougaloo student body. Groups of white moderates from Jackson and bi-racial groups meet from time to time at Tougaloo.

Rev. Murray Cox, Gulfport, retired Methodist minister, 74 years old, is chairman of the Mississippi CCR advisory committee and a leading "apostle" to the liberals in southern Mississippi.

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, is a member of the SRC.

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, William Higgs and Claude Ramsey were mentioned previously.

A. Eugene Cox is a veteran crusader who feels that he is a marked man in Mississippi. He has found it more comfortable to make his home in Tennessee south of Memphis (933 Chambliss Road), to which he returns week-ends. Cox is now giving full time, financed by a small foundation grant, to quietly visiting and ferreting out moderates in Mississippi. Most of his contacts are clergymen. He has a list of over 200 and expects it to exceed 400 by Christmas.

POLITICAL NOTES

Joel Blass, considerably more optimistic than at the time of my visit last February, looks forward to some kind of liberal revival in the campaign before the 1963 elections. He stood aside in the last election, not because of lack of local support, but because of discouragement at frustrations in the legislature. He finds a new stirring and increased confidence among his liberal political friends.

Blass' hopes are built around a prospective campaign for governor on the part of J. P. Coleman, whom he idolizes. Practically all liberal and moderate elements have the same feeling about Coleman. (Fortunately Coleman has support also among many who are not so liberal on the race question.)

Knowledgeable liberals also hold Tax Collector Winter in high esteem and think of him as eventual gubernatorial material. Winter is a staunch supporter of Coleman.

The moderate cause has been appreciably aided by developments not directly related to the race question. Lumpkin pointed out that Governor Barnett, whom he described as a "jackass," has given Mississippi its first deficit ($45 million) since the Bilbo Administration. Above all, the remodeling of the executive mansion at a cost of $302,724.80 has furnished a bonanza of political capital for the opposition. The statement of cost, published early in September, showed an item for $10,350.77 for gold-plated fixtures, etc. for the guest bathroom. It is difficult from outside the state to realize the extent to which this matter has amused and exercised Mississippi politicians, pundits and the public; and the end is not yet. It will be damaging to the Barnett faction and significantly to Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, a likely segregationist candidate for governor in 1963. Johnson is a member of the building commission.

ATTITUDE TOWARD INCREASED NEGRO VOTING

I am told that, apart from the registrars, court house politicians and others in the offending counties, most responsible Mississippians now view the denial of registration and the vote to qualified Negroes as indefensible -- even though no prominent individual is willing to express that view publicly. All those with whom I discussed the matter felt that the best place to press for Negro rights now is on the voting front.

Editor McLean at Tupelo thought that increased Negro voting strength would be felt in the whole political attitude toward race relations. Even a little increase in the Negro vote would have this effect in some Mississippi localities. In fact, he had already observed some white politicians quietly cultivating Negro leaders in several places where the Negro vote is likely to be substantial in the next election.

Editor Emmerich, who always favors the oblique approach, told me he was considering urging Negro school teachers to vote -- not discouraging others, but emphasizing the right of these obviously educated citizens to exercise the franchise.

(Other liberals pointed out that rejecting a Negro school teacher as unqualified for registration implies that Mississippi is staffing Negro schools with illiterate teachers -- another denial of equal treatment in violation of the 14th. Amendment!)

BARNETT'S LAW AND ORDER

I learned uniformly from various informants that the calm and orderly handling of the first Freedom-Riders, for which Governor Barnett has received some acclaim, was in no sense due to that executive. Barnett was on the point of calling out the National Guard, possibly declaring martial law, and had papers tentatively drawn up. He was restrained by Mayor Thompson and others, who urged quieter, less sensational procedure.

CATHOLIC CHURCH INTEGRATION

John Kennedy told me that some Negroes had attended the Catholic church in Holly Springs from time immemorial. However, some eight were noticed in church two months ago by a Citizens Council sleuth and they were denounced as

"kneelers-in". No Negroes have attended that church since, but I found that integrated Catholic congregations are not uncommon in Mississippi. We noticed three Negroes at mass in the cathedral in Jackson and one in the church at Hattiesburg. Blass told us of a Catholic church at Chatawa which has many Negro parishioners along with white. The Catholic seminary at Bay St. Louis has a few Negroes training for the priesthood.

PERSONAL VISITS

This tour of Mississippi was made particularly pleasant by the cordial welcome with which I was received in many quarters and the almost embarrassing hospitality extended at times to my wife and me. The eagerness on the part of Mississippi moderates to discuss their problems with an "integrationist" outsider was surprising to me and, I think, significant.

We visited the Kennedys in Holly Springs on an invitation extended after a casual meeting in August. We were their guests from 2 P.M., while we talked in his office, toured places of interest in the area, dined and lingered until 11 P.M. -- The conversation covering much of Mississippi racial and political lore. We were received with similar kindness in the Blass home at Wiggins, the Beittel home at Tougaloo and by the Silvers and others of the faculty at Ole Miss. I was cordially received in a dozen offices. Calling upon state Tax Collector Winter one day and finding him out, I returned the next day. His secretary said at once: "Mr. Winter was hoping you would come back." I found it difficult to get away from labor council chairman Ramsey after a visit of several hours, which included a visit to a nearby coffee shop. Editors Emmerich and McLean seemed very glad to see me. (Governor Coleman was absent on a trip to New York.)

Some further notes on significant conversations are given below:

Visit to the University of Mississippi

At least a dozen professors at the University are obviously hungry for race problem discussion, and I have a good time there; but I am conscious of the possible embarrassment to the administration of my being too much in evidence and may not visit Ole Miss again in the near future.

However, our stopping over a Friday night on our trip south was a signal to Jim Silver to organize another party. It lasted from 6:30 P.M. Friday to 1 A.M. Saturday. Present

this time, in addition to the Silvers was a group which we had not met before: Dr. Charles F. Haywood, provost; Dr. Julien R. Tatum, chairman, sociology; Professors Gibson and Harrington -- and the wives of each. Dr. Haywood shares with Chancellor Williams responsibility for keeping the University out of trouble. He was an interested and congenial participant in the thoroughly liberal discussion, but I noticed that he avoided making any "incriminating" statement himself. His remarks, taken out of context, might not have aroused suspicion on the part of the State Sovereignty Commission. Others were more pointedly liberal in conversation aside with me and seemed elated over the progress of desegregation in the South. Dr. Tatum was deeply interested and wished me to come back for a further talk with him. He also said: "We are completely uninhibited in my department."

Dr. Haywood lingered to talk with me for twenty minutes after the others left. I feel that in all the circumstances and under all the scrutiny, harassment and attack, the University has done an admirable job of preserving intellectual integrity. The provost was pleased when I expressed that opinion to him.

John L. Kennedy is working on the suit of University of Mississippi student Billy Barton against state and Citizens Council officials for libel in charges made against him during his campaign last spring for the editorship of the campus newspaper. Kennedy was elated at having learned that Morris Abrams would handle the case from the Atlanta end.

Kennedy felt bitter about the "tyranny" of the present 73-year-old Speaker, Walter Sillers, over the Mississippi House of Representatives. (Blass, on the other hand, described Sillers as not fundamentally bad and "almost a moderate when you get him alone.")

Joel Blass says vaguely that he "might run for some state office," but will more likely be a candidate for the House again. He gave me some interesting background on Tax Collector Winter, whom he greatly admires. Winter and Sillers were opponents in the race for House Speaker. Governor Coleman, although a friend of Winter felt obliged to support Sillers. Later the state tax collector died, and Coleman appointed Winter ad interim. Winter was duly elected to the office at the next election. Blass said that tax collector is the most remunerative public office in Mississippi, paying as much as $40,000 a year in fees. Ironically, Winter had previously made an effort in the legislature to have the system abolished.

William Winter, the state Tax Collector, is a thoughtful, scholarly gentleman of 38 who makes a fine impression. He likes to review Mississippi history and recall that there have been relatively liberal interludes. We talked about Mississippi, Virginia and the South. His close friendship with well known liberals on the race question was amazing. "Easton King was in to see me the other day." More amazing is his ability to win elections in spite of this. He explained that Grenada county people who know him best are loyal to him on other grounds and that the duties of Tax Collector are rather remote from the race question.

Claude Ramsey, labor council chairman, follows the race problem in Mississippi closely and is one of the best informed. (Thomas Knight, secretary general of the council took part in some of our discussion). Ramsey observed that organized labor and racial integration are almost equally anathema in Mississippi; he is working for both. He is a close friend of Medgar Evers, local NAACP leader. Some integration has been achieved in Mississippi unions. Negroes take part in state conventions and several Negroes serve on the Credit Union Board. Ramsey felt strongly that efforts should be concentrated now on increasing the Negro vote. He is a warm admirer of both Winter and Blass.

Ramsey gave an interesting account of Higgs' possibly abortive suit to stop State Sovereignty Com. payments to the Citizens Councils. He said Higgs, an "inexperienced idealist just out of law school," had launched upon the suit and attendant publicity without consulting him, in spite of the fact that Higgs had secured the participation of two labor men. This stunt had stymied a plan on the part of the Council of Labor itself to bring such a suit, employing "the best legal talent."

William Higgs told me his suit is in suspense for lack of funds. Having given up his law practice for pro-Negro activities he finds himself almost in suspense for the same reason.

Travis McCharen, director of vocational rehabilitation in the state department of education and presently chairman of the Governor's Committee for Employment of the Handicapped, is an interesting and significant example of the silent moderate. One may conclude that there are many more like him in Mississippi.

McCharen was not mentioned by any of my liberal friends; none of them seemed familiar with his name. I discovered him and gained his confidence, because I knew his brother, Dr. Knox McCharen at Peabody College in Nashville. Dr. Knox

McCharen, when I visited him in August, was frankly liberal on the race question and he asked me to call upon his brother when I should next be in Jackson, Miss.

Travis McCharen in the privacy of his large office gradually unbosomed himself in a completely liberal manner. Incidentally he emphasized the impossibility of stopping the Negro advance. "They have radio and television; they know the score." He mentioned several friends, whose liberalism was not suspected, who had revealed their liberal feeling to him. A Jackson cardiologist the other evening expressed to him the shame he felt at having to segregate patients in his waiting room. I asked before leaving if he thought very many Mississippians were privately moderate on the question. He answered confidently, "A majority."

Clifford C. Eason, president of the Peoples Bank and Trust Co., member of the board of aldermen and a leading citizen of Tupelo, is an important concluding reminder of another type whose name is legion in Mississippi..

Eason was suggested to me by McLean as a public-spirited citizen identified with activities on behalf of local Negroes. The old gentleman was glad to talk about the things he and the bank did for Negroes -- friendly advice, prizes for achievement, etc. (I am sure it was not unrelated to Negro accounts and mortgages at the bank.) The bank "gave", or financed, an annual dinner for Negro community leaders but, "of course," he did not attend personally. Negroes met their obligations just as well as white folks. He had a faithful Negro servant who had been wonderful to his wife when she was ill. "They're all right in their place. We treat them a lot better than Northerners treat their Negroes. We ought to stop those people from coming down here and stirring up trouble. Our Negroes were happy before all this started. They don't want integration. It's nothing but politics. Politics is behind all of this." The idea of school integration in Mississippi he regarded as fantastic. Mississippi intended to preserve its way of life.

Benjamin Muse

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SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

October 15,1961

Condensed Report of the Activities of

J. J. Brewbaker, Public School Consultant

This report covers the activities of J. J. Brewbaker from January 1, 1961, to date, a period during which he has given the project 90 days of his time. (He is scheduled for no further service until November, will probably devote two or three more weeks to the project before the end of the year.)

During these 90 days of service Mr. Brewbaker has visited 51 public school districts in the following states: Virginia (14), Florida (11), Tennessee (9), Georgia (8), South Carolina (5), North Carolina (2), Alabama (1) and Louisiana (1). Some of these he has visited several times -- Atlanta, 4 times.

He has also attended four national or regional conventions of associations of public school superintendents or school board members. At some of these official note is taken of his availability as a desegregation consultant. More importantly these meetings afford him an opportunity to extend his acquaintanceship among Southern school-administrators and to confer informally with some of them. He has also met with some Southern school-administrators in other ways, as, for instance, at a dinner at Emory University in Atlanta and at a luncheon in Richmond to which he invited three Virginia superintendents. He addressed a meeting of the Lions Club in Carrollton, Ga., at which the local school superintendent and other school officials were present.

Because of its convenience to his home, his obvious effectiveness here and the desirability of making its desegregation performance a model for the rest of the South, Mr. Brewbaker has done more work in Virginia than in any other state. The steady progress of desegregation in this state (73 schools desegregated, 537 Negro children attending formerly all-white schools), and the orderly, almost routine, manner in which desegregation is going forward, are due in no small measure to his continuing encouragement and advice in appropriate quarters.

Mr. Brewbaker and his service of consultation on school desegregation have become almost an institution in Virginia, publicized in school-administrator publications and welcomed throughout the school-administrator confraternity. He is at home in the state department of education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction

confers cordially with him. The president of the state Superintendent's Association has suggested calling a meeting of interested superintendents to discuss the problem with him.

In other Southern states the availability of this consultant on desegregation is becoming generally known among school-administrators and his help is frequently requested. Though more often not expressly invited, he is almost invariably welcomed when he calls.

Mr. Brewbaker tries to visit, not only school districts involved in litigation or under court order, but most of those in which Negroes have applied for admission to white schools. He also visits some districts where no such move has been made to encourage thinking and planning ahead of the event. He has spent some time with the school authorities at Gainesville, Ga., at their repeated request, in working out a desegregation plan for that city's schools.

As time goes on, Mr. Brewbaker increases his familiarity with desegregation experience and problems of preparation and procedure. Wherever he goes he carries encouragement and sound advice. The need for this counsel increases as desegregation spreads and more and more apprehensive school administrators prepare for the first break-through. In my opinion he is filling a visible need and performing a clear and practical public service.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse
Director
Southern Leadership Project

October 18, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Alabama

September 15-17 and October 2-5

I visited Gadsden and Cullman, Alabama, en route to Mississippi and Selma, Montgomery, Tuskegee and Auburn, Alabama, on my return.

George Hawkins, Gadsden, though unannounced, is now among the recognized candidates for governor and is the most consistently and respectably liberal one of them. A former Folsom lieutenant, he is now a critic of Big Jim. He received me very cordially.

Hawkins is considering giving up the governor race for two reasons (1) he is discouraged at the possibility of anybody winning without adopting a fiercely anti-integration line and (2) his fellow-townsman, James Allen, is thinking of running for lieutenant-governor. If Hawkins does not run for governor, he will run for the state senate. He will announce his decision by November 1.

He still doubted Folsom would win, thought Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwell was now the front runner. He said that, though Folsom had been talking like a segregationist, he would still get the Negro vote. He said Bautwell, though a strong segregationist, is a generally sincere, able fellow--with a strong organization. There was some fear that Wallace men at the showdown would go over to Folsom.

Howell Talley and the Gadsden Times won some acclaim and a Freedom Award for his editorials on the Anniston-Birmingham riots. Talley, though "associate editor," writes all of that paper's editorials. He had been voted by the local chamber of commerce "Gadsden's Most Outstanding Man." Talley disapproved of the Supreme Court decision and resented the Freedom Riders, but was otherwise liberal on the race question and glad to talk about the problem in Alabama and the South from a frankly liberal point of view. He is realistic, however, in his editorial approach and in his political calculations.

In the gubernatorial race, surprisingly, Talley was a Gallion man. (Attorney General MacDonald Gallion is considered by many liberals to be the most dangerous of the major candidates.)

Boutwell, he said, is like Hawkins and de Graffenreid: "They're too good to win." Talley wanted my impressions of Folsom, wanted me to phone him if I should see Folsom in Cullman. (Folsom was out of town when I visited Cullman.)

O. H. Finney, Cullman: (Tuesday, September 19) Finney was administrative assistant to Folsom while governor and is now running the office while Big Jim campaigns. (He said "the Governor is generally on hand on Mondays.")

Finney, more serious and respectable than most Folsom hangers-on, volunteered the remark: "I'm liberal on the race question, but I can't say so. You know how it is." He agreed that integration of schools, etc., would probably come during the term of the next governor.

He reported a "wonderful" response by letter, phone call, etc. to Folsom's candidate-like activities. Would Folsom get the labor vote? He wasn't sure--"Labor is so infiltrated by the Ku Klux Klan."

On a reference to Hawkins, Finney said that George was once one of the governor's best friends, but that he had parted with Folsom when the latter failed to support his candidacy for Speaker of the House.

Finney said he had word of a "Stop-Folsom" movement among supporters of Boutwell, Gallion, Wallace and Hawkins. The plan was to induce Ryan de Graffenreid to run and unite behind him. (I heard from others that Englehardt is being considered for the "Stop-Folsom" candidate. The former is a moderate, the latter an extreme segregationist.)

(Further notes on these gubernatorial possibilities are contained in my memorandum of July 13 last.)

Selma, Stronghold of Prejudice: Many regard Selma, the Black Belt metropolis, as the most prejudiced city in Alabama. I happened to have heard its Mayor Hines declare on the TV Citizens Council hour the previous Sunday: "There'll never be any integration in Selma." Lewis said there was no liberal voice whatever in Selma; a few Negroes were "suspected" of belonging to the NAACP. He said that while Klan membership in Selma itself was under par, the Klan was strong in neighboring localities, particularly Tuscaloosa, Clanton, Pratville and Witumka. Art Lewis, very much a man-about-town, is secretly liberal. The walls of Art Lewis' Buick are plastered with historical pictures and documents, many related to the Civil War. For the benefit of bystanders he made it appear that I was mainly interested in his "museum"; in the privacy of his office we talked frankly.

Edward B. Feild, editor of the Selma Times-Journal, is a real museum piece. I had heard a favorable mention of him, because of a strong editorial denouncing the Montgomery riots. I had misinterpreted his position. "It was just the wrong way to go about it," he said, "I wouldn't mind killing half a dozen niggers if it would do any good." A feud between Feild and the Ku Klux Klan also appeared to have had something to do with it. He had quarreled with the Klan "scum"----obviously not over any kindly feeling toward Negroes on his part. The Klan had threatened to bomb his home. He said Klan membership in Selma, formerly over 80, had recently fallen to 65, then risen to 70 again. He said the police "gave the Klan 15 minutes in Montgomery."

Speaking apparently without emotion, Feild said that white children in Selma were never going to go to school with "baboons." Employment? White people in Selma hired Negroes whenever they could, but they always lost money. The Negroes were "good for nothing" and not worth the money they paid them. Negro progress in the United States? "Those smart Negroes they're giving jobs to are just like the niggers in Selma; Scratch 'em, and you'll find they're all savages underneath." What did the future hold? "There'll be a bloody race war in the North. Then the Northerners will see that the South was right. The Supreme Court and Congress will reverse all this stuff."

Jewish Leaders in Alabama: Following a lead from Rabbi Mantinband, I talked with two men who illustrated the dilemma of the Jewish community leader, of liberal convictions, in the Deep South. One was Art Lewis, above-mentioned, and the other was Eugene Heilpern of Montgomery.

They were similar in many respects--handsome, gregarious, sophisticated, more or less wealthy and closely identified with the power structure. Heilpern had "some thought of running for Mayor." He is a second cousin of Mayor Loeb, of Memphis. Lewis is more of a scholar.

Both men are acutely conscious of anti-semitism and what they feel is a necessity of appearing to go along with segregationist elements. Lewis is a member of the Citizens Council, which, he points out, is much more respectable than the White Citizens Council. Each showed me an identic leaflet, issued by the White Citizens Council, which combined rank anti-semitism with its anti-Negro message. Both men are in controversy with National Jewish groups and feel that the ADL in particular is jeopardizing their position in Alabama. Lewis is one of a group now urging a meeting of the Alabama B'nai B'rith to consider withdrawal from the national organization.

Of the gubernatorial outlook, Heilpern said, "Nine out of ten people I speak to say it will be Folsom."

Grover C. Hall, Jr.: In visiting some sixty newspaper editors across the South the first thing in the nature of a rebuff that I have received came from Grover Hall, somewhat famous editor of the Montgomery Advertiser.

"I have a stack of work on my desk and other people to see---and I don't like the organization you represent. If you come back this afternoon you can see some of the staff."

A dapper, excessively clever sort of prima donna, he was jovial, nevertheless. I said I would like to have the views of Grover Hall---he gave me a nutshell version:

"We're going to have to take a dozen pickaninnies into our schools, and it won't hurt our little white angels a bit. I know that. But mass integration won't come in our lifetime."

"Are you going to keep public order?"

"Yes, I'm for that." He added some derogatory remarks about Governor Patterson and others.

I took time to present him with a copy of my book, adding that reviewers on both sides--even Jack Kilpatrick--had called it "accurate."

"Then it's OK by the high priest," he said facetiously. We exchanged wishes of "Good Luck."

(We dined with the Clifford Durrs in Montgomery and had a pleasant visit with Dr. Luther Foster at Tuskegee. Learned that Aubrey Williams is critically ill with cancer, he was too ill to receive visitors.)

Neil Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin, is probably the most outspoken liberal editor and one of the best informed observers in Alabama. The Bulletin won the award of the Alabama Press Association this year for best editorials. To insure objectivity, the Association went out of the state for a judge, and who was the judge? None other than my friend, Oliver Emmerick of the Jackson (Miss.) State Times. The citation read: ". . . for courageous and cogent editorials on a controversial subject, etc."

Davis like many other moderates, was discouraged by a Labor Day speech of Folsom, in which Folsom seemed to go over to the segregationist side. He thought the prospects for university integration were better in Mississippi than in Alabama, but believed those for public school integration were probably somewhat better in Alabama. (Ralph Droughan , president of Auburn University, belonged to the fierce resistance group.) He believed four northern Alabama cities to be more or less prepared to accept school integration: Huntsville, Decatur, Florence, and Sheffield.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

J.M. ✓ good note,
ML ✓
PR ✓
PA ✓
MMB - file

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 13, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

November 30 - December 10, 1961

Mainly in South Carolina

I spoke to the Charlottesville, Va., Council on Human Relations Thursday evening, November 30, and proceeded over the week-end to Atlanta. Conferred with Mayor Hartsfield at City Hall Monday morning and with various of our SRC staff Monday afternoon and Tuesday. The remainder of the week was devoted to a reconnaissance in South Carolina.

My contacts in South Carolina are still few, and I am unable to make a balanced comment yet on that state as a whole beyond noting that the interracial situation there is generally described for the moment as "quiet."

Henry F. Cauthen, editor of the Columbia State, whom I had visited frequently before in passing through South Carolina, observed "no change" in the South Carolina racial situation, although he obligingly called my attention to several minor incidents. One was a letter to the State from Rev. Jas. M. Copeland, Methodist minister, of Woodruff, urging desegregation of churches and church-supported colleges. He said that, unlike the reaction to such letters in the past, this had not called forth letters of opposition except one from an ignorant person. He also mentioned a recent statement calling for a more constructive approach to the race problem from State Senator Francis B. Nicholson, of Greenwood. "I don't know what it will do to him politically," he said.

I called Cauthen's attention to an article in his afternoon partner, the Record, reporting the adoption by the South Carolina Baptist Student Union by a vote of 117 to 25 of a resolution suggesting that "the trustees of our convention give careful study to their responsibilities and opportunities to open doors of knowledge and service to qualified students regardless of race or creed."

Cauthen took me to the cafeteria for coffee and showed his usual cordiality. (Managing editor Lloyd L. Huntingdon, who joined us for a few minutes, was not similarly cordial.)

A. L. M. Wiggins, Jr., editor of the Hartsville Messenger, is a thoughtful, personable man whose discussion of various angles of the race problem reflected a liberal point of view. He recalled having visited a convention of the Virginia Press Association at Lexington about five years ago at the high tide of massive resistance. Pete McNight was being hard-pressed in argument by the segregationist journalists and he tried to reinforce McNight. Wiggins said he never referred to the race problem editorially, but his paper tried to handle news on the subject in a helpful manner. The Messenger had aroused some criticism for its practice of referring to Negroes as "Mr.," "Mrs.," and "Miss." He said Negro schools in South Carolina had greatly improved -- a new Negro elementary school had opened this year in Hartsville -- but no jobs were open to educated Negroes except teaching school and the ambitious ones were moving north. He had heard vaguely of plans to launch a garment factory with Negro capital -- which he thought would be a good thing.

He felt that a grave danger to law and order in Hartsville lay in the racist and anti-Negro attitude of the white police. He went to a fire recently in the best residential section and overheard a policeman talking to Negroes in the crowd. "You all go on home," he said. "You know you got no business around here."

The editor's father, A. L. M. Wiggins, Sr., is a bank president, a director in various corporations, a former Undersecretary of the U. S. Treasury and chairman of the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education.

Learning of a hearing by the S. C. advisory committee to the Commission on Civil Rights scheduled for Thursday, December 7 at Bennettsville, I drove there primarily to see Andrew M. Secrest and Courtney Siceloff, secretary of the committee.

The hearing, which I attended during the closing hour, was on charges of Bennettsville police brutality and apparently resulted in clearing the police. Secrest, Siceloff and Peter M. Sussman, of the CCR staff, dined with me afterward.

Andrew Secrest, an enthusiastic liberal, is happy over his election to membership on the SRC board. He said it would enable him to meet some interesting people and was a little disappointed when I told him the board would not meet again before next November. I invited him to visit our office in Atlanta, which he indicated that he would do when he had an opportunity.

 Joe Sullan

R. Powell Black, city manager of Florence, proved a promising contact. A friend and former fellow-townsman (Aiken, S. C.) of George ~~Montgomery~~, he is unmistakably liberal within the limitations of his job. He has distributed copies of our Racial Violence and Law Enforcement among his police officials. Four of his officers also toured scenes of interracial violence in Alabama and elsewhere for first-hand study. (Florence has two Negro policemen.) There is a progressive, industry-seeking atmosphere in Florence and Black is anxious to be fully prepared for orderly solution of race problems. He said Mayor David H. McLeod is of the same mind and urged me to return for a scheduled conference with the mayor and himself. I told him I would do so in January, writing in advance.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

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This may be a good time to re-explain the system of Ben's confidential & that this, among other things, is why not to be shared with other staff members

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

December 20, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conversation with Governor-elect Harrison

December 19, 1961

I called upon Virginia's Governor-elect Albertis Harrison at his temporary office in the Supreme Court Building. It is actually a sort of unpublicized hideaway, where he is trying to concentrate on budget, legislative program, appointment selections and other pre-inauguration business with a minimum of interference. The few weeks before inauguration are always hectic for a governor-elect. I thought it an appropriate time, nevertheless, to urge some recognition of Negroes in the incoming administration and to suggest also some constructive reference to racial justice in his inaugural address.

I suggested that some Negroes be appointed to major policy-making state boards. Harrison remarked that he believed there were several Negroes on state boards in North Carolina, which opened the way for what I wanted particularly to emphasize. I said there was a Negro member of each of eight major North Carolina boards, three of them having been appointed by Governor Sanford during the past year. I gave the Governor-elect a list of these eight boards and their Negro members, with pertinent details, which I had brought with me. Harrison was definitely glad to get this.

I also left with him a copy of Terry Sanford's inaugural address, calling attention particularly to Sanford's assurance of "first class citizenship" for all.

Harrison said that he was handicapped in his dealing with Virginia Negroes by the lack of the "right kind of Negro leadership in this state." The Negroes of stature and ability were not trying to exercise leadership. He had one Negro friend he could rely on (he didn't name him) and there were several Negro college presidents he could talk to, but he couldn't be sure that he was getting at real Negro leadership. I said that I would be glad to help in any way I could in appraising Negro material for appointment.

Harrison regretted the departure of Oliver Hill and Spotswood Robinson, two former NAACP attorneys in Virginia, now in federal posts. They had been his opponents in litigation, but they were good men, intelligent and above board. You could do business with them. He wished there were somebody of that sort representing the Negro community now. Holt and Lawson, two NAACP attorneys remaining in Virginia, he said, were definitely not in that category.

Before I left, the Governor said: "You can be sure that I will appoint a Negro to a major state board, probably two or three. Not at once, of course, but when vacancies arise -- and I can't do anything in that field until the General Assembly adjourns."

I also spent several hours with the new executive director of the Virginia CHR, Rev. Heslip Lee.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

January 11, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM -- Dangerous Situation in Birmingham

General Observations

Closing the city parks, playgrounds, golf courses, etc., January 1, following a federal court order for the desegregation of these facilities by January 15, brought the interracial struggle in Birmingham close to a dangerous collision.

The grave immediacy of the problem has produced certain encouraging developments. The economic power structure and, in fact, the business community as a whole, spearheaded by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce itself, and supported by both daily newspapers, has become extraordinarily aroused and is exerting increasing pressure upon the city commission. An overwhelming majority of the most prominent citizens have identified themselves with the movement by signing statements or petitions. Some fourteen civic organizations, ranging from chambers of commerce to the Ministerial Association, have gone on record in favor of open parks.

Community leaders, meeting informally under the auspices of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, drew up a petition last week, urging a reopening of the parks under a proferred 60-day stay of the desegregation order and the appointment of a committee to study "our awesome problems." Twelve hundred citizens signed the petition before it was presented to the city commission Tuesday morning, January 9. It was angrily rejected. The document with the 1200 names was published afterward as a page ad in each of the daily newspapers.

The few community leaders who had long urged a constructive approach to the race problem, like Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College, and who had been shunned by many on this account, are suddenly finding themselves in congenial company. Dr. Stanford is now looked to for advice and leadership.

The weakness of the present moderate upsurge lies in the fact that most of its leaders live outside of the Birmingham city limits. When a delegation visits the city commission, Mayor Hanes or Bull Connor likes to ask: "How many of you live in Birmingham?" The impressive army of present "moderates" represents, nevertheless, formidable economic power.

The city commission, deriving its political strength from the Connor machine, the Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan and the Birmingham electorate (60 per cent of which now would probably support closed parks), has thus far shown not the slightest sign of relenting in its adamant stand. It is widely believed that Bull Connor would welcome a spectacular interracial outbreak to further his gubernatorial ambitions. The city commission's recalcitrance was carried to a gratuitous extreme in its refusal to reopen the parks during a 60-day stay of execution of the desegregation order, which was offered by the federal district judge on that condition.

The danger to public order lies in this intransigence on the part of the city commission in the face of a rising impatience on the part of the Negro community, which it may be impossible to keep within non-violent bounds. Most of the white community leaders, aroused though they now are, still fail to grasp the full gravity of the situation. They are alarmed over the threatened business set-back and the hardship to citizens involved in the closing of parks and other facilities; but few of them speak of the crisis in terms of bloodshed.

Negro leaders and whites in touch with the Negro community do talk about a possible "blood bath."

Negroes are meeting daily in small huddles and frequently in larger meetings. They are said to be "more united than ever before," but there is an undercurrent of dissent from moderate policies. Some oppose any kind of negotiation now with the white community and look upon those who confer with whites with suspicion.

Negro leaders still preach non-violence, but they report privately that some of the young men, especially some of the Negro veterans, are saying that they "will not be pushed around any more." If police should start any of their habitual brutality with some of these, the consequences might be frightening to contemplate. There are rumors that "the Negroes are arming." I found no confirmation of any abnormal arming, but the knives which many Negroes usually carry, and a gun here and there, would be more than enough to start a conflagration.

The most coherent Negro group is the students of Miles College. They are also in close touch with other Negro elements. Miles College students (with some adult help) have drafted a statement of Negro desiderata on a broad civil rights front. The statement is written with dignity and restraint, but declares, nevertheless: "We do not intend to wait complacently for those

rights --" and "we cannot tolerate--". The statement was adopted unanimously in a meeting December 29, attended by about 700 of the college's 800 students. This was published in large part, but inconspicuously, in the Birmingham News of January 3.

Some kind of boycott move is being discussed among Negro leaders. More definitely, a spectacular Negro demonstration is being planned for the near future, possibly before the end of January.

The Moderate Upsurge

Were it not for the extraordinary political situation and the personality dominating the city commission, the sudden awakening of moderate civic leadership in Birmingham would augur well for a surmounting of the present crisis and the beginning of a new era in race relations in that city. In no Southern city have we seen such a general mobilization of community leadership on the moderate side of a segregation issue as has occurred during the past two months in Birmingham.

The few formerly lonely people who were stigmatized as liberals before say "We can move freely now." They find themselves suddenly on the side with the majority of prominent people. Even the Human Relations Council executive director, Norman Jimerson, has found such business leaders as Sterne, Monaghan, Head and Bryan glad to talk with him -- each for an hour or two. (Art Wiebel had indicated a willingness to see him, although he had not yet fixed an appointment.)

The following groups have taken an unequivocal stand against park-closing: Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, Committee of 100, Young Men's Business Club, Birmingham Downtown Improvement Association, Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce, North Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce, East Lake Chamber of Commerce, Birmingham Ministerial Association, Birmingham District Methodist Ministerial Association, League of Women Voters, Birmingham Section of National Council of Jewish Women, Catholic Men's Club, the Jefferson County Mental Health Association and the Peoples Park Committee.

There is almost no articulate dissent among the above organizations. The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce has become a center of operations in the open-park movement; its officers are in the forefront and its premises are used for meetings.

The Birmingham Bar Association failed by three votes to identify itself with the movement, but many of those who voted No were already committed in other organizations. The argument was that the issue was not a suitable one for a bar association pronouncement.

The two daily newspapers appear to be executing a painful charge, after seven years of inflammatory racism and defiance, to a constructive approach in the present crisis and by implication to the broader civil rights problem. Their editors and reporters are cooperating loyally with the leaders of the open-parks movement.

At the December meeting of the bi-racial Council on Human Relations a reporter and a camera man from the Birmingham News appeared. The latter was stopped when about to take a picture, and the two were persuaded to step outside. Attorney Charles Morgan was called and he phoned Managing Editor John W. Bloomer who reprimanded his two men and ordered them away from the meeting. When Jimerson called upon Bloomer the next morning, the latter said: "We don't want to embarass you. You may have a helpful role to play in this thing."

Business leaders expressed themselves earlier in a statement by the Committee of 100 and a newspaper advertisement, published November 12, and signed by 189 leading citizens, calling for "some hard thinking now on just how we can meet the necessities of court decisions and agency orders within the framework of law observance." Key individuals are discussed later in this report, but it may be noted here that the list of 189 included Catholic Archbishop T. J. Toolen, Episcopal Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter and Arthur V. Weibel, president of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co.

Several meetings have been held during the past ten days, promoted among others, by the same group of Monaghan, Sterne, Head, Stanford, etc., with the Chamber of commerce's President Smyer and General Manager Bryan taking an increasingly active part. One meeting was attended by 23 Negro leaders.

It was decided to draw up a statement or petition, for presentation to the city commission and for publication as a page ad in each daily newspaper -- after securing 1,000 signatures. The statement was drafted by Sterne, Monaghan and Dr. Ed Kimbrough, a Methodist minister, president-elect of the Birmingham Ministerial Association. It was approved at a meeting of 37 leaders held Wednesday afternoon, January 3. Dr. Bryan, the chamber of commerce manager, described the meeting to me the next morning. He was impressed by the vigorous talks made at the meeting, among others by Catholic Bishop Durick, who had issued a pastoral letter urging Catholics to press for open parks, and by Rev. Lamar Jackson, a prominent Baptist minister. The statement, he noted, had been drafted by a Catholic, a Protestant and a Jew. Elected as "temporary chairman" of the group was Rev. David Wright, rector of St. Mary in the Highlands Episcopal Church.

The petition, a copy of which is enclosed, was entitled, "A Plea for Courage and Common Sense." It urged the city commission to reopen the parks temporarily under an informally

proferred 60-day stay of the desegregation order and to set up a committee "to assist in solving our awesome problems." Though not so stated, it was hopefully contemplated that the committee would be bi-racial in composition.

Twelve hundred signatures to the petition were obtained. (A special effort was made among persons residing within the city limits and these made up more than half of the 1200.) The document was presented to the city commission Tuesday morning, January 9, by Messrs. Monaghan and Head, Dr. Stanford, and Rev. David C. Wright. It was vehemently rejected and a disagreeable and fruitless conversation took place for about one hour. Connor and Hanes were "bombastic and abusive," Dr. Stanford said. "I never had such an experience in my life."

The statement was published as a page ad in each of the papers Wednesday.

The City Commission

The city commission remains almost incredibly intransigent, denouncing those who object to the park-closing as "integrationists" and indulging in frequent comment tending to inflame extreme segregationists and exacerbate the Negro tension.

Golf course holes were filled and parks, playgrounds, etc. were closed and posted over the New Year week-end. In consultations, in which Dr. Henry King Stanford was the chief intermediary, Federal District Judge H. H. Groomes offered a 60-day stay of the park desegregation order (effective January 15) provided the parks would be kept opened. This was refused. (Hanes temporized but Connor was adamant.) They remarked that park employees have already been dismissed.

Members of the commission are: Mayor Art Hanes (newly elected), Eugene ("Bull") Connor and J. T. Waggoner. Waggoner, who was elected by a close vote, goes along silently and is believed to be slightly more moderate than the other two.

In talks with people who know the commissioners and visit them from time to time I got some sidelights on the internal and external politics involved in their attitudes. By all accounts Art Hanes, the new mayor, is proving a very weak individual and he appears to have allied himself abjectly with Bull Connor. Both Connor and Waggoner are "running over" Hanes, who has lost an important part of his domain; parks are under Hanes' jurisdiction as a commission member and he had pointed with pride to Birmingham's parks during his campaign. Now the other two commissioners have grabbed park funds (about $800,000 net) for their own projects and have plans for using the money. This consideration, together with the fact that all but 48 of the 300 park employees have been dismissed, is a factor in the reluctance of the commission to desist from the rash course upon which it has embarked.

The commission is supported by a strong Citizens Council and by the Ku Klux Klan. Notorious Klansmen are frequently seen at the commission offices.

"Bull" Connor, who dominates the commission (and is Democratic national committeeman from Alabama) is a candidate for governor, and has been making speeches about once a week in the Black Belt. He still is not regarded as a front runner from a statewide point of view, but some spectacular performance in an interracial crisis might change this picture. At least Connor is believed to feel this, and it is said by many that he actually hopes to see sensational interracial turmoil develop. On the other hand, any form of orderly desegregation in Birmingham before the June primary would kill Connor's gubernatorial hopes.

Immediately after the conference with the petition delegation Tuesday, Mayor Hanes spoke to the Kiwanis Club. With waggishly malicious intent the program committee, without consulting the mayor had announced his subject as "Statesmanship or Political Expediency." Hanes made a routinely harmless talk, but concluded with fantastic references to "Washington interference in our daily lives," predicting that the nation would soon be divided into ten districts under Washington-appointed autocrats.

Hanes has broken with his predecessor as mayor, James Morgan, who helped in his election, on the park issue. Morgan, now a member of the park commission, is urging reopening.

Connor and Hanes are showing increasing hostility toward the pro-open parks community leaders,who get an angry and insulting reception on their visits to them.

The Negro Community

Individual Negro leaders outstanding in the present crisis are: A. G. Gaston on the extreme conservative right; Dr. Lucious H. Pitts in the deeply concerned middle; and three representing the more militant wing, Rev. Fred. L. Shuttlesworth, Rev. J. L. Ware and Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World.

Additionally, the students of Miles College, counseled by Dr. Pitts and others, are an extremely potent factor. A copy of their manifesto, mentioned above, and entitled, "This we believe," is enclosed herewith. The names of eight individual student leaders appear as signatories of this document, together with the student organizations which they represent.

Gaston is the Negro millionaire ("several times over") who is, perhaps, closer to the white power structure than to Negro leadership. In the present crisis he has concerned himself actively with the Negro movement, attending Negro meetings and conferring frequently with white leaders. A considerable element of the Negro community has forgiven him his former aloofness, but many others still look upon him with resentment and suspicion. Gaston's close ties with whites arouse constant fears that he is "selling his people out."

Dr. Pitts, who came to Birmingham last June to head Miles College is a very wise, able and tactful gentleman -- an opinion which Dr. Stanford, Dr. Bryan and many other white friends share. He was formerly vice-president of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. He is also highly respected by the Negro community as a whole. He urges calm and avoidance of violence, but earnestly and skillfully supports the Negro aims.

Shuttlesworth is well known. He is slightly less rampant in the present situation than might have been feared, is said to have been agreeable earlier to a postponement of desegregation for 60 days if parks had remained open. His position, like that of other Negroes has hardened since. Shuttlesworth is still president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and spends much time in Birmingham in spite of his transfer to Ohio. (The original understanding was that he would spend several days of each week in Birmingham, but his supporters are unable to finance this commuting on a permanent basis.)

Rev. J. L. Ware is militant, though less spectacular than Shuttlesworth. He is president of the Inter Citizens Committee, which issued a statement at the same time approving the court's park desegregation ruling and congratulating Shuttlesworth and his organization "for the courageous fight they have been waging against the evils of segregation."

Shuttlesworth and Ware are the heroes of the Birmingham World and Gaston is referred to sneeringly in that paper. Its editor, Emory O. Jackson, appears to have doubts about Pitts. Jimerson in a conversation with Jackson last week found him disagreeable and suspicious of any form of negotiation with white leaders.

CORE now has an Alabama worker, a 20-year-old student, Henry Thomas, with headquarters in Birmingham. Thomas is somewhat on the margin of the Negro movement, whose leaders are anxious to avoid the appearance of being "agitated by outsiders." He has been invited to none of the meetings at Miles College, but he has visited among students on the campus.

The attitude of the Negroes is steadily hardening. They become less amenable to compromise, or even negotiation, every day. The park episode is only one of many grievances which they are now airing. The outrages of the May riots are not mentioned publicly but are probably uppermost in their hearts.

Negro feeling may have to find an outlet in action in some form. Dr. Pitts believes that a large scale Negro demonstration is in prospect, probably before the end of January. A march to City Hall would inevitably involve clashes with Klan and police. Another demarche, which he believes less dangerous, would be some form of boycott. Half a dozen Negro preachers might be arrested for preaching "selective buying," bringing the crisis to an effective climax, with excitement, but probably less danger of uncontrollable disorder.

Miscellaneous Notes

Groping Toward a Solution

There is some thinking in terms of concrete plans for surmounting the present crisis, though most leaders feel that it is idle to go far with specific plans until there is some sign of cooperation at City Hall. At the Chamber of Commerce I was told: "Oh yes, we've studied the Dallas plan and the Memphis plan and the Atlanta plan, but there's no use doing anything until we get a break-through in the city commission and the 60-day 'cooling-off period.'"

(The Birmingham News is running a helpful series of articles on the experiences of other cities.)

David Vann, a young attorney in the firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, handed me a copy of his proposed plan for gradual park desegregation, which is enclosed herewith. The federal district court approved a gradual plan for Memphis last summer in I. A. Watson, Jr. vs. City of Memphis. It is believed that Judge Groomes would approve such a plan for Birmingham. Dr. Stanford says that Judge Groomes is anxious to help in any way possible.

It is unlikely, however, that the adoption of any gradual plan for park desegregation now would materially allay Negro militancy on the broad civil rights front.

The city commission has toyed with the idea of selling the park properties. Connor and Hanes have asked several business leaders: "Why don't you buy the parks?" Attorney Charles Morgan suggests court action to prevent such a move, but most business leaders see little immediate danger on this score.

Some white liberals have suggested that Negroes begin a test of segregation at the city library, having some Negro lawyer quietly apply there for some federal publication.

Bus Terminal Restaurant Desegregation

Overshadowed by the larger controversy are the litigation, arrests etc. in the matter of bus terminal restaurant desegregation. Some Negroes have been served along with whites. Federal District Judge Seybourn H. Lynn on December 28 gave the city commission 10 days in which to repeal its segregation ordinance rather than have him invalidate it.

Ku Klux Klan

It is said that the Klan has no Birmingham klavern. Klansmen are very active in the city, nevertheless, and have well-known klaverns in the suburbs of Tarrant City, Lipscomb and Gardendale.

McGill to Speak

Liberal columnist Ralph McGill is scheduled to speak at the annual man-of-the-year of the Young Business Men's Club in February.

Attitude of Labor

The rank and file of organized labor seems to support the segregationist attitude of the city commission but the unions have taken no formal stand, with the exception of a resolutions committee of the carpenter's union supporting the city commission. Labor leaders Mitch and Bruce Thrasher are associated with business leaders in the open-parks movement.

Gubernatorial Race

Returns from a poll conducted by the conservative and segregationist magazine South, out January 8, showed former Governor James E. Folsom in a handsome lead in the gubernatorial race subject to the June Democratic primary. Folsom received 2,658 straw votes or 34 per cent of the total in a numerous field. The runner-up was George C. Wallace with 1,267, followed by Albert Boutwell with 1,164. Connor received 204. It was significant that Folsom also was named by many as second-choice.

It appears that Folsom can be beaten only by making the contest exclusively a test of extremism on the segregation issue, which his foes would like to do. I met Wallace in the Tutwiler Hotel lobby and spent a few minutes in a group surrounding him. The candidate knew nothing about me. He was saying, apparently with reference to park-closing: "We have to make sacrifices and do without things if we want to stand up for what we believe in." Then he launched upon a dissertation on the mistake of "appeasing niggers"-- both at home and abroad. Asked for his opinion of "Bobby Kennedy," his reply was too revoltingly obscene to be repeated.

Some Moderate White Leaders

Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College, long known as a liberal on the race question, is a tireless leader in the moderate movement and a key man in the present situation. Probably the most knowledgeable individual with respect to both white and Negro activities. An excellent contact, who would be glad to cooperate with the Department of Justice and the SRC. Phone: office, AL 1-8294; residence, AL 2-0094.

Dr. John E. Bryan, the retiring general manager (age 66) of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and a former superintendent of Birmingham schools, is a liberal in a broad sense, who is making the present moderate movement his principle business. He will remain as a "consultant" to the chamber. Accommodating and cooperative and glad to have some use for his increasing spare time. One of the best sources of information on the business community.

Barney A. Monaghan, president, Vulcan Materials Co. (a "$60 million corporation"), a Rhodes scholar and a tactful liberal, was the leader in securing the 189 signatures to "Some Facts to Face" and has been conspicuous in all the activities of community leaders since. Although a Catholic, he was recently appointed to the board of trustees of the (Methodist) Birmingham Southern College (to Dr. Stanford's delight).

Mervyn Sterne, wealthy and respected investment banker is an outstanding leader of the moderate movement.

James A. Head, of James A. Head & Co. (stationery), chairman of the Committee of 100, is in the forefront of the moderate movement.

Sidney W. Smyer, president, Birmingham Realty Co., and president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, a segregationist who recognizes the inevitable, is working ardently for the moderate movement.

Charles ("Chuck") Morgan, lawyer and politician, "protector" of liberals and Negroes, is an irrepressible mixer in all circles, who in spite of his "radicalism" is on jovially conversational terms with Hanes, Connor, Wallace and most other politicians. Well-informed; few rumors escape him. Eagerly cooperative, he is a warm personal friend of the writer.

J. Thomas King, formerly a law partner of "Chuck" Morgan, was Hanes' moderate opponent in the race for mayor last year, leading in the first primary. King has remained aloof from the present controversy.

Douglas Arant, of the firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, is a distinguished liberal lawyer, deeply concerned, and helpful behind the scenes.

Charles F. Zukoski, executive vice-president of the First National Bank, a long-time liberal, formerly associated with Dr. Stanford in efforts to establish interracial communication, is not aggressive in the present situation.

The elderly Catholic and Episcopal prelates, Archbishop Toolen and Bishop Carpenter respectively, who signed the "189" statement, have been unwilling otherwise to come to grips with the race problem. The second in command of each hierarchy, Catholic Bishop Joseph A. Durick and Episcopal coadjutor Bishop George M. Murray, have been aggressively liberal.

Rev. John Rutland, pastor, Woodlawn Methodist Church, long one of the most outspoken members of the clergy, issued an appeal in his church bulletin for "brotherhood" in connection with the present controversy, which was reported in the press.

Arthur V. Weibel, president of the TCI, and Thomas W. Martin, president of the Alabama Power Co., signed the "189" statement and are counted on the side of the angels, but not in the front line. Weibel says: "I can't afford to get tangled up with the city commission."

Lewis L. Jeffries, silent in the present situation, is president of the Hays Aircraft Co., formerly employed Art Hanes and backed him strongly in his campaign for mayor. The company's contractual relations with the Defense Department suggest a possible channel of communication with Mayor Hanes.

Norman C. Jimerson is the dedicated executive director of Alabama Council on Human Relations with office in Birmingham. (Telephone AL 2-2722)

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I visited Birmingham January 1-4 and brought my information up to date inaphone conversation January 10. I had visited Birmingham several times before. On this trip I conferred mainly with Sanford, Pitts, Bryan, Morgan, Vann and Jimerson, all mentioned above.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Enclosures:

1. "A Plea for Courage and Common Sense"
2. "This We Believe"
3. David Vann proposal

(No. 1 is not enclosed with all copies.)

Enclosure No. 1, B. Muse report of Jan. 11, 1962

A PLEA FOR COURAGE AND COMMON SENSE (Signed by 1200)

We are deeply disturbed over the way decisions are being taken concerning our public recreational facilities. We are gravely concerned at the spirit of antagonism now present in our community. No solution to the problems we face can be found in abuse, threats, charges and counter-charges. Satisfactory solutions can be found only in dedicated and thoughtful consideration by all who want the future of Birmingham to be bright.

We believe the following facts deserve that dedicated and thoughtful consideration:

There is no question but that public recreational facilities are essential to every modern city. They are essential to the health and emotional well-being of large numbers of our adult citizens. They are essential to the sound and happy development of our youth. They are essential to the economic vigor and continuing growth of our city. A city without public recreational facilities would risk economic decline and increased juvenile delinquency.

Our public officials know these facts. Indeed they have promised our people to improve and expand our recreational facilities. In 1960 our City Commission led the people of Birmingham to approve a bond issue to provide millions of dollars for public improvements. In a pamphlet supporting that bond issue, Commissioners Connor, Wagner and Morgan said:

"We of your City Commission are the first to agree that Birmingham is far behind...in municipal improvements.

* * *

"No city can justly claim to be a healthy city unless it provides reasonable recreational facilities for its youth and adults...Birmingham needs additional parks...."

In his campaign pamphlet of last Spring, Mayor Hanes pledged:

"The office of Mayor is a position of trust and great responsibility. No candidate for this high office should pledge more than he can do. No holder of this office should do less than he has pledged.

"Guided by these convictions, Art Hanes will:

* * *

"ENCOURAGE THE LOCATION OF NEW ENTERPRISES.

"This can be done best by maintaining... recreational advantages and wholesome conditions that make ours the finest city in the Nationa in which to live....

"CONTINUE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR PARKS AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS OF OUR INCOME.

"These are vital to our modern mode of living. Providing a home for our Little Leagues, Pony League and other outdoor sports organizations, our parks and playgrounds help keep our youth busy and happy and help develop our civic leaders of tomorrow."

An advertisement printed in Hanes' behalf on May 28, 1961 proclaimed:

"As leader in many youth activities -- our Softball Association, Boy Scout Council, Little Leagues -- Art Hanes knows the need and value of healthful outdoor sports facilities for our boys and girls, and their value in attracting new enterprises to Birmingham.

We are confident that the District Court will stay the order for sixty days during which time the parks can be kept open and segregated. We urge:

1. That the 60-day stay be secured.

2. That the authorities constitute a committee to assist in solving our awesome problems.

3. That our people have faith and courage that together we can handle our problems at least as well as they are being handled in other major Southern Cities.

Some of us live within the Birmingham City limits. Some of us live in adjacent municipalities but within metropolitan Birmingham. All of us use Birmingham's public recreational facilities, and we help pay for them. All of us depend for our livelihood and happiness upon the well-being of Birmingham. All of us are devoted to the City and to its future. We believe this devotion requires us to speak, and we ~~humbly~~ believe it entitles us to be heard.

All of us have in the past given of our time, our energy, and our financial resources to the betterment of Birmingham. Each of us here offers his services to the City Commission in any capacity in which they may be effectively used in order to reach a satisfactory solution to the problem that confronts us.

Enclosure No. 2, B. Muse report of Jan. 11, 1962

THIS WE BELIEVE

The whole history of mankind boldly and brilliantly declares that customs are not permanent, that life is change, and that the pursuit of happiness is the most dynamic and most inspiring adventure that has even challenged mankind.

We the students of Miles College have joined our hearts and minds for the cause of gaining those rights which are inherently ours as members of the human race and as citizens of the United States of America and of Birmingham, Alabama.

We pledge our unqualified agreement with those students in the nation who have recently been engaged in the significant movement to secure certain long-awaited rights and privileges. We are dissatisfied, not only with the existing conditions but with the slow pace at which these conditions are being eradicated. Every normal human being wants to walk the earth with dignity and abhors any and all suppressing situations placed upon him because of race or color.

We do not intend to wait complacently for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time. Today's youth will not sit by submissively while being denied all of the rights, privileges and joys of life. We want to state clearly and unequivocally that we cannot tolerate in a nation professing democracy and among people professing Christianity the discriminatory conditions under which the Negro is living today in Birmingham, Alabama-----supposedly one of the most progressive cities in the South.

We believe that the following inequalities are undemocratic and unchristian:

1. EDUCATION:

In the public school systems, facilities for Negroes and whites are separate and unequal. Many Negro children travel great distances, passing by white schools, in order to reach a school that will accept them for admittance. Neither of the state-supported institutions of higher learning for Negroes is accredited by the Regional Accrediting Agency. On the university level, the state will pay a Negro to attend a school out of the state rather than admit him to the University of Alabama, Auburn University and other tax-supported public institutions.

2. JOBS:

Negroes are denied employment in the majority of city, state and federal governmental jobs in Birmingham except in the most menial capacities. Recent statistics show that 90% of the Negro's income is spent for consumer goods in Birmingham yet they are denied jobs in all of the downtown department stores except in subservient roles.

3. HOUSING:

According to the 1960 census, Negroes constitute 34.5% of the population of Birmingham. They are forced to live within a small percentage of the area of the city. Casual observations show that the bulk of the Negro population is still:

A. Locked into the more undersirable and over-crowded areas of the city

B. Paying a proportionally higher percentage of income for rental and purchase of generally lower quality property

C. Blocked by political and direct or indirect racial restrictions in its efforts to secure better housing

4. VOTING:

Negroes are still unable to register to vote with the same amount of dignity and ease which is apparently afforded whites. Of the 136,014 Negroes living in Birmingham proper, less than 11,000 are registered voters. New applicants are harassed and intimidated by long superfluous interviews which serve to further discourage other potential voters.

5. HOSPITALS:

Compared with facilities for other people in Birmingham and Alabama, those for Negroes are unequal and totally inadequate. In a number of hospitals within the city, Negro patients are placed in the basements. Hygienic conditions are not conducive to the well-being of the patients. Negro physicians are allowed to practice in only one hospital in the city.

6. MOVIES AND RESTAURANTS:

Negroes are barred from most downtown movies and segregated in others. Negroes' hunger and thirst must go unrequited until they reach the sign "Colored"....(e.g., restaurants, water fountains, etc.)

7. LAW ENFORCEMENTS:

There are grave inequalities in the area of law enforcement. Too often, Negroes are intimidated, insulted, brutally manhandled and denied due process of the law by the law-enforcement officers and elected officials. With a Negro population of more than 200,000, there are no Negro policement in Birmingham.

We have briefly mentioned only a few situations in which we meet discrimination. These social evils that plague Birmingham, the South, the nation and the world have been boldly and greatly understated. We believe that:

1. The practice of racial segregation is not in keeping with the ideals of democracy and Christianity.
2. Racial segregation is robbing not only the segregated but the segregator of his human dignity. Furthermore, the continuation of racial prejudice is unfair to the generations yet unborn.
3. In times of war, the Negro has fought and died for his country, yet he still has not been accorded first-class citizenship.
4. In spite of the fact that the Negro pays his share of taxes, he does not enjoy participation in city, county and state government at the level at which laws are enacted.
5. The social, economic and political progress of Alabama is retarded by segregation and prejudices.
6. America is fast losing the respect of other nations by the poor example which she sets in the area of race relations.

We, therefore, call upon the elected officials of the city, county and state, all leaders in civic life, ministers, teachers, businessmen, labor leaders, fraternity leaders, political leaders and all people of good-will to stand up and be counted in an all-out effort to abolish these glaring practices of discrimination and injustice heaped upon a people because of accident of birth. We intend to use every legal and non-violent mean at our disposal to secure for ourselves and our unborn children these God-given rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Frank Dukes

Frank Dukes, President
Student Government

Nathaniel Studdard

Nathaniel Studdard
Dean of Pledgees,
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity

Wrother L Meredith

Wrother L. Meredith, President
Science Club; Vice Bas.,
Eta Epsilon Chapter Omega Psi Phi Fraternity

Willie Clyde Jones

Willie Clyde Jones
Dean of Pledgees, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity

Doris Mae Marshall

Doris Mae Marshall
Business Manager, Club Harmonia

Gladys J. McGee

Gladys J. McGee, President
Club Rho Nu

Ozzie E. Gadie

Ozzie E. Gadie, President
Senior Class

Marvin B. Smith

Marvin Smith, President
Junior Class

Enclosure No. 3, B. Muse report of Jan. 11, 1962

(David Vann)

OUTLINE OF POSSIBLE
SUGGESTION FOR PARK
DESEGREGATION PLAN

1. All parks and recreational facilities shall be opened as of March 1, 1962.

2. All parks now reserved for white and all parks now reserved for colored shall retain such status until March 15, 1972, except as herein provided for.

3. Parks having no recreational facilities:

   a. The following shall become unrestricted as of March 15, 1963.

      (Name two new white -- two colored, plus all now substantially desegregated.)

   b. The following shall become unrestricted as of March 15, 1963.

      (Name three white, three colored.)

   c. The following shall become unrestricted as of March 15, 1964.

      (Name 4 white, 4 colored.)

   d. The remainder shall become unrestricted as of March 15, 1965.

4. Parks used for school playgrounds:

   The use of these shall be restricted to use by students enrolled in the schools.

5. Golf courses.

   a. Authorize Park Board to establish rules respecting the making of reservations.

   b. Remove restrictions on said numbered dates on March 15, 1962 at Highlands and Cooper Green and

at one additional golf course each six months thereafter.

c. Remove all restrictions at Highland and Cooper Green on March 15, 1964, and on one additional course each six months thereafter.

6. Playing fields for football and baseball.

a. Authorize Park Board to restrict any such field to organized teams on a reservation basis.

b. Remove racial restrictions on said numbered dates beginning March 15, 1963, at two parks each year, including one now reserved for colored and one now reserved for white.

c. Remove all racial restrictions beginning March 15, 1965, at two parks each year.

7. Tennis Courts.

a. Authorize Park Board to establish rules respecting the making of reservations.

b. Remove racial restrictions on said numbered days beginning March 1, 1963, at two parks each year, including one formerly reserved for white and one now reserved for colored.

c. Remove all racial restrictions at two parks each year, including one formerly reserved for white and one now reserved for colored.

8. Swimming pools.

a. Retain all present restrictions on race until March 15, 1966, at which time a plan for the gradual elimination of restrictions must be submitted or all must be opened desegregated or all must be closed.

9. Neighborhood playgrounds.

a. Board authorized to establish neighborhood park districts and to establish rules restricting use to residents of district and their accompanied guests.

10. Park Kindergartens.

a. Placed under provisions of placement law with Park Board substituted for School Board.

11. Community Centers.

a. Retain all present racial restrictions until March 15, 1963.

b. Authorize Board to establish rules and regulations respecting times for use on reservation basis only.

c. Beginning March 15, 1963, remove restrictions on the community center each year for years on said numbered days alternating between a center formerly restricted to all white and one restricted to all colored.

d. Beginning March 15, 1964, remove all racial restrictions on one center each year alternating between a center formerly restricted to all white and one now restricted to all colored.

12. With respect to any facility scheduled for the removal of racial restrictions, the selection of the facility to become unrestricted shall be filed in the court six months prior to the effective date of such removal of restrictions.

13. Advisory Board.

Six months prior to removal of the restrictions on any facilities Park Board shall upon request of any person using such facilities appoint an advisory board of persons living in the immediate area served by the facilities and of persons making regular use of the facilities if the Board determines that use is not confined to persons in the immediate vicinity. The Park Board or its representative shall be required to meet with and advise with such advisory committee in the formulation of rules and regulations. Any citizen who maintains a rule or regulation adopted by the Park Board respecting any facility is discriminatory or unfair shall have the right within nine days after the publication of such rule or regulations, upon 30 days notice to the court and to the Park Board have the right to file a petition in the court and secure a review by the court of such rule or regulation.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

January 30, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conference on Preserving the Democratic Process

Greenwich, Connecticut, January 25-27, 1962

This was a meeting of approximately 90 persons, aroused over the growing danger from the "radical right." I attended at the request of Dr. Dunbar in response to an invitation extended to him by Harry Fleischman, Director, National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee.

The meeting had no formal sponsorship, but was organized by a group which included: Brendan Byrne, of the American Heritage Foundation, and a member of the New York City Board of Education (my roommate); Dan Lacy, American Book Publishers' Council; C. Dale Fuller, Foreign Policy Association; Rev. Dean M. Kelley, National Council of Churches; Harry Fleischman; etc.

No organizations were officially "represented," but persons prominent in 104 organizations were present. (Some listed two organizations), and they came from 20 states, including conspicuously California. No list of participants was available, but some statistical items were announced at the concluding session. There were 14 persons from international relations organizations, 14 Protestant ministers and 9 Roman Catholic priests. There must have been a dozen men from the AFL-CIO and subsidiary unions -- steelworkers, rubber workers, machinists, etc.

Some other organizations, which I noted from name tabs were: Y.M.C.A., UNICEF, Fair Campaign Practices Committee, League of Women Voters, World Affairs Council, Southern Baptist Convention, Research Institute of America, Catholic Interracial Council, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, NAACP, CORE, Urban League, ADA, ACLU, American Friends Service Committee, NCCJ, ADL, the Carnegie Endowment and the National Farmers Union.

The conference was weakest in participation by the communications media. There were 7 "editors and publishers," but these were only Hugh Patterson, of the Arkansas Gazette, and Chapin, of the Denver Post, and five editors from religious publications.

The conference was in almost constant session, apart from sleep time, from 5 p.m. Thursday until 3 p.m. Saturday, as informal discussion began at breakfast.

Two films were exhibited. The first of these, labeled, "Wasn't It a Time," was an emotional and exaggerated attack upon the Committee on Un-American Activities, which seemed to rival "Operation Abolition" in distortions. It was presented with apologies and seemed to meet with general disapproval. The other film, however, was an objective, 45-minute portrayal of the San Francisco riots with the comments of the House Committee chairman along with those of the mayor and the chief of police of San Francisco and other prominent people. This splendid film is a production of the Catholic Catechetical Guild and may be had for $100 by addressing Impact Films, 262 E. Fourth St., St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

I was most impressed with the participation of William C. Sullivan both personally and as Assistant Director of the FBI. Mr. Sullivan is a scholarly gentleman and a superb speaker at home in the moral and philosophical discussions as well as in the police field. He came to deliver the opening address Thursday evening and, unexpectedly, stayed through Friday evening, keeping busy in formal and informal discussions.

In his address Mr. Sullivan pointed to the absurdity of an hysterical mass movement against internal Communism just at the time when American Communism was at its lowest ebb. He traced the decline of the American Communist Party from a membership of about 80,000 in the 40's to about 10,000 now. Asked if he could be quoted on some of his points, he referred to public speeches of Mr. Hoover and himself and said the FBI would be glad to make factual statements, which might be helpful, in reply to letters. For instance, the radical rightists were using a number of so-called "former officials of the FBI." The identification of these men with the FBI had generally been brief, unimportant or apart from any connection with the investigation of Communists. This would be so stated by Mr. Hoover or himself, in answer to specific inquiries. He gave every evidence of a desire to cooperate.

The tenor of the discussions at the conference can be surmised and they were too voluminous to attempt to recapitulate even in outline. I was impressed with active interest of such organizations as the American Book Publishers' Association, the Foreign Policy Association, the National Council of Churches and the AFL-CIO.

A concluding discussion of what action might be taken brought forth a number of suggestions, with general agreement on the desirability of establishing a clearing house of information. Most participants wished to consult their organizations and others before taking any concrete steps. The consensus was that another conference should be called within a few months, and that in the meantime matters should be left in the hands of the original program committee, headed by Mr. Kelly. That group might also proceed to set up some kind of central information clearing house.

I took about an average part in the discussions, dealing generally with the situation in the South. I also suggested bringing sympathetic representatives of the communications media into the movement. I pointed out that the Southern Regional Council was devoted to combating race discrimination but noted that the chief elements of obstruction to racial adjustment in the South are closely related to the radical right in the nation.

The meeting was "off the record but not secret." Remarks were not to be quoted without permission. At the conclusion each participant was given a sheet reading as follows:

IF ASKED QUESTIONS BY REPORTERS THAT YOU CAN'T AVOID ANSWERING

USE THIS

A group of American citizens, concerned about the problem of preserving the democratic process, met in Greenwich, Conn., Jan. 25 - 27, 1962.

They were given briefings by experts on totalitarian threats to America and subversion from both the left and right. This was followed by reports on the sociological, political and religious implications of these movements, supplemented by case histories of attacks on the democratic process. The conference concluded with consideration of a program to promote the democratic process, which individuals could carry on in their respective communities.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

LD

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

February 28, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

As Paul Christopher pictured it, I could see a useful role for a labor consultant and would favor this addition to SLP.

I feel much more strongly about the need of a preacher consultant to inform, fortify and stimulate the Southern clergy.

The paper which I did in October, 1959, in reply to an urgent request from Brooks Hays to put together a proposal for a Field Foundation conference suggested a somewhat different large-scale approach. I am quoting below some of the paragraphs from that paper which are pertinent to a possible project of our own:

> Many have felt from the beginning that this is a job for the preachers more than any other group. Theirs surely is the greatest potential influence in conditioning the public for this historic change. The extent to which this influence has been exerted has been a disappointment to some. But I think those who lightly criticize the Southern clergy little understand the magnitude and complexity of the problem.
>
> I have been very closely associated with many Protestant ministers in my work in this connection, and I have conceived a high admiration for them. Some are of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs and saints are made. Many others, though deeply troubled, have felt obliged, for the sake of the stability, or even the survival, of their churches, to remain silent on this issue. I know something of the inner struggle of these fine men, and I have deep sympathy for them.
>
> ....

School boards are sensitive to the attitude of the ministers and feel a certain dependence upon them. As you know, I have talked with school administrators and school board members in a number of Southern communities. There is a feeling among many of these that this is basically a job for the churches, that the school boards cannot move until the ministers prepare the way.

I have heard such remarks as these from school board members: "In the past six weeks we have had visits from both Ku Klux Klan and White Citizen Council members. We get many communications from them. We haven't heard from a white preacher in two years. ... If we were sure the preachers would back us up, we might go ahead."

....

We are entering a stage where the influence of the Christian churches is supremely important. At the same time there is reason to believe that the risk of provoking dissension and criticism by positive action on the part of religious leaders has lessened.

....

The Southern states were never in greater need of positive help from their religious leaders. From the standpoint of all those who are anxious to see the South rise out of the present morass and move forward to its great destiny within the framework of Constitution and law, some plan for helping Southern clergymen to meet the challenge on a broad front is the most imperative of all present needs.

....

Traveling representatives, themselves clergymen, should visit as many Southern ministers as possible. To each these visitors would bring news of ministers in other sections, of their troubles and how they are dealing with this problem. When requested they could offer advice and any of a variety of available information which might be desired. Apart from either advice or information, in many sections this fellowship, the mere handshake of an understanding colleague, could mean much.

I have considerable desk work to attend to, and I would also like to get in a week or two of non-race relations writing before undertaking another safari. However, a phone call from Cabirac in New Orleans, among other things, suggests that it may not be possible.

Best regards

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Nothing came of this, of course. BM

COPY

BROOKS HAYS

Knoxville, Tennessee

November 13, 1959

Dear Ben:

Just a line to thank you for your great kindness in sending me this extremely helpful report. This is just what I wanted. I am making good use of the material and will tell you more about it when I see you.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks Hays

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Rec'd 3/9/62

Benjamin Muse, P.O. Box 312, Manassas, Va.

March 7, 1962

MEMORANDUM

South Carolina Notes
(From February Visits)

I visited the town of Cheraw February 6 in the hope of seeing A. M. Secrest, editor of the Cheraw Chronicle and a member of the SRC board. Mr. Secrest was away, but I spent some time in the Chronicle office, glancing through files of the paper and talking to Edward M. Sweatt, managing editor.

I noted that the Chronicle published an editorial liberal on race every few weeks. The current issue contained a magnum opus of several thousand words, discussing racial injustice generally, entitled "Negroes DO Pay Their Own Way." The editorial included this one brief concession to segregationists:

"We have no argument with those who defend segregation in the classrooms of the public secondary schools. Such a system at a given time and place, on a voluntary basis, may be the only way to maintain the schools..."

The editorial was otherwise a frank and cogent attack upon discrimination and segregation. I asked Mr. Sweatt how such liberal stuff reacted upon the business of a paper serving a South Carolina community. He said it did little, if any, harm in Cheraw. Many readers disapproved, and some letters of protest were received, but it did not seem to affect either circulation or advertising. The atmosphere in Cheraw was helped by the fact that the most widely read daily paper was the relatively liberal Charlotte (N.C.) Observer. The Cheraw Chronicle was doing all right.

Tom Waring

I had a very cordial interview February 9 with Thomas R. Waring, the somewhat famous editor of the Charleston News and Courier.

The conversation began on a friendly note when I referred to him as a distinguished exponent of a point of view on the race problem which I did not share. It became not so much a debate as an effort to find opinions which we did more or less share.

We came nearest to arguing over the Washington situation. Waring said: "When white people get up and move -- when they run away from the thing -- well, that's the real answer, that's something you can't explain away."

I came back with some facts about the national trend -- the migration from city to suburbs everywhere, with or without substantial Negro population or integration. I asked if there was not a heavy movement of white people out of Charleston to the suburbs.

He was definitely embarrassed. He said something about "special reasons," and changed the subject.

I think this was significant as a reminder of the fact that the so-called "Washington mess" still plays a large part in the talking and thinking of Southern segregationists, and also that the argument can be effectively combatted. It counsels a continued hammering away on our part with the pertinent facts.

Waring said that he eats with educated Negroes sometimes, fraternizes with them on airplane flights and elsewhere -- and doesn't "mind at all." He has a Negro friend in Charleston, a prosperous contractor, employing white sub-contractors, a favorite of "people of quality." This man suffers hardship, he said, when he is denied service at the best restaurants. On the other hand, if a good restaurant should serve him, it would lose its white customers and also suffer hardship.

"There is a big, hard problem there," he said. "In time we shall probably solve it, but it will not be easy."

He thought Negroes should be given more employment opportunities, but he would not intervene in a specific case. Recently Negroes, led by their most prominent local leader, Esau Jenkins, brought pressure to bear on a local department store serving predominantly Negro customers to employ Negroes. The store manager told Jenkins that if he hired Negroes he would get a blast from the News and Courier. When Jenkins brought the story to Waring, the latter wrote the store manager saying that he would not comment on his employment policies. It was none of his business -- and none of Jenkins'!'

Waring seemed to take some pride in the smoothness with which library, bus and golf-course desegregation had been effected. Everybody wanted to preserve the "dignity of Charleston."

I asked if the tradition of dignity and genteelness might not help South Carolina through racial crises ahead, as a similar tradition had helped in Virginia. (I think the current validity of this tradition is questionable but it is helpful to appeal to it nevertheless).

Waring thought there was something in this, though there were "some pretty rough characters in the back country."

He agreed that the South was moving toward desegregation."We may even have to put some Negro children in our white schools." But he said there would have to be "some compromise also from the liberal extremists, who insist on everything right now."

He asked me to be sure to get Sunday's paper. He was going to reprint a large part of Secrest's editorial from the Cheraw Chronicle. On Sunday I was pleased to find this reprint in the News and Courier, together with an entirely friendly editorial note, inviting readers' attention to this "thoughtful discussion of a grave problem."

Employment and Technical Training

I gathered that there is increasing sentiment in South Carolina in favor of opening more job opportunities to Negroes. A number of state figures have spoken out cautiously on this, including recently Charles

Daniels, of Greenville (onetime U.S. Senator) and W. D. Workman, Republican candidate for the Senate. There is a rumor that Gov. Hollings has encouraged this trend in private conferences.

Rev. Gordon Krahe, president of the Greenville Human Relations Council, said that some employers who are anxious to employ Negroes, cannot find qualified applicants. A plant at Anderson had begged him to send some Negroes for white-collar jobs. He placed two clerk-typists and one chemist. He found two more, but they had found better jobs in North Carolina. Many South Carolina Negroes qualified for white-collar jobs were leaving the state.

The launching of a $280,000 technical training project in South Carolina has aroused considerable speculation as to whether or not it will be open to Negroes. The project is a part of the state's drive to attract industry. Nowhere in the plans, regulations or other public papers issued by the project is there any reference to segregation or race. Some of my liberal friends believe that those in charge of the project are leaving the question of segregation open with design in the hope that it may be possible to admit Negroes to the training schools without too great a furor.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, P.O. Box 312, Manassas, Va.

March 8, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

February Itinerary

This report is primarily to give an account of my February travels, observations of general interest having been submitted in two separate memoranda.

February 6: I visited Glen Webb, chamber of commerce manager at Laurinburg, N.C., enroute to Cheraw. No significant change in the cooperative, but unsegregated situation in Laurinburg.

February 7 and 8: In Florence, S.C., I called upon Powell Black, city manager. Black, who was effusively cordial, had invited me in the hope of my being able to make an impression upon the mayor, David H. McLeod, with whom Black arranged a conference for both of us. This was a disappointment.

McLeod, a dynamic, wealthy and well-connected business man, voiced rather typical South Carolina views. He was obviously prejudiced against outsiders, "agitators", reformers and liberals, which, by insinuation, included me. On the favorable side, he was for law and order and was determined to keep Florence attractive to business; he wanted to postpone and minimize desegregation as far as possible, but he did not have a "Never" attitude; he seemed pleased over the "clever" desegregation of the city library and pointed to some increase in job opportunities for Negroes. (Following a demonstration, the library "closed for inventory"; it reopened inconspicuously integrated.)

I also called upon Irving Blanchard, chamber of commerce manager. Though no liberal, Blanchard seemed to favor any adjustment necessary to keep business on even keel.

February 9 and 10: In Charleston, in addition to Bishop Hallinan and Tom Waring, as separately reported, I called on Rev. H. Paul Osborne (8 Archdale Ave.), the Unitarian minister who is one of the few white people active in interracial activity.

There exists a human relations organization, called the Citizens' Committee for Charleston County, which holds monthly meetings. It is headed by Esau Jenkins, an able Negro leader. The white people participating, or cooperating, are mainly: Osborne, Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs (73 King St.), Rev. S. Grayson Clary (142 Church St.), Rabbi Burton Padoll (Beth Elohim Reform Temple, 90 Hazell St.) Thomas J. Tobias (Tobias & Co., 121 Church St.), Mrs. Betty Tobias, Nathan Shulman (6 Nicholson St.) and Dr. de Rosset Myers (53 Broad St.).

February 10: I spent Saturday evening and most of Sunday with the Courtney Siceloffs. Mrs. Helen Burr Christensen, of "South Carolinians Speak" was a dinner guest.

February 11: In Savannah I visited Bishop McDonough and Father Cuddy of the Catholic diocese.

February 13-14: In Macon, Ga., I took a preliminary look at the crucial bus boycott situation, which later received intensive attention from SRC. Had a particularly satisfactory talk with Joe Parham, editor of the Macon News.

February 15-20: Conferences at SRC, except week-end.

February 21: I spent in Clemson, S.C., and nearby Central, home of Rev. Fred Reese, president of the South Carolina CHR, with whom I spent most of the time. I went over with him the situation and personalities at Clemson College with a view to a later visit to that institution, which could see the first public education break-through in South Carolina. The formal application of two Negro applicants for admission was postponed until next fall. The president, Dr. R. C. Edwards recently addressed the Greenville Alert. (The "Alerts" are ultra-rightist organizations which are building up in nearly all South Carolina cities.) Clemson history professor, Robert S. Landreth spent an evening with us.

February 22-23: In Greenville my reconnaissance was also preparatory to a later visit. Wayne W. Freeman, editor of the Greenville News was cordial but "on the way out" to an appointment with his doctor, invited me to come back for a talk later. I was much impressed with Edmund A. Ramsour, associate editor, who seemed to lean very far toward the liberal side, and noted "improvement" in the South Carolina climate. Gilbert Roland, the paper's "church editor," is an all-out liberal active in the CHR. Roland said: "I am definitely optimistic."

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

JAV
PA✓
PR✓
ML✓
MJ-file

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

~~Houston~~ Tue - Cabana Inn - Greenville CE 5-8531
Tue - Clemson Inn

March 23, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

We are setting out tomorrow for a 4-weeks tour: Greenville, Clemson, Atlanta, Mobile, New Orleans, and various stops in Mississippi and Alabama before returning again by Atlanta.

Thanks for letting me see the papers on Henry Clark, which I shall leave with you next Friday, March 30, when I expect to be in Atlanta. I hope I shall find you at base, in which case we can discuss this matter then.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Copy to D. Freeman 4/6/62

March 23, 1962

MEMORANDUM

Conversation With Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C., March 22, 1962

I called on Dr. Hansen to discuss the ~~still~~ vastly distorted picture, still widespread in the South, of conditions in Washington following the integration of the District's public schools.

I related the principle arguments and questions of Southern segregationists with whom I have talked and noted that balancing information and clear-cut answers in some cases are not to be found in Dr. Hansen's various reports, which I had read.

Educational Standards

I remarked that it was assumed by many segregationists that scholastic standards for white pupils in Washington had been lowered. If an overall improvement is cited, the answer is that Negroes have advanced at the expense of white children. Dr. Hansen's reports reveal marked improvement in pupil achievement, but nowhere do they state that the level of white pupil achievement has not been lowered. This is a result of the fact that records are no longer kept by race.

Dr. Hansen said, in answer to my question, that the level of white pupil achievement has actually risen in all classes. This is evident to all in the school administration, though it is not demonstrated statistically.

The "Flight" of Whites from Integration

Dr. Hansen said that the emigration of white families to the suburbs is continuing. The percentage of Negroes in the public school enrollment may soon reach 90 per cent.

Many factors are responsible for this trend. Insofar as race enters into it, more whites are fleeing from Negro residential encroachments than from integrated schools.

The rumor that whites in the District are swarming to private schools, he said is erroneous. He said at first that private school enrollment was actually declining, but upon examination of data this proved true only of non-public schools, including parochial schools. The enrollment in private schools had remained about the same.

Immorality

Desegregation has not resulted in an increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency. The behavior record compared favorably with that in other cities in spite of the Washington racial pattern.

His published figures showing a decline in the incidence of gonorrhoea were not too reliable, he said, and should not be emphasized. He said that a decline in juvenile morality was apparent throughout the country.

I remarked that the public had been shocked at the steady increase in juvenile pregnancies in Washington, and that Southern segregationists had made much of this. Dr. Hansen said there was no evidence that any of these pregnancies were interracial, or that integration had had anything to do with the matter. He suggested that we get the juvenile pregnancy figures for some segregated Southern cities.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

April 25, 1962

Rec'd 4/26

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

South Carolina Notes

March 26-27, April 18, 1962

I was particularly anxious to see Wayne W. Freeman, editor of the Greenville News, who had been very cordial in a brief earlier encounter.

The Greenville News has been relatively moderate in the South Carolina climate -- anti-extreme right, etc. I understand that Roger Peace, publisher, like Freeman, is somewhat short of intransigeant on segregation. Edmund A. Ramsaur, the able and personable associate editor, with whom I had a long talk in February, is the most liberal of the three. Ramsaur, a young man of means himself, is married to a daughter of Peace.

Most significantly as far as Freeman is concerned is his membership, since the early 1950's on the powerful Gressette Committee. The Gressette Committee, or the "Special Segregation Committee," set up by the legislature under the Byrnes Administration and continuing indefinitely, controls South Carolina policy in all aspects of race relations to a rare degree. Its chairman is State Senator L. Marion Gressette and its fifteen members include five senators, five representatives and five laymen, appointed by the governor. It enjoys somewhat greater prestige than similar bodies in other Deep South states and is less given to pyrotechnics. I gather from various sources that the committee's private discussions do not quite close the door to ultimate school desegregation. Leon Dure, the advocate of "freedom of choice" was invited to a session of the committee and heard with interest. Wayne Freeman is regarded as one of the committee's more "liberal" members.

When I called on Freeman at 10 a.m., March 26, he was jovially friendly and most anxious to talk -- and even to listen. When he was called to his eleven o'clock editorial conference, he asked if I would be in town long enough for us to talk some more, and I agreed to come back at 4 p.m., when we resumed on a fairly intimate feet-on-the-desk basis.

He repeated many of the familiar segregationist clichés, but without a sound of firm conviction, and was definitely interested in hearing the other side. He said integration would be dangerous now because of the ignorance of so many, both white and colored. The Gressette Committee was trying to buy time, while South Carolina made an earnest effort to improve education for both races. "Our goal," he said, "is to educate the people to a point where integration will be no issue."

Incidentally, he remarked that Clarendon county was the worst conceivable place in which to begin desegregation. He quoted Thurgood Marshall as saying: "I wish I had never heard of Clarendon County!"

Freeman thought liberals generally and the Kennedy Administration were unreasonable and ignorant of actual conditions in South Carolina. I sensed a lack of communication here, as in many Southern situations, not only between whites and Negroes, but between segregationist and liberal whites. I asked if he wouldn't like to talk this thing out in a friendly way with some of the Administration people and mentioned Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall. He thought this a fine idea and said he would go to Washington for the purpose if Mr. Marshall should invite him.

Breakfasting with us on the 27th was Gil Roland, an ebullient and completely liberal reporter on the Greenville News, who is active in the South Carolina CHR and would like to get more fully into human relations work.

Returning through South Carolina from our Southern tour, we invited Rev. Fred Reese and Mrs. Reese to lunch with us at Clemson. Race relations are a burning obsession for this Methodist minister, who is the very energetic president of the S. C. CHR. He is expecting a transfer early in June to another South Carolina pastorate; he hopes it will be more centrally located for the sake of his CHR work.

Reese, who is enthusiastic over the idea of putting a clergyman consultant in the field, recommended Rev. R. Carl Griffith, 279 Nottingham Road, Greenville. He said Griffith, 65, and recently retired, is at the same time an outspoken liberal on race and one of the most popular ministers in the S. C. Methodist Conference, having twice led the South Carolina delegation to the national conference.

In the afternoon I had a long talk with Dr. Ernest McPherson Lander, author of a history of South Carolina and head of the history department at Clemson. Dr. Lander is a completely liberal gentleman who is very knowledgeable with respect to South Carolina affairs. He invited me to come for a meal next trip, and our meeting encouraged my hope of establishing a friendly beachhead at Clemson.

There is a complicated situation now respecting the validity of the applications of two Negroes, but there is a possibility that they may be admitted to Clemson next September. President Edwards is an outspoken segregationist and "rightist," who helped found "South Carolina Alert" and brought "Operation Abolition" to Clemson. Nevertheless, Dr. Edwards has informed the faculty that, "if South Carolina law is stricken down" and the college is forced to admit Negroes, order will be sternly enforced. Any student making trouble, he said, will be immediately expelled.

Incidentally former Gov. Byrnes is a member of the board of trustees. Dr. Lander said, Byrnes is an influence for recalcitrance, but added that he is showing signs of senility.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

Copy Kept for Dave Freeman

JMC
PA
RC
PR
MLK

April 27, 1962

MJ-file

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Parochial School Desegregation, New Orleans

April 1-2, 1962

I visited New Orleans at the request of Henry Cabirac, executive director of the Catholic Council on Human Relations. While enroute to New Orleans by auto on a southern tour, I learned of the announcement of the decision of Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel March 27 that all parochial schools would be desegregated next September. I arrived Sunday evening, March 31, and spent Monday and Tuesday in consultation with various individuals and groups.

Cabirac called a meeting for Monday evening of the CCHR public relations committee, which is the archbishop's principle group of lay advisors in this crisis, and which included also Msgr. Charles Plauché, chancellor, and Rev. Elmo L. Romagosa, director of information, of the archdiocese. C. Ellis Henican, of the law firm of Henican, James and Cleveland, CCHR chairman and a member of the committee, and John P. Nelson, Jr., prominent lawyer and CCHR vice-chairman, are particularly active and dedicated foes of segregation.

In the three-hour conference we discussed many problems involved in the desegregation move. Details of our discussion at that stage of a fast-moving situation, or of my part in it, are of little interest now. I may report, however, that I urged every effort to assure that some Negroes would apply for admission to every white school. Cabirac had planned some lay work to this end, but Msgr. Plauché said that school teachers themselves would attend to this — some unsuitable Negro youths might also be deterred in private counselling. He agreed in the desirability of having desegregation spread as widely as possible. No encouragement, however, would be given to Negro enrollment in several white schools in districts where no Negro Catholics reside -- or in the small parish of Plaquemines. In Plaquemines, which is completely subject to domination and intimidation by the Leander Perez machine, no one expected any parochial school desegregation to take place.

Our group was pleased, or relieved, at the initial reaction to the archbishop's announcement. Msgr. Plauché described the crowded meeting of the archdiocesan clergy at

which the announcement was made. He said the archbishop received a standing ovation. Although there were a few noisy dissenters, there were many evidences of loyal support on the part of the Catholic community. In spite of the call of Pérez and others for a boycott of "the fat-bellied priests," Msgr. Plauché said that from all reports coming to him attendance -- and collections -- at Catholic churches Sunday were normal. The absence of fulminations on the part of politicians was encouraging. Each of the two candidates for Mayor of New Orleans said this was a "private affair" of the Catholic Church.

The most conspicuous trouble-makers were Mrs. B. J. Gaillot, Jr., president of Save Our Nation, Inc., Leander H. Pérez, Emile Wagner and Jackson G. Ricau, director of the Southwest Louisiana Citizens Council -- all four of whom had been sent "letters of admonition" by the archbishop, and all but Wagner have since been excommunicated. These dissenters were playing a badly-worn record, and it was felt that Mrs. Gaillot's melodrama might be actually helpful locally in identifying the opposition with this obvious fanatic. State Rep. Rodney Buras took part in a Citizens Council meeting of protest and was also sent a "letter of admonition," but he recanted after an interview with Archbishop Rummel. After his visit to the archbishop, Buras issued this interesting statement:

"I am now, as I have been in the past, emphatically opposed to integration by race of all schools.

"Even though bills introduced against integration of public schools have been found unconstitutional, I am still opposed to the decision although I must recognize the courts in their authority.

"I am and have been opposed to the integration of all private sectarian schools and will continue, as in the case of public schools, to be in opposition to their integration. However, as a member of the Roman Catholic church I must abide by its laws and decisions pertaining to the diocese in which I live."

Along with Cabirac I lunched one day with Al Hero of the World Peace Foundation, and the next with Emile Colmar, States-Item reporter and Louisiana correspondent of the Southern School News. (Hero spent the entire time in giving us side-lights on the fabulous Leander Pérez, who is his next door neighbor.) I also called on the editors of both the Times-Picayune and the States-Item.

George Healy called my attention to the objective handling of the initial announcement by the Times-Picayune. Carl Corbin had followed in the States-Item with a really fine editorial calling for calm acceptance of this move by the Catholic parochial schools. In both of these newspapers, which

voiced so much editorial defiance before 1960, I found an apparent desire to be helpful now. Corbin, who spoke very freely in his conversation with me, was insistent on the confidential nature of his remarks and asked that no opinion be attributed to him.

I may note several observations which reflect the views of the various newspaper men with whom I talked. The parochial school integration was expected to be effected without any serious public disorder. Reprisals by the state legislature in cutting off state aid in the matter of school lunches, textbooks, transportation, etc., was considered improbable. Politicians would risk losing more votes than they would gain by such action. Mrs. Gaillot was considered a joke. Healy told me a very good story about this. One day a group of women picketed City Hall in protest against a threatened ordinance regulating cats and found themselves in a big photo on the front page of the States-Item. The same afternoon Mrs. Gaillot's platoon picketed the archbishop's office and neither paper carried their picture. Mrs. Gaillot phoned the editors in great indignation, asking if cats were more important than children!

Newspaper men appeared to feel that the visit of President Kennedy to New Orleans May 4 might precipitate greater public disorder than school integration in September. The President is scheduled to deliver a major foreign trade address at the new Nashville Ave. warf and participate in "McDonogh Day" ceremonies at City Hall. (John McDonogh was a famous public school benefactor.) The Citizens Council is said to be planning hostile demonstrations.

The archdiocese of New Orleans embraces the civil parishes of Orleans, Jefferson, St. Bernard, Plaquemines, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, Lafourche, Terrebonne, St. Tammany, and Washington and a part of St. Mary. Some 527,400 of the total population of 1,142,907 are Catholics. Current parochial school enrollment is 75,707, 64,842 white and 10,865 Negro pupils, in 116 elementary schools and 37 high schools.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

April 30, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Mississippi

April 4-11, 1962

On October 14, 1961, I submitted a comprehensive memorandum headed "Moderate Leadership Resources in Mississippi."

As a result of conversations on the trip I would add to the list of minor politicians Mr. and Mrs. John B. Farese, Ashland, (each has served in the legislature) and Barron Drewry, Corinth, another ex-legislator; to "Other Influential Leaders" should be added Jack M. Dubard, prominent attorney of Booneville, and Power Stern, retired business man and state CHR president, of Jackson. Others of the moderate school whom I visited in April have been mentioned before.

Wednesday, April 4, in Tylertown I visited Mrs. Paul Pittman, who is editing the paper in the absence of her husband, and J. Oliver Emmerich, editor of the McComb Enterprise Journal. (Emmerich was also editor of the Jackson State Times until that paper's demise a few months ago.) The Pittmans are both liberal. Paul was president of the Young Democrats and a leader in the Kennedy campaign in 1960. Now on duty as a Naval Reserve officer, he will return to the Mississippi scene next October. Emmerich is expecting his son to return to McComb and the paper in June. Junior, who is more liberal than his father, has been studying at Harvard under a Newman Fellowship.

In Jackson April 5-6 I talked with Dr. A. D. Beittel and Power Stern, CHR leaders and spent Friday morning with A. Boyd Campbell, Mississippi School Supply Co., 116 E. South St.

Conversation with Boyd Campbell

Mr. Campbell, 72, is a director in various firms, a former president of the Jackson chamber of commerce and a man of great quiet influence in business and financial circles in Mississippi. He has served on various national economic and educational commissions and was president in 1955, and chairman of the board in 1956, of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

A reference to a common friend, former Gov. Darden of Virginia, brought a cordial welcome from Mr. Campbell, who invited me to join in a late breakfast at his desk, and we talked until 11:30 a.m. We began with a lengthy discussion of the SRC, of which he knew almost nothing. He asked about its history, funds, personalities and activities. His only recollection of the SRC seemed to be of an office operated in Jackson "several years ago" by a Mrs. Lyles. He said Mrs. Lyles was a very nice Negro lady who did a good job in promoting communication between the races.

As I had never heard of this episode he phoned Negro College president Dr. Jacob P. Reddix and several white friends, who confirmed the fact that Mrs. Ruby Stutts Lyles did indeed operate such an office for the SRC probably five years ago.

Mr. Campbell felt very strongly about the ineptitude and blindness of Mississippi in dealing with the race problem, but he felt strongly at the same time about "federal intrusions in state affairs." He was nothing less than incensed over Secretary Ribicoff's recent announcement that federal funds will be withheld from certain segregated schools in federally impacted areas.

After his brief comment on this point, the remainder of our two hours conversation was harmonious and from the point of view of a common desire to see an orderly adjustment in Mississippi.

Mr. Campbell was obviously an ardent admirer of former Gov. J. P. Coleman. On the gubernatorial prospects for 1963, he said:

"We had a little informal conference on that here in the office. The tide for Coleman is setting in stronger and stronger. Of course, they will load the Kennedy Administration on to his back. They might beat him on that. The Citizens Councils dominate the state, and they will fight Coleman. But Coleman is strong."

Coleman's principle opponent was likely to be Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, who never publicly committed himself in the 1960 presidential election. On Congressional outlook, Mr. Campbell said Rep. Frank Smith, Mississippi's one liberal Congressman, was sure to be defeated this year. (He has been redistricted into competition with incumbent Rep. James T. Whitten.)

Mr. Campbell discussed the school equalization program in Mississippi, observing that for some years now 70% of the capital expenditures for public schools had gone to Negro schools. His emphasis on the enormous improvement in Negro schools pointed up a strong speech upon discrimination against the Negro in employment. This seemed to be the area of discrimination which disturbed Mr. Campbell most.

"We are training the Negro and then, refusing him the employment he is trained for. The more he becomes qualified to help in our economy the more we are forcing him to go elsewhere. We are training Negroes to make a success in Chicago and New York." He told at some length of successful Mississippi Negroes that he had met in his speech-making travels, including John Johnson, publisher of Ebony (born in Vicksburg, Miss.) and Sidney P. Brown, a former vice-president of the Chicago school board. He was so impressed with Brown that he inquired of some Chicago friends about him. He showed me letters which he had received in reply, praising Brown in the highest terms. Brown had received an award for "outstanding service to Chicago."

I remarked that many business leaders across the South were awakening to the need for opening jobs to Negroes. Mr. Campbell said he detected no such awakening in Mississippi, except among the Negroes themselves. If decent jobs were made available to Negroes, he said, it would help solve many other problems.

He said race relations in Mississippi had worsened in many ways since 1954. There was much more aloofness and ill will. He had been instrumental in arranging an appearance of Leontyne Price in Jackson when she was received with enthusiastic applause by both white and colored. Anything of this sort would be impossible today.

On the other hand, he observed a certain restraint on the part of the white populace in critical situations which was new in Mississippi. Earlier it would have been impossible to prevent bloody riots in situations like that of the Freedom Rides or more recent sit-in demonstrations. He also had been surprised to find some segregationists whom he had suspected to be adamant -- such as a prominent planter from the Delta region -- quietly advocating the admission of a Negro to Old Miss.

He was also surprised at times to hear some otherwise intelligent friends fanatically urging resistance to integration come what may.

I submitted that Mississippi is not "carrying the banner for the South" as many Mississippians appear to believe, but that Mississippi is widely condemned even in the South on three points: (1) denial of voting rights to Negroes; (2) denial of justice to Negroes in the courts; and (3) exclusion of Negroes from employment.. Mr. Campbell agreed, but he felt there was improvement in the area of Negro voting. For his own part, he said, he sometimes accompanied Negro employees to the polls to make sure they voted -- and without interference. The most urgent need he felt was for breaking the race barrier in employment.

I asked if he did not feel that Mississippi is "riding toward calamity." He said:

"Yes I feel that. But I've been feeling that so long that I have sort of gotten used to the feeling."

Was there any chance that Mississippi would get off the road in time?

"No," he said. "I am afraid Mississippi will have to meet it head on -- I mean, too late to prevent the initial explosion."

In sum I gained the impression that Mr. Campbell is a moderate (as he called himself) who would by no means advocate integration out of hand, but who is opposed to the Citizens Councils and to the whole state policy on race, who favors Negro voting, justice for Negroes in the courts and greater employment opportunities for Negroes. His influence would be on the side of acceptance of any court-ordered desegregation and he believes in the maintenance of public schools and law and order under any circumstances.

He said the lack of communication between white men on the subject was more acute than the lack of communication between whites and Negroes. He felt that Mississippi's difficulties were not understood in the "North" -- not understood in Washington.

I remarked that it might be a good thing if these problems could be discussed in a friendly way between Deep South leaders and some members of the Kennedy Administration.

He said: "I couldn't agree with you more."

Saturday, April 7, I visited Curtis Mullins, editor of the Madison County Herald, at Clinton. Mullins is an energetic and influential liberal editor-politician in a county where the population is 71 per cent Negro. Editorially, he rarely mentions the race problem, though he has taken an openly liberal stand on such borderline issues as the question of Mississippi college baseball and basket ball teams playing against integrated opponents. Otherwise, his editorials are belligerently liberal and pro-Kennedy Administration. A close friend of Paul Pittman, of Tylertown, they were associated in the pro-Kennedy campaign in Mississippi and Mullins was a member of the Democratic slate of presidential electors in 1960.

Strongly anti-Citizen Council, Mullins believes that CC membership is falling off in Madison County, that it is probably "slipping" all over Mississippi -- although a crisis might give it new life.

Due to some personal commitments he did not support J. P. Coleman in 1955, but he will do everything he can to see Coleman elected next year. He is a great admirer of J. P. Coleman and believes he will win.

I asked how his liberal attitude affected his standing in the community. He said he did not suffer at all; his paper was doing very well.

He was the only positively optimistic person with whom I talked in Mississippi -- said he saw improvement, more and more people were beginning to accept the prospect of integration as inevitable, thought Mississippi would pull through without any very disastrous explosion.

He thought most of the common people of Mississippi were pro-Kennedy, and that President Kennedy would carry the state today.

He was bitter over the Congressional redistricting performance in Mississippi. The reduction had been accomplished by combining the districts of the only two "liberal" Congressmen, leaving the conservative Congressmen unaffected. The former Third District of Frank Smith, "the best man," had been combined with the Second District of "the next best man," Whitten, although there was smaller population in the First District than in either of these. Smith supported Kennedy; Whitten supported the unpledged electors, but was not happy over it. He said he knew both Congressmen well.

I asked about the Pascagoula Chronicle, from which the well-known liberal, Easton King, had resigned over a year ago. He said King's successor, Ira Harkey, just as liberal as King, was continuing the paper's liberal policy.

Saturday afternoon my wife and I drove to Ackerman, in the hope of paying a call upon Governor and Mrs. J. P. Coleman. The Colemans were away. W. D. Coleman, a brother of the former governor, walked over from his home next door to explain that J. P. and his lady were attending a wedding in Gulfport.

W. D. Coleman was in a conversational mood and our 20-minute talk was an amazing revelation. I said that I was traveling through the South discussing the race problem with influential leaders, and remarked that in Virginia we were steadily desegregating schools and not having any trouble.

Coleman did nearly all of the talking from that point on. He was incredibly calm and matter-of-fact and friendly about it, but he said:

"We aren't going to have any integration in Mississippi. We just aren't going to take it -- not any of it.

"If I saw a Negro sit down in a white restaurant I would kill him. I would just kill him.-- and take the consequences.

"I hear this wherever I go. We just aren't going to have it in Mississippi...

"Up in West Point the other day a factory took down the 'White' and 'Colored' signs in the lunch room and restaurant. They had to, because they had a Government contract. Of course the niggers knew better than to take advantage of it. They just went on as they always had done. But what do you think of pressure like that? The mixers won't stop at anything. But they aren't going to mix our folks...

"How would President Kennedy like to see Caroline marry a nigger?... Etc. Etc." He added that he was trying to teach his children the evil of integration.

I asked friends later about W. D., and was told that he is a rather mediocre fellow practicing law in Ackerman. In the present Mississippi climate, it may be a political asset to J. P. Coleman (the liberal hope) to have a brother talking like that.

My remaining conversations produced little new information and can be dealt with briefly.

At the University of Mississippi I joined a small after-dinner group at the Fortenberrys' Sunday evening, April 8, and lunched with the Silvers Monday. Monday morning was spent in a long bullfest over coffee with several faculty friends who came to see me at the Alumni House.

I learned, incidentally, that thorough preparations had been made last February to preserve order in the event of court-ordered admission of James Meredith, which was then anticipated. Several representatives of the Department of Justice were on hand.

We proceeded next to Holly Springs, where Mr. and Mrs. John Kennedy lunched with us, Tuesday, April 9. Kennedy, an ardently liberal ex-legislator and warm friend, was helpful, as usual, in suggestions for my travels.

We missed the Fareses at Ashland but, following another Kennedy lead, I called Wednesday morning upon Dave Guyton, a somewhat famous blind prodigy, at Blue Mountain. Guyton, now in his 80's, has had a remarkable career as professor of

history at Blue Mountain College, poet, newspaper columnist, bank director, etc., in spite of having been blind since his youth. He attracted considerable attention, and aroused controversy, in 1960 by a widely-published letter supporting President Kennedy's candidacy. Retired, Guyton is feeble now, but mentally alert. I found him liberal to the extent of deploring present attitudes in Mississippi. Nevertheless, he and his wife seemed basically racist -- although I argued the latter point apparently with temporary success. When I took my leave these two devout Baptists promised to pray for success in my work!

I called incidentally on Dr. William C. Tyler, president of Blue Mountain College, a Baptist school for girls. We were mutually suspicious, but Dr. Tyler, lonesome in his big office, seemed glad to see a visitor of any kind and I found it hard to get away from him. He was evasive on the race issue but interminable on the disadvantages of coeducational institutions, materialistic trends, etc.

At Booneville I visited Jack M. Dubard, an able and influential lawyer, who is deeply concerned over the race situation in Mississippi -- wishes someone of stature who is financially secure would speak out boldly from the housetops.

At "Drewry's Steak House" on the highway south of Corinth I called on an ex-legislator named Barron Drewry. The restaurant being closed for Wednesday afternoon, Drewry seemed eager to talk about the race problem. I found this rugged, gregarious politician very liberal and very well-informed. He thought the campaign for Negro voting could do a great deal of good, but hoped it would be given local leadership in every county, with a minimum of visible outside participation.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

copy held for Kate

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

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RC ✓
MJ-file

May 2, 1962

RECEIVED MAY 7 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Additional Notes, April Travels, 1962

Returning from Mississippi through Northern Alabama, we found ourselves accidentally at the same motel April 11 with the Folsom party; I attended one of the day's seven rallies and talked briefly with Big Jim. The results of the first primary save me now from a prognostication, which would have been wide of the mark, as I consulted Folsom enthusiasts.

I found Louis A. Eckl, editor of the Florence Times passionately pro-Folsom. He recalled that I had had a part in his decision. When I visited him last summer I told him of my advice to Folsom to preach law and order. Eckl, undecided then, said in effect that if Big Jim preached law and order, he would support him -- which I later conveyed to Folsom. Folsom said his piece for segregation, though less emphatically than others, but a part of his regular repertoire was: "We gotta have law and order in this state."

Another healthy note of Folsom's was:

"I tell you, folks, the Civil War is over. We gotta join together."

I may add that my liberal friends -- outside of Folsom's entourage -- spoke highly also of de Graffenreid. He was described by some as a better man who couldn't make it.

Louis Eckl and son, Chris, who is now on the staff of the Times, were overflowing with cordiality and liberal zeal. They gave me a collection of clips of gently liberal editorials. The paper was doing fine in spite of them. Chris Eckl is president of the local Council on Human Relations.

Louis Eckl said that Alabama Chief Justice J. E. Levingston had offered a job to his other son, William Wray, who is about to graduate from law school -- which was interesting in view of the family's well known liberal tendency.

Kenneth B. Piper, Chattanooga, April 13:

On the day I left Atlanta three weeks earlier a letter arrived expressing extraordinary interest in the SRC from Kenneth B. Piper, of the Provident Insurance Co., of Chattanooga. I recalled having visited Mr. Piper two years earlier and decided to include another visit to him on this trip.

Mr. Piper is executive vice-president of Provident, whose splendid new building is one of the "sights" of Chattanooga. (It houses the home office staff of 800). He is deeply religious (a Presbyterian) and abhors race discrimination on moral and religious grounds. He is greatly enjoying the experience of cultivating some Negro friendships. We discussed the race problem, with only incidental reference to the Chattanooga situation, for one and a half hours.

He evidently would like to do more in this field, and to become better acquainted with us. He is handicapped at present, not only by the demands of his job upon his time, but by the fact that the president of his company is an intransigeant segregationist. However, Piper will be 63 in July and will retire in two more years. Then he expects to be more active in some of the causes in which he believes. He is active in the American Association for the United Nations and the NCCJ, but I believe he feels most strongly about the evil of race discrimination.

He finds one fault with the SRC: he thinks we are encouraging too much "federal government action." I did not argue this point at length with him; it did not seem to be an overriding consideration.

He wished to "keep in touch," and I promised to send him some material in which he expressed a particular interest.

Mayor Hartsfield, April 17:

I visited former Mayor William Hartsfield of Atlanta in his tiny Grant Building office. I think Hartsfield misses the excitement of running the city, but he complained of being overworked. (He declined a speaking engagement while I was there.)

He had talked and written to me about his address to the annual meeting of the Young Business Men's Club of Birmingham March 23, and had sent me some letters of appreciation, which I returned to him. The writers expressed the wish that Birmingham could have a mayor like him. Mayor Hartsfield said the meeting had been picketed by a handful of Ku Kluxers, but there was no disorder. He gave them some "straight talk." Some were cold, but most applauded.

He was unable to accept the part-time arrangement agreed upon tentatively earlier with us because of the demands of his two-year Ford Foundation contract, his Fair duties, etc. However, he would continue to put in a blow for the good cause whenever opportunity offered. There were opportunities. The Mayor of Pensacola had recently sought his advice. At a meeting in Pittsburgh under his Ford Foundation assignment he had talked to U. S. Steel people about the dangerous situation in Birmingham.

He wished to keep in touch with us.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

cc: Dave Freeman 6/11/62

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

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June 8, 1962

RECEIVED JUN 11 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

South Carolina

May 27—June 2, 1962

Everywhere in the South there are those who say in effect: "The South was moving fast toward better treatment of Negroes -- even desegregation -- until the Supreme Court and the NAACP spoiled it all and reversed the trend." I hear this remark particularly often in South Carolina, probably because of Gov. Byrnes' pre-1954 school equalization program. Entertained by both extremists and moderates, the notion has been exaggerated and repeated until it is regarded as gospel.

Two prominent citizens who were active in the movement for tolerance and interracial cooperation in South Carolina before have become conspicuous leaders of resistance to desegregation. D. W. Robinson, a former president of the S. C. Council on Human Relations is now chairman of the legal counsel of the segregation-preserving Gressette Committee, (though I have reason to believe that he is not as uncompromising as that role might imply). A more shocking example is that of R. Beverly Herbert, Sr., another former president of the SCCHR. The Beverly Herberts, father and son, are partners in the Columbia law firm of Herbert, Herbert and Dial. I exchanged only "Good morning" with Herbert, Sr., but had a long, painful talk with Herbert, Jr.

"My father" the latter said, "is an illustration of what this thing has done to us in South Carolina. Before 1954 our firm handled the legal work for the Negro university, my father was on the board of the Negro hospital, he was president of the Human Relations Council, he was working all the time to help Negroes. Now he is out of all this. He'll do anything he can to stop what's going on now."

The rest of Herbert, Jr.'s speech was an interesting review of the thinking of the segregationist hard core in South Carolina -- familiar stuff about the Supreme Court, the NAACP, the "daily lies about the South in the Northern press" etc. It was essentially a monologue; I got in only a hopeless demurrer now and then. When I suggested that wholesale overnight school integration was not in the offing and pointed to the gradual pace of desegregation in other states, he said:

"We don't want to see one Negro in a white school. We know what it would lead to. If we could be guaranteed that the proportion would never go over 8 per cent colored in a white school, we might

take it, but that is impossible. The flood of integration will go on and on until it is like Washington, D.C. We'll close schools first. We'll close our schools before we will integrate the first Negro."

He said the South had treated the Negroes "better than any nation ever treated a minority race in all history," and quoted Senator Borah (!) to that effect. I came back several times to the question of closing public schools. He was adamant. They would close them all, if necessary, to prevent the first Negro from entering a white school. He agreed also that a court order to desegregate would ultimately come. I said the prospect of closed schools must be a dismal one for South Carolina. He said, "Yes, but that's the way it has to be; that's the way it's going to be. We'll just close the schools."

It is well to keep in mind the fact that there are many Herberts in South Carolina, though I believe there are considerably fewer than there were two years ago. The incident also may help to balance the optimism which is reflected in the rest of my report.

All my other contacts agreed that there is a very general recognition now of the fact that ultimate desegregation is inevitable and that school-closing is "out". These contacts included a brother of the chief legal counsel to the Gressette Committee, an ex-legislator and brother of an incumbent state senator, a member of the State Development Board, the director of extension at the University of South Carolina, an important business man and a well-informed editor. Dr. Nicholas P. Mitchell, the extension director, remarked that his work brings him in contact "with people in many parts of the state." E. Craig Wall said, "Everybody I know sees it coming" -- which should include at least his fourteen colleagues on the State Development Commission.

Mr. Wall said: "It'll probably come at the college level. They've got to keep on talking segregation, but some of them would like to have a court order and get it over. There's something working up at Clemson. Edwards (president of Clemson) is ready for it. He's not going to allow any nonsense when it comes. Trouble-makers will be sent right home."

In Conway I saw E. R. McIver, chairman of the South Carolina advisory committee to the Commission on Civil Rights; Mr. Wall and Ervin Dargan. All three of these are in the lumber business in separate companies.

McIver seems the least liberal of these three. I understand that he is fair, efficient, and conscientious in his CCR duties (I have seen him conducting a hearing), but he talks like a racist --

"the Negroes are definitely a primitive race, etc." He says he is "no integrationist," but believes token integration can be accomplished in some sections. Race relations, he said, were fine in the Conway-Myrtle Beach area, but school integration would be dangerous. The northern section of the county (Horry) contains some of the worst white characters in the state -- descendants of deserters, fugitives, etc. who settled in the swamps. Much talk with McIver and Wall about the local situation. Local white civic clubs had recently raised $1,500 to equip a Negro school band.

Well-informed, especially on the race problem, Wall seemed completely liberal in principle, aware of the necessity for eliminating race discrimination in employment, voting, education and all down the line. But he was conservative on the questions of method and timing. "We are pushing forward, but it will take a very long time." He told me of plans to launch an all-Negro textile factory in Conway to employ several hundred. It would be owned and managed by Negroes, but nearly all of the capital would be put up by public-spirited white men. They would lend the money on easy terms to the Negro group. The plan was not to advance integration, but to give employment and -- under Negro management -- dignity. Ervin Dargan, who appears to be a man of considerable wealth, is aggressively liberal and very attractive. He was most cordial and anxious to talk. We spent an afternoon and evening together, which included lunch and dinner and a drive to Charleston and back. He is active in efforts to liberalize the Episcopal Church, and his appointment in Charleston was for a conference with Bishop Temple in this connection. Dargan was chairman of the local school board and president of the state association of school boards until defeated in an election for the former because of his liberal attitude on race.

In Columbia, Gressette committee counsel D. W. Robinson was out of town but I had a most friendly talk with his brother, Hoke Robinson, of the same law firm, who is a very attractive gentleman. Hoke Robinson expressed himself in the sense of the opening paragraph of this memorandum, but was mildly constructive in his approach to the present situation. Though he insisted that he was not speaking for his brother or the Gressette Committee, I believe he reflected the feeling among a substantial element in that committee. He would delay desegregation as long as possible, but not close schools when it comes. He remarked that the influence of the Gressette committee had tended to keep down irresponsible legislative proposals, that it definitely caused the defeat of a bill for blood bank separation by race.

My best talk on this trip was with Dr. Mitchell, U.S.C. director of extension. Dr. Mitchell wished the Supreme Court decision could have been postponed for 10-15 years, but was altogether constructive with respect to the present problem and he found a considerably improved atmosphere in South Carolina.

He said the desegregation of Wake Forest and Davidson Colleges and Duke University, representing religious denominations, with numerous membership in South Carolina and with numerous actual alumni in this state, had had a marked effect on South Carolina thinking.

He said Furman was very close to Wake Forest and generally inclined to follow the latter's example. The Furman student body had voted 5-4 in favor of integration.

He said South Carolinians were taking special pride in the way public order had been preserved in this state. The demonstration at the state capitol last year was actually very orderly, and no white trouble-makers appeared. He did not expect a serious explosion when desegregation should come to the University. He said, "I believe a majority of the students are liberal on this thing."

He thought neither of the two leading candidates for governor was a wild man; he knew them both very well. However, he preferred Russell, who had more experience, closer relations with the business community and greater attachment to the University. Incidentally, he said "very confidentially" that delay in desegregating will cost his department money. The Ford and Kellogg Foundations have given notice that no more money will be coming from them until U.S.C. gets over the desegregation hurdle.

Greenwood is a progressive city of about 25,000, and it has, perhaps, the most liberal daily paper and the most liberal state senator in South Carolina. The day before my arrival the Greenwood Index Journal had said editorially:

> People have come to a slow recognition that no politician, no matter how loudly he shouts and how much fire and brimstone he breathes, can successfully defy the federal courts. No state has yet done it and nobody has yet come up with a sure-fire plan to accomplish that purpose, although many have claimed to have the answer.

I had a fine talk with editor J. E. Chaffin, a rugged, hard-working, courageous man, who seemed glad to discuss local and state problems as well as some of his journalistic problems and personal troubles with me.

One or the other of two Nicholson brothers in Greenwood has held a seat in the state legislature for a number of years. State Senator Francis Nicholson wrote a sensationally sensible article for the U.S.C. Law Journal following the Supreme Court decision in 1954 and is still heard from from time to time in appeals to common sense. He was absent when I called, but I talked to his brother, William Nicholson, who served several terms in the House of Representatives but is now out (not because of his liberal views). William told me with some pride that he was one of only four representatives who voted against the school-closing bill in 1952.

The political campaigns in South Carolina this year have been remarkably free from appeals to race prejudice. This is particularly true of the race between Donald Russel and Lt. Gov. Burnet Maybank for governor. There are other candidates for governor, and one of them, A. W. Bethea, is making the race issue his principle theme. He chides the others and says he is "the only real segregationist in the race." The Bethea vote will be interesting to watch on this account.

Mr. Brewbaker, our public school consultant, visited Spartanburg and Greenville earlier in May. It is pertinent to include these excerpts from his report here.

> On Wednesday evening, after dinner on the way to my room at the Cabana Inn Motor Hotel, I had the pleasure of running into a group of Spartanburg educators who had just finished a meeting in a small private dining room almost next door to my room. Superintendent Joe McCracken of Spartanburg was in the group and stopped me and introduced the dozen or more who were with him.
>
> Spartanburg County, a very large County, is divided into seven school districts with seven superintendents. Spartanburg City and some of the County compose the largest district of about 13,500 pupils. The smallest has approximately 3,500 pupils. Two other superintendents, in addition to McCracken, were present at the conference along with about ten principals and supervisors. They had met to do some preliminary planning for next year. I felt fortunate to meet this large number of them, very favorably, so unexpectedly.
>
> I spent three hours the next morning in conference with Superintendent McCracken who told me everything, I'm sure, about his school system and conditions generally. He says there has been considerable change in the climate during the past year, and he is quite encouraged. I feel that Spartanburg has one of the best school systems, not only in the South, but in the nation, and Superintendent McCracken feels sure that the people there would not allow the schools to be damaged by closing or in any other way.
>
> .....
>
> Greenville County, including the City of Greenville, has one school district which appears quite a contrast to Spartanburg County which has seven. However, in Greenville County, there are several area superintendents working under Superintendent Tom Anderson, which helps to make the two county systems somewhat similar.
>
> These South Carolina superintendents like to tell about their schools and other situations. In both Spartanburg and Greenville, I had very little to do but listen. Superintendent

Anderson's impression of the situation is about the same as Superintendent McCracken's. Superintendent Anderson told me that in Greenville, Negroes had attended several of the white churches without incident. He also asked me if I would be available to come to counsel with him and his board of 17 members when they really faced the problem. This pleased me very much. There have been no applications for transfer of Negroes to white schools in either of these places. I may be too optimistic, but I feel both superintendents are hopeful that they can make the change without a Court order. This is difficult probably to believe, but it certainly could happen.

I am sincerely trying to impress all with whom I confer that the time has passed for "court orders", and point out that all sound thinking people realize the change is inevitable and Court orders add only to the expense and difficulty of making the change. I emphasize the transfers should be made in the natural normal manner like all other transfers.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

June 22, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Prince Edward County

June 18-20

Harry Boyte of the American Friends Service Committee called at my home in Manassas several weeks ago to discuss the Prince Edward County problem and I had an opportunity to discuss it at some length with Dr. G. Gordon Moss, dean of Longwood College at a meeting of the executive committee of the Virginia CHR at Charlottesville June 15th.

Dean Moss then had just attended a meeting of the Prince Edward County board of supervisors at which it refused once more to provide for public schools during the coming year. He was one of three white citizens urging public schools. (The press carried a shot of Moss at the meeting and quoted his remark: "You gentlemen have an opportunity for greatness this day.") Eight white citizens expressed approval of the board's action and 15 Negroes pleaded for public schools. I saw more of Dean Moss in Farmville. He is irrepressible but completely pessimistic, sees no ray of hope but keeps fearlessly plugging.

I arrived in Farmville Monday evening the 18th, and dined with Mr. and Mrs. Boyte and a group which they had gathered. This included Rev. L. F. Griffin, the NAACP president and Rev. Frederic Buss, coordinator of the new 9-week, 11-grades project of the Student Christian Federation (financed by Taconic) for giving rudimentary teaching to Negro children. (The Boytes dined with us on Tuesday.) I spent the entire morning Tuesday with J. Barrye Wall, local editor and now more than ever the moving spirit in the closed-public-schools segregationist movement. Wednesday morning I visited the Herald office again and talked mainly with Barrye's son, Will, who has just been elected to the Farmville town council. Rev. Heslip Lee, executive director of the Virginia CHR turned up Tuesday afternoon on his way to Danville and on his return Wednesday he arranged for a group to meet with me for lunch. The main purpose of this luncheon was to bring me together with Dr. Otis McClung, pastor of the Farmville Baptist Church. (Dr. McClung is a brother-in-law of "Happy" Lee, whom the latter feels belongs to the enemy camp.)

Several others were seen in between these engagements.

I directed my attention above all to Barrye Wall, who remains cordial, and almost affectionate, in spite of our interminable argument over many points of the race controversy in addition to the local Prince Edward imbroglio. Although he doesn't admit it, I feel that some of my talk sinks in and especially when I point to the general condemnation of Prince Edward now in most of the nation and even in Virginia. (The Virginia daily press is now almost unanimously calling for an end to the mess in Prince Edward.) I ask if he does not feel lonely now, and if it ever occurs to him that he might be wrong. Wall replies: "We are holding our finger in the hole in the dike."

Wall took me to see the Prince Edward Academy, which had not been completed on my last visit. We inspected all the rooms, accompanied by Principal Gilmer. There were things to admire. They have made a bright, attractive school at minimum cost. The clean re-painted second-hand desks and tables are from public school surplus. It suggests that public school money could be made to go farther with similar frugality. The spacious, 11,000-volume library is the proudest exhibit. I did not fail to examine the books on the race problem. There were three copies of Putnam and one each of Kilpatrick and Workman, but there was a conspicuous shelf of liberal books, including Dabbs, Hodding Carter, Stokely and Dikeman, Richard Wright, etc., not to mention "Virginia's Massive Resistance."

Bill Wall is a most ingratiating young man, but appears to share his father's view.

Boyte operates from an attractive office-apartment in the "Miller Building," owned by the Negro dentist, Dr. N. P. Miller, who occupies the ground floor. Boyte expects to stay in Farmville until mid-September, then leave to head an AFSC merit employment program in North Carolina and Virginia. He seems to have been remarkably successful in reaching a conversational relationship with leaders of the segregationist power structure. He told me that he has discussed the school problem with each of the six members of the county governing board and is convinced that a majority of them personally would like to see the public schools reopened. He also believes that a majority of the white people want the public schools reopened. A "machine," made up of extremists and private school promoters dominates the situation by pressure and intimidation.

The general feeling is that the only thing which can break the impasse in the near future would be a court order. Boyte and Griffin see a faint ray of hope in the possibility

that a federal district court order, expected within a few days, carried on appeal to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, might result in an order for the reopening of public schools next September. In this event the public school enrollment initially would be almost entirely Negro, but they are confident that a few white children would enroll from the start and that a substantial number of white children would enroll by mid-term.

The prospect is further complicated by the suit also before the federal district court to make illegal the payment of tuition grants, or scholarships, for attendance at any segregated schools (which would include the Prince Edward private schools.)

Dr. McClung, apart from some remarks which suggested a strain of anti-semitism, and some apparent nervousness, was a congenial participant in our luncheon conversation. When we talked about the embarassment of the Prince Edward County situation to all Virginians, he said he felt this most strongly. It was "thrown up at him" everywhere when he traveled. Anxious to establish his liberalism in our company, he made two nonetheless significant statements: (1) he said that his board of stewards had laid down a rule that, if any Negro visits the Baptist Church, he will be courteously seated, and (2) at a meeting of the men of his church last week the question of reopening public schools was openly and constructively discussed. This was the first time the question had been mentioned at such a meeting. It was brought up, not by the minister, but by Lester Andrews, a local shopping center executive. Dr. McClung said the discussion was calm and free from bitterness or segregationist fulminations. All who spoke seemed to feel that somehow the public schools should be reopened.

The Richmond News Leader, which encouraged Prince Edward's original recklessness in flaming editorials, has been suggesting recently that, now that the gesture has been made, it is time to get the schools open again. In an editorial June 19 the News Leader expressed the belief that an order to reopen the public schools, but allowing the tuition grants for the pupils of segregated private schools, would be acceptable to Prince Edward County. The suggestion was apparently offered to the court, as a "solution to all this." Barrye Wall said Wednesday morning that he endorsed this view.

Governor Harrison in an interview Wednesday appeared to anticipate a court order requiring the state to operate schools in Prince Edward. He said if this came, it would involve fiscal and administrative problems which would require new legislation. He expressed the hope that a "resolution of the problem" would soon be reached which would permit the reopening of the public schools in Prince Edward. Significantly, his remarks were

unemotional and included no aspersions on the Supreme Court or the NAACP.

The situation in Prince Edward County is dominated now above all by a feeling of uncertainty -- which all elements share. Wall says over and over again: "If we knew what the law is --," "If the courts would just tell us --," "If they would give us some ground rules --" The NAACP leader, and many in between, say substantially the same thing. No doubt uncertainty preys upon Governor Harrison and the federal judiciary.

For the case has become one of complexity compounded, not only from the standpoint of local and state law and the two Constitutions, but from a practical point of view. How would schools opened under court order be financed? How many white children will attend public schools if they are reopened? Will it be desirable to reopen all of the previous white schools? How many white teachers should be recruited? In the meantime there is a three-year backlog of Negro children awaiting entry in the first grade and a three-year vacuum in the higher classes.

I asked Brewbaker, who was here Thursday, to visit Prince Edward school superintendent McIlwaine and Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilkerson and discuss with them the practical problems of reopening Prince Edward County schools in the event this is ordered.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PA ✓

WB ✓

ML ✓

MJ - file

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1962

July 2, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Governor Harrison on the Prince Edward Problem

Also Virginius Dabney

Richmond, June 29, 1962

As Governor Harrison is following Prince Edward County developments closely and with deep concern, and as he is uniquely well informed on all the angles of the problem, his very frank talk with me this morning (June 29) may be of particular interest.

Governor Harrison has concluded beyond any doubt that the federal courts will require the State of Virginia to re-open and operate the public schools of Prince Edward. He said: "That's absolutely certain. We'll have to either close all public schools or open those in Prince Edward."

He has also concluded that no other solution is possible, that there will be no change in the situation until this court order comes. "There is no other way," he said. "If you had asked me last January, I would have said that they would re-open the schools next September. (He had been disappointed in informal efforts which I know he had made earlier.) As late as March I expected that to happen. But now I say it is impossible. There is nothing that Harrison or Muse or anybody can do but wait for that court order."

When the order comes, he said, it will pose vexing administrative and fiscal problems. How can the state carry the whole public school load in one county without getting demands from other counties for similar financial help? A special session of the General Assembly will have to be called to enact new legislation. "It will be a long session," he said.

He agreed when I added that it would probably also be an ugly session, which might revive race agiatation now happily subsiding in this state.

I suggested that when the court order which he anticipated comes the Prince Edward resisters might see the matter in a different light. When it should be evident that the public schools will be opened and desegregated anyway, the county governing body might at last act. Under pressure from many quarters the supervisors might be induced to get the schools re-opened in the normal way and obviate the necessity of a special session of the legislature and other disruptions for the state. Governor Harrison saw a possibility of this. He thought it would be worth trying when the court order came.

Under Virginia law the board of supervisors cannot appropriate further funds for the ensuing year for schools or anything else after June 30 (which has passed). But Governor Harrison said: "They have the money." With the accumulated allocation for tuition grants and the regular state contribution, the county would have enough money. He was confident that the tuition grant money could be made available for school operation. The county also could borrow money.

Governor Harrison remarked that the case could have been brought to a head before now if the NAACP lawyers had handled it right. Now he feared the litigation would drag on for another year...But sooner or later it would come to a court order to the state to close all schools or open schools in Prince Edward.

I suggested the possibility of an early ruling by Judge Lewis, appeal and quick action by the circuit court of appeals, resulting in an injunction in time for school-opening next September. I recalled previous instances of swift action by circuit courts of appeals. The Governor saw a faint possibility, but thought it was getting too late for this; he believed the state would be allowed time for the necessary preparation.

When the public schools are finally re-opened Governor Harrison thought, few, and more probably no, white children would enroll. "Public opinion," he said (which I would call intimidation) will prevent many from enrolling even if they want to." (NAACP president Griffin had predicted that a few white children would enroll at the start and that the number would steadily increase. Barrye Wall said to me: "The NAACP will pay a few white children to enroll!")

Would tuition grants for segregated schools be outlawed? Governor Harrison had no idea. However, if tuition grants had to be knocked down, it would be a boon in the Prince Edward situation if this decision could be delayed for a year or two after the opening of the public schools. "This point," he said, "has been made again and again."

The Governor spoke without bitterness. He appeared to be proud of the remarkable progress of school desegregation in Virginia as a whole -- "almost incredible." I remarked that the state is doing a fine job in race relations. Harrison thought that the state was doing well in both education and race relations-- "Only Prince Edward," he said, "remains a black mark."

Before Governor Harrison's inauguration I paid him a visit to urge the appointment of Negroes to state boards, giving him the picture of what North Carolina has done in this field, etc. He promised to do some of this during coming months. This June the Governor has appointed a Negro to each of three state boards, a youth study commission and a regulatory commission for barbers and one for beauticians. I expressed pleasure at this. The Governor remarked that this was the first time in history that Negroes had been appointed to regulatory commissions in Virginia. He said he had heard no criticism from any quarter. I suggested that the public was ready now to accept more such appointments.

Earlier I called upon Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch. Dabney is bitter on the subject of the NAACP and disgusted also with the Prince Edward school-closers, has a plague on both-your-houses attitude. He feels that the present situation is intolerable and is doing, and will continue to do, all that he can to get the Prince Edward schools re-opened. He hasn't the Governor's feeling of positive certainty about the ultimate federal court ruling. (Both Dabney and Governor Harrison regard Barrye Wall as the leading spirit in Prince Edward County resistance.)

From a personal point of view I was glad to renew a cordial relationship with Dabney, an old pre-massive resistance friend.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Copy released for D.F.

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

August 1, 1962

RECEIVED AUG 3 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Conference on Prince Edward Situation

Richmond, Va., July 27, 1962

Rev. Heslip Lee, executive director of the Virginia Human Relations Council, called me Sunday night, July 22, saying that he had organized a meeting of key people to be held in Richmond the following Friday, July 27, to discuss the Prince Edward County situation, and asking me to preside. He said that he had invited, and secured the acceptance of Burke Marshall, Berl Bernhard, Harold Fleming, David Scull and several members of the Virginia legislature, and that Dean G. Gordon Moss of Longwood College had promised to bring from ten to fifteen citizens of Prince Edward. We met Friday in a conference room of the Hotel John Marshall.

Burke Marshall had excused himself at the last on account of the Albany situation, but he sent Mr. Green, of his staff. The others attended as expected. Berl Bernhard, Civil Rights Commission director, was accompanied by Howard W. Rogerson, special assistant. There were two members of the legislature, Delegate John Webb and State Senator Ed Haddock. The latter is also chairman of the Virginia advisory committee, CCR; Vice-chairman Phillips also attended. Dean Moss was accompanied by ten fellow citizens of Prince Edward.

It happened that Federal District Judge Oren R. Lewis had handed down a sensational opinion on the Prince Edward County case the previous day. The new ruling had not yet been carefully digested by the public or by our group, but the occasion offered a useful opportunity for ventilation of first reactions and discussion of the possibility of getting Prince Edward County schools open next September.

A streamer headline in the Richmond News Leader, just off the press, said: PRINCE EDWARD OPENING IN FALL UNLIKELY -- and that was also the concensus of our group. Some of us saw a faint possibility of considerations and pressures being brought to bear which would cause the Prince Edward authorities to move. But the contingent from Prince Edward sensed no change in the attitude of the county power structure and seemed to see no hope for this year. The following brief appraisal of the situation developed from our discussion:

Judge Lewis' decision was lamentably inconclusive. He found that "the public schools of Prince Edward County may not be closed, etc." But, in the words of the News Leader, "having reached this conclusion, Judge Lewis could not bring himself to back it up with a direct order." He merely directed that a plan be submitted to counsel by September 1 and to the court by September 7, and added this threat: "If, however, the said schools are not reopened prior to September 7, 1962, this court will on that day consider any and all proposed orders tendered by counsel of record...."

A major obstacle in the way of reopening Prince Edward schools in September, pointed out in the press and among our group, was the lack of an appropriation for school operation (although the county has ample accumulated funds earmarked for tuition grants) and state law which would seem to prevent a revision at this date of the county budget. But editorials in both Richmond papers, urging reopening in September, seemed to indicate that in the opinion of these two well-informed editors this obstacle might not be insuperable. The News Leader said: "But in our own view the Prince Edward supervisors are now just about compelled to find a way around the state law on local budgets."

The only alternative would be a special session of the General Assembly, which Governor Harrison would be most reluctant to call. (See my memorandum of July 2.)

Another formidable obstacle to a quick reopening of the schools would be the difficult job of reorganizing them and recruiting teachers. T. J. McIlwaine, who is the nominal superintendent of schools, has actually retired and probably never intends to resume active administration of open schools. Moreover, he is en route to Japan on a three months vacation! It was said that only eight Negro teachers are left in the county out of a normal complement of about 80. The problem would be one mainly of Negro teachers. I believe in the emergency the Virginia Negro Teachers Association, and other Negro groups, campaigning in a spirit of crusade, might get the teachers in time. Berl Bernard said that the CCR would be glad to help in a quiet way in teacher recruitment.

An important inducement for the Prince Edward private school faction, which controls the county governing board, should be the implied assurance of Judge Lewis that upon the reopening of the public schools tuition grants will be allowed to flow again. This would be a boon to the private school organization, which is in a precarious financial condition. The obvious public sentiment in Virginia now calling for an end to the Prince Edward County scandal may also have some effect.

What is most needed, however, is pressure from the Governor's office and, if a legal way is found to meet the financial problem, this might conceivably bring about a September school-reopening. Incidentally, it is rare indeed that the two Richmond newspapers together take a strong position which is out of line with the Governor's thinking. Governor Harrison on Thursday after Judge Lewis' pronouncement called in Attorney General Button and two of his assistants for a conference and left afterward for Camp Pendleton to review the National Guard there Friday and relax through Sunday at Virginia Beach.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

COPY

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1962

PA ✓
PR ✓
MJ file

August 8, 1962

Mr. David H. Scull
The Turnpike Press, Inc.
Little River Turnpike
Annandale, Virginia

Dear Dave:

I discussed our proposal for an Equal Opportunity Consulting and Recruiting Service in Roanoke Monday (August 6) with Stuart Saunders, president of the Norfolk and Western Railway ~~Company,~~ who is very much a key man in the higher echelons of the Virginia business community.

Speaking "off the record and not for the Norfolk and Western Railway Company," Mr. Saunders' reaction was entirely favorable. He sensed a real need for such a service and thought it could make a valuable contribution from the point of view of all concerned. He predicted that there would be a growing need for this sort of thing. He showed me an article in the Wall Street Journal of the same day (August 6), which I had not seen. It was a two-column feature, beginning on the front page, headed "Recruiting Negroes -- More Companies Visit Negro Colleges in Shift in Policies on Hiring."

Mr. Saunders said there was some misunderstanding in this matter "on both sides." When an employer feels obliged to take on an incompetent Negro, it only makes trouble and is a setback for the whole movement. Most industrialists are out of touch with the sources of good Negro personnel. This service could be of great help to them. He thought the project could in time be sustained by contributions from employers.

Much would depend on the caliber of the consultant employed and his tact in introducing the service.

He remarked that Negro colleges are "doing a good job" in training Negroes for industrial positions. They would benefit by the services of this consultant who could keep them informed of the special needs of Virginia employers.

Mr. Saunders did not wish to be referred to in communications to business men or in any publicity, but said his name could be used freely in approaching foundations. We could say that he liked this idea.

Incidentally, I was received by a Negro secretary-receptionist, seated at a desk in Mr. Saunders' outer office.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

VJ ✓

PA ✓

ML ✓

SB ✓

MJ - file

Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Va.

Recd 10/11/63

October 8, 1963

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Danville, Va.

September 28-October 4, 1963

I plan to return to Danville at the earliest opportunity. This is a preliminary report, based on four days of conversation with leaders there -- mainly white. I have had as yet no contact with Negroes excepting M. C. Martin, bank president, with whom I dined and spent a long evening.

I dined one evening and kept in regular touch with Mrs. Henry Bourne, our CHR president, who is a lady of the highest social standing and many "power structure" contacts as well as a dedicated worker. Charles A. Womack, the leader of the liberal faction in the city council -- and in the city generally, placed himself completely at my disposal; we lunched together twice and spent several hours driving around the town while we talked. I conferred for two hours with the mayor and visited also, among others, the president and the vice president of the chamber of commerce, the president of the Retail Merchants Association, two editors and the assistant to the president of Dan River Mills.

The atmosphere in Danville has been poisoned by the events of the last June and especially by the endless exaggerations and rumors which those events put into circulation. A notion, or an illusion, is held to some extent by most of the white leadership that Danville was on the way to race relations reform last spring when a group of Negroes, with some criminals and many children among them, suddenly launched a series of violent and unprovoked demonstrations. "Outsiders" are generally blamed, though some hold one local Negro, Rev. A. I. Dunlap, mainly responsible. Those convulsions are supposed to have put a stop to all progress. Leaders, like Mayor Julian R. Stinson, have told the story so often that they have come almost to believe that a better day was about to dawn before "this thing happened." The mayor told me that Danville might have matched the Charlotte, N.C., performance!

Louis Berman, president of the Retail Merchants Association, said: "I'm a member of a minority group myself and I don't think I have any prejudice, but those young Negroes went wild. It was right

in front of my store where they lay down in the street and blocked traffic. The police handled them as gently as they could, more gently than they would handle a white mob."

(Like many another who saw only one little phase, he is convinced the police behaved correctly throughout. The melee at the police station June 10 had few non-participating eye-witnesses.)

Berman recalled his negotiations earlier with a Negro delegation. He and the RMA executive secretary met by arrangement, and had a two-hour conference on May 31, with the president of the Danville Christian Progressive Association (the SCLC affiliate), Rev. Lendall W. Chase, and Doyle Thomas, president of the local NAACP. He told them of several merchants who had recently hired or upgraded Negroes and of more that were planning to do so, saying that he and some associates were working quietly on this. According to his statement to me, the two Negro leaders agreed to call off the scheduled demonstrations. Nevertheless, the demonstrations began the same evening -- small and orderly at first -- and, he thought, over the objections of Chase and Thomas. Two days later, Berman said, Dunlap paid him a visit and said in an "arrogant" manner that Chase and Thomas did not represent the Negroes -- "I'm the man to negotiate with."

Many pages could be filled with the stories of alleged Negro misbehavior and of "good" performance by hard-pressed policemen. However far the stories may be from the truth, the widely-held theory that a well-meaning city was turned from the path of interracial progress by a crowd of impetuous Negroes is the biggest stumbling block at this time.

For instance, Berman says the RMA is stymied now because (1) the merchants are angry and (2) the white public is sufficiently angry to avoid a store employing Negro clerks. This is, of course, an exaggeration, but it illustrates the feeling that has to be overcome.

Knowledgeable people, including moderates and some Negroes, point to a lack of coordination and guidance among the Negroes. They are said to have made many strategic mistakes. One was in putting forward a Negro candidate for the city council, who drew votes away from moderate white candidates. In this way, the Negroes are said to have "elected" their greatest single enemy in the Danville picture today, Councilman John W. Carter. The indiscriminate boycott is considered a strategic mistake. Merchants who employ or upgrade Negroes are still boycotted like the rest.

In the attitude of the populace there are several basically reassuring items when Danville is compared with Deep South cities. The spectacle of white hoodlums attacking Negroes has been absent from the picture. Small threatening groups gathered on several occasions, but police had little trouble in dispersing them. The integration of public schools in September proceeded with amazing calm.

(The anti-Negro feeling at the middle-class and country club level is intense, as reflected in the recent action of a Methodist congregation in censoring its pastor. Liberal leaders are also getting obscene anonymous phone calls.)

The attitude of "We were going to move until the Negroes spoiled everything," however untrue, is perhaps fundamentally more hopeful than an attitude of flat racist defiance. There is a wide recognition of the fact that racial barriers will have to be dropped "in time" and "in the right way."

The Danville Register is an inflammatory influence. It, like the afternoon Bee is ultra-conservative. Both papers are regular supporters of John Carter and the forces of repression. I called on Marion Saunders -- the Register's editor at night (his working time) and found him most cordial, though a little flippant and inclined to brush Danville's racial troubles aside. He likes to appear well informed about the Negro movement throughout the country. The new Civil Rights Commission Report was lying on his desk; he "knew the score." He said: "I know all these things will have to come. We are just fighting for time for Danville."

(I am told that the owners of both papers are intransigent racists and that their editors would be inhibited in any liberal impulse they might have.)

In spite of sweeping demands announced by SCLC, the immediate objectives of Danville Negroes should pose no great difficulty:

1) The establishment of a biracial committee,
2) The hiring of at least one Negro policeman and a city clerk. (The city has no objection in principle, but it does not want to move while "under the gun." I gather the Negro policeman will be hired shortly, but it must be in a routine way "to increase the efficiency of the police force," not as a concession to Negro demands.)
3) The desegregation of four leading restaurants. (Three are ready; only one is holding out.)
4) The hiring or upgrading of Negro employees by more Danville merchants.

The Danville problem, though grave and threatening, is one more of emotion than of substance. There is more anger at their humiliation, at the police brutality and the arrogance of white officials in the Negro protest than impatience to achieve specific objectives. The whites feel that the Negroes should be punished for the June disorders rather than rewarded with concessions. They are not irrevocably opposed to the moves desired by the Negroes, but refuse to discuss them under pressure. Each side would like to "get even" with the other.

An illustration of how largely the problem is one of emotion and pride is the controversy over so innocuous a thing as a biracial committee. There is fierce opposition to according the Negroes this

recognition. Some merchants would seem to be more amenable to employing Negroes than to sitting in conference with their leaders. Any white who advocates a biracial committee is accused of being a "nigger-lover."

The mayor says he is stymied on the biracial committee issue by the opposition of the council. He says there are five out of nine votes against it. Womack says there would be only four votes against it if the mayor would take a strong stand. I am suggesting also a chamber of commerce-sponsored biracial committee. Chamber president George Carter (whose wife is a member of the CHR) said something is being planned which he cannot yet disclose, and that some members of the board are working with him in a constructive initiative. I told Mayor Stinson about Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, who declared "I am a biracial committee" and maintained regular personal communication with Negro leaders.

In his conversation with me the mayor seemed very anxious to make a good impression. I understand he tries to be friendly with all elements, but I believe he would be happier following a moderate course. He says his hands are tied by the council, and above all, by John Carter, who, he said, commands the support of a majority of the people of Danville today.

Carter by riding the wave in Danville has become a popular hero. A dynamically active man (in his thirties) he stimulates anti-Negro feeling and tries to embarrass liberals in public statements, while he shines as a public benefactor because of his voluntary endeavors as a "friend of the court" on the anti-Negro side in litigation. He combines it all with a campaign for Goldwater for President.

The outstanding liberal leader is Councilman Womack, a splendid man. Personally popular, when I went around with him he was greeted jovially by many. His regular business is running Womack Electric Supplies, but he is also the owner of the Danville Commercial Appeal. This paper has long been somewhat famous among weekly newspapers in Virginia. Its circulation (about 9,000) exceeds that of either daily paper in Danville, excepting the Register's Sunday issue. The Commercial Appeal is the voice of liberalism in Danville and it carries a great deal of matter of a helpful kind on the race issue. Its editor George W. Crowder is able and courageous.

On Monday, September 30, the Commercial Appeal published an editorial with an interesting summary of the situation. It was entitled "An Open Letter to Martin Luther King," but it was aimed also at the council, city leaders and the public. In language adapted to the present temper of Danville it called for a resumption of interracial communication and constructive progress.

John Carter seized the occasion for an attack upon Womack, in which the editorial was thoroughly misrepresented. In a statement which appeared in Tuesday's Register, Carter said: "I notice

that City Councilman Charles A. Womack's 'Congo Chronicle' has invited Martin Luther King to come to Danville and sit down for a conference with the city council." He noted that "the first time Martin Luther King came to Danville he was accompanied by James Dombowski" and expanded upon King's alleged Communist associations. He did not mention King's announcement of his intention of bringing an army of demonstrators to Danville, which led Womack to urge negotiation instead.

When I talked with Mayor Stinson during the morning, he said the statement was typical of Carter's tactics and predicted: "He'll beat Womack to death on that." Womack asked my advice. He was considering a libel suit. I suggested that he avoid any personal unpleasantness with either Carter or the Register on this issue, but that he should give the greatest possible circulation to the editorial, which would speak for itself. I considered the editorial a healthy message for Danville at this juncture. I wrote an introductory sentence and the editorial was inserted as an ad the following day in the Register and again in the Bee. I think the incident and the editorial -- a clipping of which, as it appeared in the Register, is enclosed herewith -- throw light on the existing situation in Danville. I use a variety of approaches with Danville whites, but the truth that I hammer hardest is that merely arresting Negroes will solve no problems, only create bigger ones.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Copies to
Burke Marshall and
Heslip Lee

The Bee, Danville, Va., Oct. 2, 1961

JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES

A statement of Mr. John Carter which was quoted in yesterday's Register we believe gave an incorrect impression of the COMMERCIAL APPEAL editorial of September 30th. The editorial is given in full below.

Danville's Monday Morning Hometown Newspaper

EDITORIALS

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1963 **CHARLES W. CROWDER, Editor**

An Open Letter To Martin Luther King

You have announced publicly that a task force of 500 will be sent into Danville soon.

You say efforts will be intensified here in the future.

You say Danville ranks second only to Birmingham in your strategy plans.

* * *

Perhaps you know the Danville story well.

Nevertheless, we'd like to recount it for you.

Whether voluntarily or by urging, whether quickly or slowly, Danville has been adjusting to a changing society. Our city and its people have done as much—and in many cases—more than other localities to recognize the rights of its Negro citizens and to make adjustment.

All references in the city's laws to segregation have been eliminated.

Our public library has been opened to all races.

Our public parks are open to all.

Our schools have been integrated quietly and in an atmosphere of dignity and understanding.

Our public buses have eliminated bias in seating.

A number of local eating establishments serve people of all races.

Several of our public offices have white and Negro employes working side by side.

A number of stores, industries and other businesses are hiring Negroes in more than menial jobs.

Yes, there has been measurable progress in Danville's efforts.

When one reviews the progress in Danville, it makes what has happened in the past four months all the more tragic.

* * *

Many of our people felt that the pace of progress had been good.

Many Negro people—and some of our white citizens — felt differently. They sought more progress—and faster.

Both were—and still are—sincere in their convictions.

placed the permit.

Differences widened.

Negro leaders here fully expected that the city's representatives would sit down and attempt to work out their grievances when they marched that first day on city hall months ago. But reactions were quick. One reaction brought on another. The chain effect set in. Communication was quickly and completely lost.

* * *

There have been few, sporadic demonstrations in over a month and a half.

Most, if not all, of the "outside" agitators have come and gone, returned and departed again.

Mass arrests have been made. Many of those charged have been tried.

Court actions have been filed and counter-filed.

The state police have left.

Still, the doors of communication remain closed.

Today, Danville is shocked and hurt. It is as though unknown forces are playing chess and we are the pawns, the expendibles.

All our people—white and Negro alike—are paying a high price. With all that has occurred in our city in the past four months, no one has won a thing. There has been nothing but losses for all.

The revolution here and elsewhere will not be solved in the streets. Nor in the courts. Nor by laws. Ultimately, it will have to be resolved in the hearts and minds of men and women.

Before you send in your task force, we suggest you come to Danville and talk to our city council, our leaders. It would be our earnest hope that you and they would be willing to sit down and discuss our problems in an atmosphere of understanding. It may fail completely—but so have all the other approaches thus far.

A hundred years ago, our forefathers faced similar problems. Differences among Americans resulted in the bloodiest war in history. Even that war—and a century of time—have failed to solve the differ-

JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES

A statement of Mr. John Carter which was quoted in yesterday's Register we believe gave an incorrect impression of the COMMERCIAL APPEAL editorial of September 30th. The editorial is given in full below.

Danville's Monday Morning Hometown Newspaper

EDITORIALS

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1963 **CHARLES W. CROWDER, Editor**

An Open Letter To Martin Luther King

You have announced publicly that a task force of 500 will be sent into Danville soon.

You say efforts will be intensified here in the future.

You say Danville ranks second only to Birmingham in your strategy plans.

* * *

Perhaps you know the Danville story well.

Nevertheless, we'd like to recount it for you.

Whether voluntarily or by urging, whether quickly or slowly, Danville has been adjusting to a changing society. Our city and its people have done as much—and in many cases—more than other localities to recognize the rights of its Negro citizens and to make adjustment.

All references in the city's laws to segregation have been eliminated.

Our public library has been opened to all races.

Our public parks are open to all.

Our schools have been integrated quietly and in an atmosphere of dignity and understanding.

Our public buses have eliminated bias in seating.

A number of local eating establishments serve people of all races.

Several of our public offices have white and Negro employes working side by side.

A number of stores, industries and other businesses are hiring Negroes in more than menial jobs.

Yes, there has been measurable progress in Danville's efforts.

When one reviews the progress in Danville, it makes what has happened in the past four months all the more tragic.

* * *

Many of our people felt that the pace of progress had been good.

Many Negro people—and some of our white citizens — felt differently. They sought more progress—and faster.

Both were—and still are—sincere in their convictions.

* * *

It seems so long ago that many find it hard to remember, but when the first demonstrators took to the streets, a local police captain greeted them—not with warrants—but with a permit to parade publicly.

Had the example of that gesture been followed by both sides in the four months that have followed, our city's racial situation might be entirely different today.

But, that small, initial example was suddenly, quickly lost.

Angry words, defiance and arrests replaced obediance, communications and understanding.

Emotions took the place of reason.

Bitterness and hate removed compassion and human kindness.

Disorder replaced order. Warrants replaced the permit.

Differences widened.

Negro leaders here fully expected that the city's representatives would sit down and attempt to work out their grievances when they marched that first day on city hall months ago. But reactions were quick. One reaction brought on another. The chain effect set in. Communication was quickly and completely lost.

* * *

There have been few, sporadic demonstrations in over a month and a half.

Most, if not all, of the "outside" agitators have come and gone, returned and departed again.

Mass arrests have been made. Many of those charged have been tried.

Court actions have been filed and counter-filed.

The state police have left.

Still, the doors of communication remain closed.

Today, Danville is shocked and hurt. It is as though unknown forces are playing chess and we are the pawns, the expendibles.

All our people—white and Negro alike—are paying a high price. With all that has occurred in our city in the past four months, no one has won a thing. There has been nothing but losses for all.

The revolution here and elsewhere will not be solved in the streets. Nor in the courts. Nor by laws. Ultimately, it will have to be resolved in the hearts and minds of men and women.

Before you send in your task force, we suggest you come to Danville and talk to our city council, our leaders. It would be our earnest hope that you and they would be willing to sit down and discuss our problems in an atmosphere of understanding. It may fail completely—but so have all the other approaches thus far.

A hundred years ago, our forefathers faced similar problems. Differences among Americans resulted in the bloodiest war in history. Even that war—and a century of time—have failed to solve the differences.

A hundred years ago, there were no powerful enemies waiting to sweep in and devour a nation divided among itself. Today, both Russia and Red China watch on the sidelines, both with enormous resources to wage a total, devastating war against the greatest bulwark of freedom—our beloved America.

Danville and America—white citizens, Negro citizens, all of us—must unite on a common ground of understanding lest we win the battle among ourselves and lose the war to our real enemies.

Discussions with Council may not prove fruitful. But they may lead to a better understanding as to just what is necessary to solve our city's situation.

No such understanding exists now.

DANVILLE COMMERCIAL APPEAL, INC.

One Of The Nation's Largest Weeklies

Wake folder 1963

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PA ✓
VJ ✓
SB ✓ PW ✓

Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

October 18, 1963

MJ - file

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Danville, Va.
October 15 and 16, 1963

I found marked improvement in the Danville situation since my visit two weeks earlier. There has been interracial communication in several quarters; the city council, the Retail Merchants Association and the Chamber of Commerce each is groping toward some constructive action; and -- a conspicuous item among the Negro demands -- a Negro policeman has been appointed.

Rev. Lendell W. Chase, president of the Negro Christian Progressive Association, has issued a statement saying that, in view of the spirit recently shown and the steps being taken, the schedule of Negro action is being revised. (A series of Negro moves had been announced, including a visit from Dr. King for a rally next week and culminating in possible demonstrations November 10.)

A movement is also in progress to secure a helpful statement from the white Danville clergy.

Two visiting white ministers -- Rev. Arthur ("Art") Thomas, of the National Council of Churches, and Rev. Lee G. Whipple, national Director of Human Relations of the Church of the Brethren -- have been very active and effective during the past week. The two, both staying at the Holiday Inn, work together closely. They have made the Danville problem their whole concern and plan to stay there as long as needed. Thomas, a quiet, efficient young man is doing an admirable job of bringing white and Negro leaders together. His object is to "bring them together and let <u>them</u> talk." Whipple is busy now with the Danville clergy. He is an older man (and not "tainted" with official identification with the National Council of Churches.) C. T. Vivian, Martin Luther King's emissary, has been civil and restrained in manner and, though firm, he gives white leaders the impression of being "a man you can talk to."

Vivian, Chase and Campbell make up the trio which is conferring with white leaders, along with Thomas and sometimes Whipple. They met this week with the mayor, with the president and executive director of the Retail Merchants Association, with the same officers of the Chamber of Commerce and with W. F. Kiefer, head of Corning Glass. Efforts were being made to arrange a conference with W. J. Erwin, president of Dan River Mills, on his return from a trip. There

had been informal talks with some members of the city council and there were indications that a formal meeting would be arranged with that body. Councilman Womack, of course, has been active. He regards it all as a fulfillment of his editorial's recommendation, reported in my October 8 memorandum.

City councilmen seemed more inclined to establish direct personal contact with Negro leaders than to take the controversial step of setting up a biracial committee. Chamber of Commerce leaders are more inclined to push a biracial committee plan, possibly sponsored by the chamber itself.

The white leaders involved in these parleys are nearly all men that I had seen earlier and found to be leaning toward a moderate course. How far they will be able to carry their organizations with them is a question, but interracial dialogue is in progress. The meeting with the RMA officers Monday lasted four hours, and the group agreed to continue to meet weekly.

In an all-the-morning talk with Thomas and Whipple Tuesday, I called attention to the extraordinary backwardness of the Danville clergy in this crisis. Whipple, eager for an outlet for his energy and zeal, went right to work on this problem. I gave him copies of several statements issued by the clergy in racial crises in other Southern cities.

Wednesday I joined Whipple in a conference with eight ministers. Listening to their long unbosoming was an enlightening and depressing experience. When the Danville Ministerial Association met a few weeks ago, with the race crisis screaming at its doorstep, the discussion was devoted entirely to "the Jewish Passover!" The minister of this ingrown city are an extraordinarily inharmonious and unbrotherly group among themselves. The race question is not the only source of dissension. The "Main Street" preachers don't like the "back street" preachers and vice versa. Several ministers met colleagues for the first time at our meeting. Some of the stuff the liberal minister has to combat: the Communist bogey, suspicion of the National Council of Churches, "the race question is no business of preachers" and "preachers should not condone lawlessness" (i.e., Negro demonstrations.) The rebellion of a Methodist congregation against its pastor, Dr. W. F. Watkins, is in everybody's mind. (Dr. Watkins, who is president of the ministerial association was not at our meeting, but his cooperation was taken for granted.)

Nevertheless, half a dozen of our group were eager to get to work and each knew of other ministers of like mind. Much talk about the abortive clerical gesture of last June when 13 ministers signed a mild statement calling for communication between the races. Apparently no serious effort was made to bring more ministers into that move. Some complained later that they were not given a chance to sign the statement. The belief of our group was that with a determined effort a considerable number can be gotten now to sign a helpful statement. It was decided to try to arrange a meeting

Friday to which all white Danville clergymen would be invited. Whipple was admirably patient and skillful in his exhortations.

A sign in front of the office of the Danville Christian Progressive Association reads: "Coordinating Organization for NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCEF, SCLC." Coordination had been lacking hitherto, but the DCPA, with the guidance of Vivian, seems to be speaking for a fairly united Negro movement now. I was told that CORE has only one and SNCC two representatives still in town. (It was announced at the Virginia state NAACP last week that the NAACP would send a team of four to Danville before November 1, to hold independent rallies but to cooperate in any demonstrations launched by other groups. Dunlap, the Negro leader regarded by whites as the "worst" and disliked by many Negroes, is back in town, reported to have been dismissed from his job at Kittrell College.)

Monday, October 14 -- before the week's favorable developments -- the DCPA issued a mimeographed sheet, entitled "Points for Progress," listing the following Negro objectives:

1. Establishment of Fair Employment Policy in City Jobs; to begin with:

   a. Policemen
   b. Stenographers
   c. Clerks
   d. Firemen
   e. Meter readers

2. Establishment of a Bi-racial Committee to set time-table for desegregation of following:

   Hospital

   Board of Commission and Planning

3. Dropping of all charges against demonstrators.

4. Desegregation of all public accommodations; hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, etc.

5. That the City through the Office of the Mayor publicly state that there are no segregation laws on the statute books of the City of Danville and support publicly those agencies in the field of public accommodations that are willing to desegregate their facilities.

6. That the City through its local School Board announce a policy of compliance with the Supreme Court decision of 1954, outlawing segregation in the Public School.

Events have taken a favorable turn this week, but there is still a wide gap between Negroes' demands and what the most cooperative white leaders are thinking of doing. There is also a large element

which feels that any "yielding to Negro pressure" would be treasonable. The Register, which is in tune with this group took pains to report that the hiring of the Negro policeman (William W. Terry) was a purely routine action, with no relation to the Negro demonstrations or with anything their leaders had done or said. Councilman John Carter, the leader of the "standfirm" party is said to be the most popular man in town.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Possibly useful Danville phone numbers:

Mrs. Henry Bourne, president Human Relations Council; SW 3-6422.
Councilman Charles A. Womack (Office); SW 3-5134.
Danville Christian Progressive Association; SW 3-0544 & SW 2-6062.
Arthur Thomas and Lee Whipple, Holiday Inn; 793-2731.
Mayor Stinson, Stinson Tire Co., 603 Loyal St.
City manager and chief of police -- City Hall.

c.c.: Burke Marshall, Potomac Institute and Va. CHR.

Ben Please
field reports
1963

MJ - see below
PW
VJ
PA
SB

November 19, 1963

ML
MJ - file

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visit to NCCIJ and ESCRU Conventions

November 15-16

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice held its annual meeting at the International Inn in Washington November 14-17, and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity met concurrently at the same place. Several joint sessions and receptions were held.

The theme of the former was "Poverty, Race and Religion;" of the latter, "The Church and the Revolution of 1963."

Many good speaches were heard. Eli Ginzberg, Fred Routh, and Phil Rilling (in "workshop") were among the speakers to the Catholics; Louis Lomax and Burke Marshall were among those speaking to the Episcopalians. Wyatt Walker addressed a joint session, and made an excellent speech. Copies of most speeches will be available in due course.

I served as "resource man" in a NCCIJ "clinic" on "Mediation." The chairman, Msgr. Andrew J. McDonald, chancellor, Diocese of Savannah (225 Abercorn St.) reviewed at some length developments in Savannah -- in which he and Bishop McDonough appear to have taken a prominent part. He described, in addition to the integration of parochial schools, the desegregation of libraries, movies, hotels and motels. I obtained from Father McDonald the paper on which he based his remarks, which (in Pages 3-7) may contain some information useful to SRC. It is enclosed herewith. I would appreciate it if this paper could be thermofaxed, a copy being sent to me and another to Mr. Henry Cabirac, Director, NCCIJ Southern Field Service, 1046 Baronne St., New Orleans, La. (Cabirac requested a copy.)

MJ
file
Bla

The ecumenical spirit was pervasive and good-natured. When the NCCIJ moved into a hall for a joint session, where ESCRU had already gathered, the incorrigible John Morris got a laugh by expressing gratification at the sight of "so many Roman Catholics returning to the Church of England!"

I was impressed with the enthusiastic militancy of both groups all along the civil rights line. In both, however, there was a recognition of the vast job ahead of arousing the masses of communicants. There was a great deal of informal talk in the NCCIJ

of the need for "lighting a fire under the bishops." On the other hand some reported situations where the bishop was away out in front and the rest of the diocese needed to catch up with him. No bishop attended the convention, due to the absence of many bishops attending the ecumenical conference in Rome.

SB note

I prodded Cabirac for a progress report on the desegregation of Catholic institutions in the South. He said he is collecting information and will have a report shortly. When this is at hand, together with the text of addresses and reports to the Washington meeting, I will be glad to abstract a report for SRC on the progress of Catholic desegregation and Catholic participation in the civil rights movement in the South.

Benjamin Muse

not very accurate or clear but you can have this for what it's worth.

MEDIATION - SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

SUMMER 1963

Before the war between the States, the recognized relationship between white and colored was that of Master and Slave. Perhaps, even in those days, the immorality of slavery rested heavily upon the conscience of the white man. Nevertheless, as the years went by, he simply accepted this situation because of it's economic value. He may even have said to himself, "After all, I did not make this situation; I was born into it and will attempt to live in it". In brief, this could be a discription of the attitude of the white man towards the race relationship of that era. The same attitude could be expressed by a colored man. Certainly, he did not enjoy his lot either, but he was born into the situation and decided to make the best of it. In the years that led up the War Between the States, economic factors more than moral responsibility brought about the War Between the States. As a consequence of that war, the slaves were freed and economic havoc raged throughout the South.

The years following the war were bitter and memorable. From an economic standpoint, for many years, the South lay destitute. Over a period of years, however, especially since the first and the second World Wars, the economy of the South has prospered. With this prosperity has come a determination to change the relationship between the white and the colored people. The source of this determination would be the white man in the South himself, the Negro in the South, and both races in other parts of the country. It would be ideal, if men were moved to action through moral principles. While these principles play an important role in the conduct of mankind, in most instances, it is economic pressure that seem to have the greatest bearing upon a man's

willingness to change his views.

The City of Savannah was once the Capitol of Georgia. It is a seaport town and at one time, one of the busiest harbors in the Southeast. It has grown since the Second World War and it continues to grow but not with the rapidity of some of the other cities in the South. Race relations in this city have been harmonious even though they have not been just. Some ten or fifteen years ago, this city hired Negro Policement. I am told that the city was considered a "soft city" with regard to race relations. This would mean that Chatham County is an area where progress towards justice in race relations should be easily accomplished.

From a political standpoint, the city is devided among the Democrats between two parties. No one of these parties is strong enough to take the chance in an election without the assurance of getting the block Negro vote. Because of the need for this vote, concessions have been made with regard to public facilities without any difficulty whatsoever. For example, without any special note taken, the city golf course, the city tennis courts, the public libraries, and the city recreation parks have been integrated for several years.

The fever for a change hit this city as it did many other cities in the country in the Summer of 1963. It turned out that Savannah was not "a soft city". From the standpoint of negotiations, the city officials had nothing to offer the colored people since they had already given the colored all that was directly under their control except the public swimming pools. Both races agreed that such a step would be premature.

In 1961, as a Lenten Pastoral, His Excellency, Bishop McDonough, Bishop of Savannah, laid down the principles with regard to race relations, especially with regard to our Catholic Schools. In his Pastoral, the Bishop clearly outlined his policy. For the sake of safety, integration of our Catholic Schools would depend upon the integration of Public Schools and upon the amount of protection that could be given when the change took place. In the Spring of 1963, a case was pending in the Federal Courts in which the schools in Chatham County were complled to desegregate. A plan had to be submitted to the Courts by July 1, 1963. In the meantime, the Bishop had been giving serious thought to the integration of our Catholic Schools. He held a series of meetings throughout the Diocese and found that his priests and religious were most anxious for him to take the necessary step. Therefore, under date of June 21st, the Bishop announced full integration of our Catholic Schools.

I have interjected this bit of history, to give you a reason as why we as Catholics were called upon to help in the mediation between the two races.

In 1961, when the first effort was made to integrate the lunch counters in the City of Savannah, minor demonstrations took place at that time. We say minor in the light of what took place in the Summer of 1963. During that era, there seemed to be no way of arriving at a peaceful solution. The Mayor of the City at that called upon Bishop Stuart, local Episcopalian Bishop, and asked him to form a committee to carry negotiations for the lunch counters. Appointed to that Committee were civic and religious leaders of the City. Monsignor McNamara, Rector of the Cathedral of St. John

the Baptist and Vicar General was the Catholic Representative. Behind the scenes this group informally known as "The Bishops Committee" were able to bring about successful negotiations and the lunch counters were desegregated.

In the beginning of June, demonstrations began to take place almost every night in the City of Savannah. Obviously, something had to be done. The same Mayor of the City having failed in his efforts to negotiate, called upon Bishop Stuart again and asked him to reactivate his "Bishops Committee". Consequently Bishop McDonough and myself were invited to a meeting in Bishop Stuart's office. Present at the meeting were five laymen, five colored leaders, and five Clergymen. A brief resume of the past history of the Committee was given. In reality, Bishop McDonough had assigned Monsignor Toomey to attend this meeting and serve on this Committee, but he was out of the City. For this reason, the Bishop and myself attended. After a long discussion, it was decided that the five Clergymen would call on managers of hotels, motels, bowling lanes and restaurants; the five colored men were to visit the Clergymen the next day. This meeting took place in June the following day. For the next several weeks, negotiations took place while demonstrations were carried out every evening. The target was hotels, motels, theatres, bowling lanes and restaurants. Most of the difficulty in the demonstrations took place before the doors of restaurants. Many Negroes were arrested but most of them were let out immediately on bond. Consequently, many were arrested more than one time.

The two leaders among the Negroes were Hosa Williams and W. W. Law. Mr. Williams was director of the Crusade for Voters which is a department of the N.A.A.C.P. Mr. W. W. Law, on the other hand, a mail carrier by profession was head of the local N.A.A.C.P.

About this time, there were indications that the Chamber of Commerce was about to take a stand in race relations. When we had our third meeting, therefore, among the Clergymen, the Negroes and the Laity at Bishop Stuart's office, it was decided to turn over what little information we had to the group at the Chamber of Commerce. This was done. The Chamber of Commerce issued a statement indicating willingness to negotiate between owners and colored people. Many owners withdrew from the Chamber of Commerce and the plans fell apart.

During all of this time, Bishop McDonough had a meeting with several more moderate Negro Clergymen at their request. They hoped that the Bishop would be able to talk to Hosea Williams and have him abandon the demonstrations. The line of argument was simply that the demonstrations had accomplished their purpose. Attention was now focused upon the problems of the negro. Hosea Williams was most unwilling to cease the demonstrations. He pointed out the fact that many times in the past, offers of negotiations and concessions had been extended but to no avail. After several meetings, however, Hosea Williams agreed to call off the demonstrations.

The calling off of these demonstrations set the tone for a meeting for all interested parties at the City Hall the next day. Prior to this

meeting, the Bishop had met with the restaurant owners but to no avail. In the meeting at the City Hall, for the first time all interested parties were present. While no concessions were granted on either side, at least the atmosphere was created to insure some progress in race relations.

For the following week no demonstrations were to take place and the owners were to get together among themselves to see what could be offered on their part. The week was not over, when a group of Negroes approached the Bishop's office and threatened to break the truce unless one of their leaders was released from jail. Great pressure was brought to bear on people in authority but nothing happened. When the week was up, very little was offered by the owners. It was thought unwise to hold another big meeting. Thereafter, small meetings took place with Negro leaders, leaders of certain businesses and Monsignor Toomey. These negotiations also began to break down. Finally, the power structure of the city and county took an interest in the negotiations. Quietly they met with Monsignor Toomey who was now the chief negotiator of the city. All of this was done behind the scenes. The Committee of 100 men met and formed two action groups, one representing the white people and the other the colored people. Over a period of weeks, climaxing on August 1st, the committees agreed to the desegregation of the movies, the bowling lanes, the hotels, and the motels. It was impossible to get the restaurants to go along with the program. The membership in this committee remains secret. The plans were to go into effect October 1st. The bowling alleys have withdrawn from the plan. All of the rest of the program is in effect. The Klu Klux Klan pickets the theatres regularly but not in

great numbers. The action committees as well as the big committee remains ready to be of service whenever it is needed.

Benjamin Muse, Southern Regional Council, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Report on Mississippi

January, 1964

Business and financial leaders in Mississippi are showing increased concern over the state's racial problem. There has been some increase in moderate sentiment among the public since President Kennedy's assassination. The belligerency and the ferociously anti-Kennedy tone of the recent contest for governor represented an egregious exercise in insincerity on the part of each of the principal candidates. The new governor is a great improvement over Barnett. There is reason to believe that Johnson will follow the example of Almond, Vandiver and other Southern governors who preached reckless resistance in winning the office and later shifted to moderate policy; his inaugural address was remarkably temperate and constructive. On the other hand the Citizens' Council is still active and the elements of bitterness in Mississippi are moving steadily toward collision: thousands of Red Necks are prepared to attack Negroes on any provocation, and repressed Negroes are impatient with nonviolence.

(Almost without exception the people with whom I talked favored a continued drive to increase Negro voting. The least sympathetic with the broad Negro movement were the most emphatic on this point -- by way of suggesting that the Negroes should suspend other agitation for the present. This is the Negro advance which the largest number of Mississippians regard as logical and proper.)

In Mississippi January 3 through January 15, I talked with about 30 generally knowledgeable and influential persons, including the Democratic candidate for governor defeated in the second primary, the unsuccessful Republican candidate in the general election and a promising future gubernatorial possibility. The following is an indication of those with whom I conferred.

Dr. James W. Silver, University of Mississippi. After dinner, Dr. Silver assembled a group of liberal faculty members for a long evening's discussion. Joining us also were two Episcopal ministers, Rev. Duncan Gray and Rev. Moffard Smith. Among the professors were two department chairmen: Dr. Julien R. Tatum, sociology; and Dr. Charles N. Fortenberry, political science.

Mrs. J. P. Coleman. On our first visit to Ackerman the former governor was away; my wife and I had a pleasant visit with Mrs. Coleman.

Hodding Carter, III, Greenville. Managing editor, The Delta Democrat Times. (His father is now residing in New Orleans as a resident author at Tulane.)

Ex-Representative Joseph E. Wroten, Greenville. Defeated last November after serving since 1952.

Hal C. Lowell, Rolling Fork, editor, Deer Creek Pilot.

Ex-State Senator James R. Christenberry, Rolling Fork. Did not run for reelection to the Senate in 1963, but was elected state attorney.

Ex-Representative George Rogers, Vicksburg. Some observed that the last three moderates of courage in the legislature were eliminated last November when Eisenberg and J. J. Coleman failed to run for reelection and Arden and Rogers were defeated. Christenberry, less emphatically is also in this group.

Claude Ramsey, Jackson, chairman, Mississippi Labor Council, AFL-CIO -- tough and irrepressible fighter for both racial justice and organized labor.

Wilson ("Bill") Minor, Jackson, correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune for the past 16 years, and one of the best-informed men in Mississippi. Minor called at our motel on our first day in Jackson, and Mr. and Mrs. Minor dined with us on the evening before our departure.

Dr. L. R. Pettit, president, Tougaloo Christian College. Several others of the Tougaloo faculty joined us at lunch.

Reynolds Stevens, Jackson. Attorney -- Butler, Snow, O'Mara, Stevens and Cannada; Petroleum Bldg., 210 S. Lamar St.; Phone EL 5-9710.

Robert L. Phillips, Jackson. Recent unsuccessful Republican candidate for governor.

Rev. Bernard Lee, Jackson. Editor, the Catholic Register, a close student of the Negro community.

Bishop Joseph V. Brunini, Jackson, Catholic coadjutor. The bishop invited us to dinner, as on a previous visit, but I picked up the check.

Jackson McWhirter Tubb, Jackson. State Superintendent of Public Education.

Charles Evers, Jackson. Executive secretary, NAACP.

William H. Kaufman, Jackson. President, Lamar Life Insurance Co. Architect of the business men's posture during the Ole Miss crisis. (Lamar Life Bldg. Phone: 354-5400.)

William Forrest Winter, Jackson. State Treasurer. I called at his office and my wife and I lunched in the Winter home.

Ross R. Coleman, Ackerman. Governor 1956-1960, unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1963.

Since most of the individuals mentioned pose for "segregationists," their genial or even eager welcome to a Southern Regional Council representative and their hospitality to me and my wife may have some significance. We were invited out to meals half a dozen times and several times -- in the smaller towns -- to spend the night. Some of our talks lasted several hours, or up to five hours; the long, relaxed conversations were particularly conducive to frankness and intimacy.

Except with clergymen and members of the Human Relations Council family, there was little or no reference to the moral issue. I stressed the inevitability of compliance with federal court orders, the tragic folly of resistance to the movement for racial justice, the danger of grave convulsions in Mississippi and the reassuring examples of adjustment in other states.

The list of persons seen on this trip does not give a full picture of moderate leadership in Mississippi. Other individuals were suggested to me whom I did not have time to see, and some old friends from previous trips were not revisited. Among the latter should be mentioned Oliver Emmerich of the McComb Enterprise Journal, George McLean of the Tupelo Daily Journal and Curtis Mullen of the Madison County Herald -- editors of whose constructive efforts I heard continuing echoes. On the debit side, I heard many expressions of regret at the passing of the Pascagoula Chronicle-Star into extreme segregationist hands, liberal publisher Ira Harkey having sold out and left the state.

I shall not report each of my conversations, which were often repetitious, but shall outline some of them and draw on others in attempting to cast light on some aspects of the Mississippi problem.

Dr. Silver and His Friends

University of Mississippi

I found Jim Silver happy over the reactions to his sensational address to the Southern Historical association -- happiest perhaps at having gotten it off his chest -- and full of determination to keep up the fight. He showed me some of the 600 letters received, nearly all laudatory and including several invitations to write for magazines or appear on tdevision. He had received 50 letters from Mississippians, about 40 of them favorable, and he had been surprised at the number of prominent individuals who expressed approval orally when he had occasion to meet them. He is working now on an expansion of the theme for book publication.

On the other hand, the owner of the Mansion Restaurant, Oxford's best eating place, which is frequented by University people, has asked Silver not to come into the restaurant again! He said, however, that the members of his classes were loyal or unconcerned and that he had no trouble on the campus. He sent a copy of the address to Chancellor Williams three days before its delivery; the chancellor has never commented. He said Vice Chancellor W. Alton Bryant had privately expressed approval. A substantial number from the Medical Center faculty had sent a message to the chancellor reminding him that half of them had offers from other universities -- in case anything should happen to Silver. (Mrs J. P. Coleman remarked to me later that her son Tommy, a student at Ole Miss, "is an admirer of Dr. Silver.")

The Mississippi opposition had expressed itself only in personal abuse. No one had attempted to answer his charges.

Faculty members who gathered at the Silver's said that a statement that Ole Miss student enrollment declined 10 per cent this year evaded the real blow that the university suffered: they estimated that freshman enrollment had fallen off 25 or 30 per cent. Several jokingly suggested the advertising slogan: "two rooms for every student!" In replacing the professors who left Ole Miss, the proportion of segregationists had been somewhat increased, but the moderates who remained were much bolder than before.

The group of liberals who came for the evening included several who had gathered for similar sessions on my visits in 1961 and 1962 and several new faces. They were far more outspoken than before -- eager, in fact, "to do something." Specifically all of this group were planning to attend a meeting January 28 to launch a reinvigorated Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Politicians with whom I talked later noted that the attitude of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary schools had emboldened liberal professors at Ole Miss. They also expressed fears that the latter might still bring down some form of reprisal on the university.

Some Delta Moderates

Some of the strongest moderate leaders are to be found in the Delta region. The five with whom I conferred in Vicksburg, Rolling Fork and Greenville were notably pessimistic. From their perspective they seemed more conscious of the danger of violence in Jackson than many residents of that city. All five agreed that some convulsion closer to the public than Ole Miss would be necessary to make the moderate elements assert themselves.

Greenville is generally considered one of the more moderate cities. Several small concessions have been made there: the library has been integrated and "White" and "Colored" signs have been removed from municipal facilities. A mayor's biracial committee was appointed, though it has disintegrated without accomplishing anything. Sit-ins are prohibited, but street demonstrations are permitted. Hodding Carter said Negroes have no trouble voting in Greenville; white registrars sometimes take pains to help them when they seem likely to vote "right." The power structure is moderately disposed, but suffers from the general paralysis when it comes to any bold move. Carter thinks it will take an appearance of something like anarchy to arouse Mississippi moderates. (Speaking before Governor Johnson's inaugural address), he predicted that if Johnson yields it will be more in the manner of Jimmy Davis than that of Vandiver.

Carter was little impressed by the business men's gesture during the Ole Miss crisis, said 30 walked out of the meeting when the statement was read, and the group has done nothing since.

Ex-Representative Wroten, unseated last year by a 2-to-1 vote "because I failed to go along with Barnett" --was a picture of gloomy pessimism. He had hoped for a revulsion of feeling after the Ole Miss affair, but the reverse had occurred. He saw no chance of averting disorder and bloodshed in Mississippi. Jackson was the "blindest" community of all. Jackson would probably

be the scene of the decisive explosion and the moderate elements there were supine or helpless. He said he "knew Jackson well."

At Rolling Fork I spent most of a day with Hal Decell, liberal editor of the Deer Creek Pilot. With an avid interest in politics, he was alert and eager to talk. He also saw grave trouble ahead, but he seemed almost to enjoy the fight.

Ex-State Senator Christenberry said he disagreed with Wroten and Rogers on a principle of representative government: he did not think a legislator should get out of line with the people he represents. He had not run for reelection to the senate, but had been elected state attorney. He was alarmed at the trend in Mississippi and criticized Barnett and company, though he said: "I'm prejudiced myself." He said half the Republican vote was a Democratic protest. He had a high regard for Carroll Gartin, the newly-elected lieutenant governor. Predicted violence and bloodshed. Any school integration, he said, would set off an anti-Negro vendetta. In Rolling Fork now, he said, whites would kill 20 Negroes for every Negro child placed in a white school.

Ex-Representative Rogers was a quiet, thoughtful man, liberally inclined, but grimly conscious of the realities of the present situation in Mississippi. "The Women for Constitutional Government who beat me. The Citizen's Council doesn't amount to much in Vicksburg, but these women are worse than the men." He said the Negroes had published a recommended list of candidates, which included him; all were defeated.

He thought more Negro demonstrations in Jackson might set white hoodlums on a rampage. Mayor Thompson was prepared to prevent it by locking up Negroes -- he could accommodate 2,000 in the Coliseum. However, he thought Thompson was a relatively reasonable man -- just a realist.

A school integration attempt, he thought, would be less climactic. The affected schools would close and a prolonged legal tangle or boycott would follow. Many people, he said, have not yet been disillusioned about the private school possibility.

He saw grave trouble ahead, but not anarchy, even in Jackson.

He had an engagement for the afternoon, but asked me to advise him in advance of my next visit so he could "get a few people together" -- mentioning Mayor John Holland and Frank Everett, attorney, past president of the Mississippi Economic Council.

William H. Mounger

President, Lamar Life Insurance Co.

Mounger drew national attention when on the morning after the battle of Ole Miss, October 1, 1962, he voiced an appeal for sanity over television station WLBT-TV, which his company owns. Over 100 business leaders met the following day and issued a statement calling for law and order.

The subservience of Mississippi business men to the Citizens' Council and its allies has seemed lamentable and their gesture during the Ole Miss crisis was considered feeble by many. But Mounger gives a different picture. Apparently the business men were more active during the Ole Miss crisis than is generally known. "We did some phoning during the week before," Mounger said, "and got almost invariably favorable responses. Many said they were glad we were doing something. People were asked to write the governor urging (1) him to prevent any violence and (2) to do nothing that would affect the accreditation of Ole Miss. The governor got a pile of such letters -- which did something to offset the other stuff. Barnett was glad we were doing something -- he wanted some pressure from our side."

This dynamic executive is enthusiastic about the power and present homogeneity on this issue of the leading business men in Mississippi and their potentially stabilizing influence. "We have better communication than the business communities of most states," he said. "In a crisis I could pick up the telephone and get the cooperation of the best men in every section."

Sentiment among the business men for an orderly solution of the problem, he said was stronger now than ever before. He foresaw trouble -- probably a school-closing crisis -- but the business community would be a guarantee against chaos. Mayor Thompson of Jackson, he said, was particularly susceptible to influence by the business group; some bankers were very close to the mayor.

He said Attorney General Joe Patterson is the most helpful of the key figures in the new administration. His triumph over extremist opposition was "the best thing that happened in the last election."

He said that attorney Ed Brunini, a brother of the Catholic bishop, was the "greatest help" to him during the Ole Miss crisis, that he was the author of the statement which the business men issued. (Hodding Carter attributed the drafting to Charles S. Lindall, a Greenville attorney.) Mounger recommended that I call also on: N. S. Rogers, president of the

Deposit Guaranty Trust Co. ("fine"); George Lathem, a 65-year-old former vice president with an office in the Deposit Guaranty; R. L. Herring, president of the First National Bank; and Owen Cooper, president of the Mississippi Chemical Corporation and also of the Mississippi Baptist Association, Clarksdale.

James McKhirter Tubb

Superintendent of Public Education

Tubb, 64, who has presided over the school system for 19 years, likes to talk about recent progress in Mississippi public schools -- "We're making more progress than any other state in the Union."

In his sensitive position, where he has to discuss school problems every day, often with implacable segregationists, he is skilled in avoiding the vital issue. But I believe he would like to see orderly compliance with court-ordered desegregation. He gave the impression of a man struggling with apprehensions which he was unwilling to unburden.

He recalled with pride his 1961 address to the Mississippi Education Association, when he said if the segregated system "is challenged, the solution must be found through the efforts of dedicated leaders who put the welfare of the children and the future of our state and nation above everything else... Our people must know that to abolish public schools would be to close the door of hope, etc."

He said his address was quoted "all over the country and in some foreign countries." He said that many who criticized him then agree with him now. The school-closing idea is not popular.

He feared embarrassment in a campaign appearance last year, when the candidates were asked: "Would you close public schools to avoid integration?" His opponent said he would close schools in the affected locality. Tubb told me he was able to go almost that far: he told the audience that it might be necessary to close some schools. He could see the possibility on account of a riot or a boycott.

Tubb was not very well informed on the progress of school desegregation elsewhere in the South -- did not know that any schools had been desegregated in South Carolina.

He reiterated his strong opposition to closing schools and his belief in compliance with the law, but he seemed anxious to turn the conversation to Panama and other subjects.

William Forest Winter

State Treasurer

I reported a favorable impression of this quiet, thoughtful man after I visited him in September, 1961. Winter was then State Tax Collector, an office which has now been abolished, and he was elected in 1963 -- by a comfortable majority -- to the newly expanded office of State Treasurer.

Whenever Winter's name was mentioned among the people with whom I talked on this trip an extraordinarily high opinion was expressed of him. The moderate editors and ex-legislators, liberal professors, business leader Mounger, labor leader Ramsey and reporter Minor talked about Winter with wistful admiration: "There's the man who could save this state! If we could get him elected! In 1967 maybe?" Etc.

Winter, a lawyer, who will be 41 in February, served as a member of the state House of Representatives from Grenada County, from 1948 to 1956. He was appointed State Tax Collector by Governor Coleman in 1956, to succeed an official who died two months after election. He was elected in 1959 for his own first full term.

Winter has an almost miraculous faculty for winning popular elections and keeping a high prestige without sacrificing his convictions on the race issue (or getting into the controversy). His character and intelligence inspire universal respect -- and he has been able thus far to keep to the subject of state finances.

When he campaigned unsuccessfully for Speaker of the House in 1955, the opposition was a bit rough. If, and when, he runs for the Big Job his friends realize that his opponents will throw everything in their arsenal at him. But in the meantime few want unnecessarily to attack William Winter. Mounger said he advised Winter against running for lieutenant governor in 1963; it would have gotten him into the mud too soon; better "save his ammunition."

Ex-Representative Rogers said Winter has a group of reliable friends in every county. His greatest political liability perhaps was "being too much a gentleman."

Winter received me almost eagerly. "I heard you were in the state (from Rogers) and was afraid I would miss you." After a talk in his office, he invited my wife and me to lunch.

He came for us at our motel and drove us to his home. As we passed Millsaps College he remarked: "There's a liberal group there. You should see President Ellis Finger." When we passed Murrah High School, which serves the best residential

district, he said: "That would be the safest place to begin integration." He pointed out the home of former Governor Hugh L. White when we passed it. "He's gravely concerned -- about 83 now," he said.

Winter has a beautiful and charming wife. Mrs. Winter had just been elected president of the Mississippi Official Women's Club (made up of the wives of state officials) to succeed Mrs. Ross Barnett. The papers the day before had carried photos of the two ladies in the changeover. Mrs. Winter shared the opinion of many that Mrs. Barnett is a very gracious and likeable person.

Mrs. Winter told me of a women's save-the-public schools group in Jackson in which she had been quietly active. It had successfully escaped publicity, but it had met a number of times in the first part of 1963. The members were crowding the private homes in which they met and had a problem of finding a suitable meeting place. They had been addressed on one occasion by a representative of HOPE from Atlanta. Some of the members were broadly liberal on the race question. Meetings were suspended during the political campaign but would probably be resumed later.

In the course of several hours of conversation, Winter observed that most of the state officials reelected last November are relatively moderate on the race question. He mentioned Attorney General Joseph T. Patterson; Superintendent of Public Education Tubb; Silas Edward Corley, commissioner of agriculture; and Walter Dell Davis, commissioner of insurance. The new Lieutenant Governor Carroll Gartin, he said would be a moderate influence if he had the courage to assert himself.

We discussed at length the question of when, and under what circumstances, it would be possible for a liberal to be elected governor of Mississippi. He was interested in the experiences of governors of other state, especially interested in Governor Sanders of Georgia, whose career he had followed closely.

Rubel L. Phillips

Republican Candidate for Governor 1963

I established a prompt rapport with this big, jovial extrovert by confessing that I had been a Republican candidate for governor in Virginia in 1941. We engaged in a little GOP chat, mainly retrospective. (I have rarely voted Republican in recent years). Phillips remarked that he had always wanted to hear more about the Wendell Willkie campaign. Having

had a small part in that, I was able to accommodate him. His admiration for Willkie suggested a natural leaning toward liberalism, which friends who knew him in the past confirm. However, Phillips' whole concern in 1963 was to get votes -- from any quarter.

Nevertheless, the 1963 voting pattern was significant. Stanley Morse, the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor opposed the moderate Democratic candidate Gartin and received only approximately 90,000 votes. Phillips opposing the Johnson-Barnett faction drew 138,000. The result appeared to point to 48,000 voters who crossed the party line to protest against prevailing reckless policies. Gartin received 33,000 votes more than Johnson. Hodding Carter III cited the record in Greenville as typical of moderate voting behavior. Greenville gave majorities to Frank Smith for Congress, to Coleman in each primary and to Phillips in the general election.

(Coleman said to me -- though without great conviction -- that Republican votes in the Democratic primary caused his defeat, the Republicans believing that Coleman would be the harder to beat in the general election).

Phillips appeared to have a number of moderate friends, notably editor Oliver Emmerich. He said the demise of the Jackson State Times was a major catastrophe. (In his opinion, that paper's failure was due not to its moderate editorial policy, but to bad management.) He said the remaining Jackson newspapers were "the worst in the United States"; he read the Memphis Commercial Appeal. Among well-known names, he was not sure which Democrats supported him, though he estimated that a score of the smaller newspapers were on his side.

During the campaign he made endless use of the transcript of the Barnett-Kennedy dialog in the Ole Miss crisis, but he said many people did not believe it was bona fide; the Justice Department's minimal acknowledgment was not strong enough.

Phillips enjoyed deriding the Democratic politicians on any account, but he did not appear well-informed or gravely concerned on the race issue. Johnson was "a smarter man than Barnett" and would change at the showdown. Mayor Thompson, he said, wants to be moderate and would behave better with Barnett removed. Thompson would accept court-ordered integration in Jackson and his police would keep order. For his part, Phillips intended to consolidate Republican gains "with a nucleus in every county."

J. P. Coleman

Former Governor, Defeated for Reelection

Many moderates and liberals were shocked at Coleman's fierce segregationist stand and his turning against Kennedy in his effort to win the 1963 election.

To me he was most cordial and voluble -- though a little embarrassed in reviewing the recent campaign. "All the moderate candidates for state office were reelected," he said, "except me. The Citizens' Council took it out on me." He said he realized that the race was pretty hopeless from the beginning, but his friends would have been disappointed if he had not run. Who would want to be governor with an empty treasury and this race buiness? Well, they would have to solve their own problems now, there was nothing he could do about them. He was already busy practicing law. -- Yet they had a way of coming to him for advice. Mayor Thompson had often called him; he was on the phone many times during the Freedom Rides.

He talked about the people who still gathered around him when he visited court houses. "After all, 196,000 voted for me." He said rather emotionally: "The Mississippi Red Neck has good impulses -- if only he were not misled!"

The former governor said it was Meredith and the Freedom Rides that had entrenched the Citizens' Council and Barnett in power. They had set back race relations in Mississippi. (Many moderates seemed to hold this view.)

President Kennedy's death, I gathered from Mrs. Coleman, had greatly saddened J. P.: I believe he was a sincere admirer of Kennedy. However, he criticized the late President to me for his handling of the Ole Miss crisis. Merely by way of justifying Kennedy's action I remarked that even Goldwater -- had he been President -- would have sent troops to Ole Miss. "Of course," Coleman replied with some feeling: " -- and quicker. Nixon would have sent them the day before! Kennedy was too anxious to keep from doing anything -- that caused all the trouble."

Mrs. Coleman on my visit a week before had spoken of their friendship for the Lyndon Johnsons; they had been guests at the LBJ Ranch. Coleman expressed his admiration of the President. "He'll probably give Eastland some straight talk."

He talked as if he were trying to restore my faith in his liberalism. He pointed to two copies of my Virginia's Massive Resistance on a conspicuous shelf in his living room. When he saw us to our car, he said, as if pronouncing a message for me to carry away: "Mississippi is pretty sick, but I am certain it will eventually recover."

The New Administration

The people with whom I talked without exception regarded Paul Bourney Johnson, the newly elected governor, as an improvement over Barnett. All thought that Johnson was more intelligent and more flexible.

Johnson's recent Democratic and Republican opponents, Coleman and Phillips, were strongly of this opinion. Coleman felt that "a great load was being lifted off the back of Mississippi" with the expiration of Barnett's term of office.

Coleman remarked that Johnson had not the temperament to make a bold resistance stand. He got into the act at Ole Miss only by way of seconding Barnett. He said Johnson is physically "shy," doesn't like mingling with Red Necks. During the campaign, he recalled, Johnson would say his piece and hurry away; while he, Coleman, on the other hand, always lingered to shake hands among the crowd.

Coleman also told me that he had it from a source which he generally found reliable that Johnson has returned the Citizens' Council contribution to his campaign fund.

Some consider the Hederman brothers, who own the two daily newspapers and one radio-TV station in Jackson, the greatest contributors to Mississippi's blindness and tension on the race issue -- Bob, Tom and Zach; Arnold died last year. They supported Barnett vigorously and enjoyed the feeling of power which their hold on the governor gave them. Mounger and others told me that their personal relationship with Johnson is even closer and of much longer standing -- an intimate Hederman family friendship with the new governor and his father before him. Their influence upon the new governor will not be healthy; but, on the other hand the circumstance might conceivably give Johnson a cooperative press if he should pursue a moderate course.

Several of my informants detected increasing coldness between Johnson and Barnett. The latter, going out of office on a wave of ovations, was cultivating more and more the Great Man image, ringing up "achievements" in the capture of new industries every day and taking steps such as the appointment of board members, etc., which are normally left to the incoming governor. Having reduced the state's surplus of $34 million to about $4 million in four years, Barnett declared in his farewell address to the legislature that all the state's needs now can be met without any increase in taxes, adding in effect: "If you don't know how to do it, come to me and I'll tell you." This was widely regarded as a reflection on Johnson.

Governor Johnson's inaugural address January 21 exceeded the hopes of the most optimistic moderates. It was in sharp contrast, for instance to the inaugural address of Governor

Wallace of Alabama a year ago. Johnson said "Mississippi economy is not divisible by political party or faction, or even by race, color or creed." And this: "I will say that you and I are part of this world, whether we like it or not, ... and as a practical matter we are at this moment in the mainstream of national life."

Governor George Wallace, Jimmie Davis and Orval Faubus, present at the inauguration, avoided comment on the speech. The Jackson Clarion Ledger, of January 26, published a round-up of state comment, under an AP byline and the heading "GOVERNOR'S SPEECH BRINGS MUCH PRAISE." All of the comment quoted was favorable, though generally with reference to its discussion of economic matters. The Mississippi Economic Council (state chamber of commerce) said "never before have Mississippians had so much reason to forget much of the recent past and pull together for the future."

If the new governor perseveres in an attempt to turn Mississippi from its reckless course to a constructive one he will have the encouragement and cooperation of other elected state officers. The three most directly concerned -- Lieutenant Governor Gartin, Attorney General Patterson and Superintendent of Public Education Tubb would all welcome such a change.

Effect of the Death of President Kennedy

I was anxious to learn if the assassination of President Kennedy and the wave of eulogies which swept the world had had a softening effect upon Mississippi attitudes toward the principles for which he stood.

Labor leader Ramsey said indeed -- including Mississippi in the reference: "He may have accomplished more in his death than he could have accomplished had he lived." Others -- though I think these were chronic pessimists -- said Kennedy's death hadn't made any difference. My own conclusion is that it did make a difference in the attitude of many Mississippians. The improvement would no doubt fade under the inflammatory blustering of a governor like Barnett, but it offers a somewhat more favorable atmosphere for the launching of a moderate administration.

Governor Barnett had contemplated opposing Senator Stennis this year in his bid for reelection and was working with that in view. Barnett has definitely given that up now and Stennis is not expected to have serious opposition. (The senator visited the Colemans the day before my visit and appeared much relieved.) Coleman attributed the abandonment of plans to oppose Stennis in part to the death of President Kennedy.

The stories of applauding school children were true, and this occurred in many localities. It was a natural result of last year's crescendo of Kennedy vilification. The extraordinary efforts to hide this fact was another interesting phenomenon. It was considered shameful -- in some quarters just bad taste and "un-Southern"; in other quarters there was genuine compunction at the degree to which the anti-Kennedy fever had been allowed to rise.

Mrs. Winter said three women came weeping to her home to visit with her. Some of the Ole Miss group told me of individuals who said they "might have been wrong about this business."

Photos of President Kennedy were prominently displayed in Mississippi stores. The Look memorial issue was on sale. Some newspapers, including those of Jackson, advertised the AP and UPI memorial issues, though not very conspicuously. I gathered from Hodding Carter that the orders for these were coming in slowly; his paper had received less than 1,000. Some of the Outdoor Advertising Co. memorial signs -- a black-bordered "November 22, 1963" -- were to be seen on Mississippi highways.

Over 1200 attended the memorial service at Ole Miss. At the cathedral service in Jackson, 2,000 attended and up to 1,000 are said to have been turned away. Bishop Brunini talked a good deal about the latter service and the inter-faith consultations and planning for it. Barnett said at first that he would attend, but he sent a representative instead. The press reported that he attended a Baptist service. However, the governor-elect and nearly all other state and city officials were conspicuously present. Incidentally, it was one of the most integrated gatherings that Mississippi has seen in modern times. According to the bishop "Negroes were all over the place and at the communion rail."

Describing the service the next day, Dick Sanders, a local TV commentator, asked: "Why can't Mississippians get together like this?"

The Possibilities of Violence

The foregoing has dealt almost entirely with encouraging aspects of the Mississippi situation. I would not like to give an unduly optimistic impression. The forces of resistance and hate are still dominant among the Mississippi public, and the machinery of oppression is far from grinding to a halt.

In Jackson, where the decisive "battle" is expected to be fought, restive Negroes are still waiting for the first significant concession. Mounger, Phillips, Rogers and others who know Mayor Allen Thompson say that he is essentially a "reasonable" man,

but he continues to rely almost entirely on his police force -- tank, dogs and 350 men.

The Clarion Ledger of January 30 quoted from a speech of Mayor Thompson to the Downtown Jackson Association in which he referred to the refusal of NASA's James Webb to speak to a segregated meeting in Jackson -- due, he indicated, to a fear of picket lines. The paper reported Thompson as saying he assured Webb: "If somebody so much as raised an eyebrow we would arrest them and put them in our hoosegow." He continued: "Do you know that this is the only city in the world where you can guarantee that there won't be any pickets?" He pledged protection "by the finest police force in the world" for merchants to do "anything you want to do in your business."

Thompson's ruthless repression of Negroes is due in part to fear that a retaliatory outbreak of whites would be harder to control. The speed with which 1,000 gathered around the governor's mansion during the Ole Miss crisis is recalled as an indication of how quickly a mob could form after an interracial incident.

A school desegregation operation this year would require unhesitating cooperation by both the Mayor and the Governor, with the possible use of the National Guard. The safest school for the breakthrough would be Murrah High School, in an outlying "blue stocking" district. (Several, including Minor, had heard from friends of Mayor Thompson that he has said when school integration is ordered by the courts he will accept it and his famous police force will preserve order.)

A greater danger of violence would appear to lie in a renewal of Negro demonstrations.

Charlie Evers, the local NAACP executive, says there will be none. Evers expressed himself somewhat fiercely to me on this subject. "Whatever Martin Luther King, CORE or SNICK or Roy Wilkins says, we are not going to have any demonstrations here." (When I questioned his inclusion of Roy Wilkins among the advocates of demonstrations, he eliminated Wilkins.) "Demonstrations may be all right for some places, but here they only get a lot of Negroes beaten up, fill the jails and cost a lot of bail -- without getting you anywhere. They arrest you as soon as you stick your head out of the door."

In the same fierce manner Evers described his insistence upon selective buying; the other two items on his program were voter registration and school desegregation. "Get the vote and pinch his pocketbook," he said. "That's the only way we can win in Mississippi." He said the selective buying campaign is "95 per cent effective." A One Price Only store and a jewelry store had gone out of business; the bus company had asked permission to curtail service to the affected area, but had been refused by the city. The Negro demands: (1) equal courtesy, (2) equal use of facilities (3) equal jobs and (4) pressure on the city for the desegregation of facilities and employment of Negroes at higher levels.

The boycott applies to Capitol St. stores in the main business section. Most of the Negro trading is done on Farish St., a long typically ghetto thoroughfare, where the stores are almost entirely dependent on Negro trade and, if not owned by Negroes, employ mainly Negro personnel.

The boycott may offer the most promising means of bringing relief and interracial adjustment without violence. Several Capitol St. stores have closed lunch counters and some have gone out of business. I heard varying reports that I did not verify. My informants agreed, however, that the pinch was being felt. Some merchants told friends that the boycott had caused them to end the year in the red. There is some furtive talk among merchants of concerted action to "get together with the Negroes" and bring pressure to bear on the city administration.

Bishop Brunini, Minor, Beittel and others told me of the almost desperate mood of Jackson Negroes, and of dissension and a lack of leadership among them. ("Uncle Tom" Percy Greene in his Jackson Advocate is denouncing the boycott.) Minor, who is a professional newsman, said: "The things that go on here are unbelievable. It is not merely segregation, but subjugation of the Negro." My best informant was Rev. Bernard Law, a white Catholic priest at the diocesan offices who makes a special study of the Negro community. Father Law said Jackson is "sitting on top of a volcano." The Negroes were seething with resentment of a long series of outrages. They had been disappointed again and again. They were disappointed at seeing no change for the better after the Freedom Rides, after the Ole Miss battle and after the Evers slaying. (They fully expected that Byron de la Beckwith would be acquitted.) They were disappointed with the NAACP and even with the Justice Department. Many were disappointed with ~~the inhibitions of~~ nonviolence. Many would like to see an explosion that would bring federal troops to Jackson.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Box 312, Manassas, Va.

February 6, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Attorney Kennedy and the Barton Case

Mississippi, January, 1964

Attorney John L. Kennedy (Court House Square --Phone 887-- Holly Springs, Miss.) is still struggling with the Billy Barton case, and would like to have advice and help. He would like above all to have some lawyer of stature and greater experience join him in the case.

Billy Clyde Barton -- then 20 years of age, a journalism student at the University of Mississippi and managing editor of the student newspaper, The Mississippian -- spent the summer of 1960 on the staff of the Atlanta Journal. Seizing upon this alleged association with the hated Ralph McGill (whom Barton never met), the Citizens' Council and Governor Barnett set out to ruin Barton with charges and innuendos to the effect that he was a subversive planted on the university campus and specifically that he was an active member of the NAACP. (He never had any connection with the NAACP.) The affair received much publicity and Barton suffered as expected. (He is now in the Navy, U.S.S. Vermillion, Norfolk, Va.)

Kennedy on Barton's behalf filed suit in May, 1962, against Barnett in state circuit court, asking $50,000 damages. He later filed a suit in federal district court against Barnett, Citizens' Council leader William J. Simmons and others, asking $250,000.

Kennedy, about 35-40, is a liberal attorney and business man, who tells me 80 per cent of his law practice is among Negroes. He served in the legislature until 1960, distinguished by his successful statewide campaign in 1956 for marriage law reform. He believes the Barton case is a good one from a financial point of view, and that it offers attractive opportunities for exposure of Citizens' Council finances and practices and of intimidation through character assassination in Mississippi. He would like to find a "better lawyer" than he is who would be interested in this chance to strike a blow for freedom.

Benjamin Muse

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February 6, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Louis A. Eckl

Editor, Florence Times, Florence, Ala.

Louis Eckl is a tireless crusader for the good cause, and is largely responsible for the relatively moderate atmosphere prevailing in his corner of Alabama.

He came to dine with us January 2 and spent several hours afterward in our room -- eager to talk: "I talk about this stuff all the time, generally I'm just working around the edges of the subject. It's only when you come around that I can really open up."

Eckl is carried as a director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, but says he doesn't "have time" to attend meetings. He is a member of the Alabama CCR advisory committee. His son Christopher, who is city editor of the Times, served last year as president of the Muscles Shoals CHR. Early in December Louis received a surprise phone call from Drew Pearson, who said he had been told that Eckl was "a man in Alabama he could talk to." Pearson said he had $5,000 of "conscience money" that he would like to place in Alabama. Eckl recommended the ACHR and gave him Jimmerson's address.

Eckl makes speeches to civic groups from time to time. He said during the past year he has been able to speak with increasing frankness. In a recent speech to the Florence Rotary Club he defended the action of the Supreme Court and the federal government in the civil rights field and caused no disturbance, received some applause.

Last June the Florence Times was sold to a Goldwater Republican group, World Enterprises, of Bristol, Va. Alarmed, Eckl held out successfully for freedom to continue to express his own views on the race problem.

Eckl said the new local superintendent of schools, Rufus G. Hebbett, is more liberal than his predecessor. "The schools in Florence, Sheffield and Tuscumbia," he said, "can be integrated peacefully whenever it is ordered by the courts." (The three cities form one school district.)

Eckl is frequently called upon by TVA authorities to help entertain colored foreign visitors. He is in close touch with FBI agents, who discuss Alabama problems with him. He was very active in the successful integration of Florence State College last September, advising with Negro student Wendell

Wilkie Gunn, college and police authorities. Instrumental in keeping publicity to a minimum. He was very proud of the operation -- entirely peaceful, no federal marshals, only one policeman a block away.

The mayor and city council of Florence are now forming a biracial committee.

A Folsom supporter in the 1962 campaign for governor, he retailed some of the stories of foul play alleged to be behind Big Jim's "drunken" TV appearance, which some said, lost him the election. Eckl assumed no responsibility for their accuracy, but they were interesting as examples of things that are readily suspected -- and can in fact happen -- in Alabama politics.

Folsom has been little heard from lately. However, he spoke out in opposition to constitutional amendment No. 3 -- restricting voting -- which was roundly rejected in the November election.

Eckl had also been an old personal friend of George Wallace. Early in the campaign he asked Wallace to stay away from the Florence area. "We've had good race relations up here," he said, and you do nothing but stir up trouble. Why can't you talk about something else?"

Wallace's reply, according to Eckl: "I started off talking about schools and highways and prisons and taxes -- and I couldn't make them listen. Then I began talking about niggers -- and they stomped the floor!"

Due allowance will no doubt be made for some exaggeration in this unbosoming by a fervent liberal and an admirable guy.

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Mississippi, January, 1964

Attorney John L. Kennedy (Court House Square --Phone 887-- Holly Springs, Miss.) is still struggling with the Billy Barton case, and would like to have advice and help. He would like above all to have some lawyer of stature and greater experience join him in the case.

Billy Clyde Barton -- then 20 years of age, a journalism student at the University of Mississippi and managing editor of the student newspaper, The Mississippian -- spent the summer of 1960 on the staff of the Atlanta Journal. Seizing upon this alleged association with the hated Ralph McGill (whom Barton never met), the Citizens' Council and Governor Barnett set out to ruin Barton with charges and innuendos to the effect that he was a subversive planted on the university campus and specifically that he was an active member of the NAACP. (He never had any connection with the NAACP.) The affair received much publicity and Barton suffered as expected. (He is now in the Navy, U.S.S. Vermillion, Norfolk, Va.)

Kennedy on Barton's behalf filed suit in May, 1962, against Barnett in state circuit court, asking $50,000 damages. He later filed a suit in federal district court against Barnett, Citizens' Council leader William J. Simmons and others, asking $250,000.

Kennedy, about 35-40, is a liberal attorney and business man, who tells me 80 per cent of his law practice is among Negroes. He served in the legislature until 1960, distinguished by his successful statewide campaign in 1956 for marriage law reform. He believes the Barton case is a good one from a financial point of view, and that it offers attractive opportunities for exposure of Citizens' Council finances and practices and of intimidation through character assassination in Mississippi. He would like to find a "better lawyer" than he is who would be interested in this chance to strike a blow for freedom.

Benjamin Muse

June 10, 1964

"Be Just— Fear Not"

Daily Journal

Founded 1879

W. G. (Bill) STROUD
General Manager

HARRY RUTHERFORD
Editor

GEORGE McLEAN
Publisher-Exec. Editor

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Virginia Example, Yes—But Which One?

The fate of public education in Mississippi seems likely to be decided in the state capital of Jackson.

And what Jackson decides regarding the abandonment of its white schools will be decided largely by which of two Virginia communities it adopts as its educational model.

On the one hand there is Surry County, an overwhelmingly rural, predominantly Negro, poorly - educated, poverty-stricken Virginia county located near the site of Gen. Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox during the Civil War. It has abandoned its white public school altogether and set up a private academy.

That is the model for Mississippi being eyed by our state legislature as it prepares for a special session to consider setting up state tuition payments to pupils transferring to private schools.

On the other hand there is a possible model for Jackson the city of Alexandria, Virginia, which instead of closing its schools like Surry County has achieved the distinction of paying the highest teacher salary schedule in America.

In Alexandria, which is just about the size of Jackson, the experienced classroom teacher now earns up to $10,000 a year. And she is provided with the best of equipment to round out a quality education program. So high is interest in schools that the average adult has more than a high school education compared with a seventh grade level in Surry County.

In deciding which of these Virginia communities it shall adopt as its model in educaton, Jackson can consider these points:

Surry County—the community being considered by our legislature as the educational model for Mississippi—had only one small 400-pupil white school to close when it decided to abandon public classes for white children.

Only one-fifth of the adults in the county have a high school education. And there is so little interest in advanced schooling that the latest census showed only fifteen of the county's boys and girls in college.

In contrast to the ten thousand industrial jobs in Jackson, there are only two small industrial plants in Surry County. Between them they provide a total of only sixty-two jobs.

Most of the other people work on the farm or seek employment eslewhere, more than a fourth of all the workers in the county having to go outside its borders each day to find employment.

It will be tempting for the Mississippi legislature to look from a distance and note how easily Surry County, Virginia, has shut down its lone white school and set up a private academy with the aid of tuition grants.

But we feel it will be ridiculous for a progressive, growing city like Jackson to adopt a dying rural county of only six thousand inhabitants as its model in education or any other phase of development

And if Surry County isn't good enough to serve as a model for Jackson, we don't feel it is good enough for our legislature to adopt it as a model for the rest of Mississippi in the matter of abandoning public schools and substituting a shaky system based half on tuition grants and half on cash from the pockets of parents.

There is some talk even by Gov. Paul Johnson that turning to private classes as the foundation of Mississippi education may actually upgrade our school system.

But this much we should always keep in mind:

If we are looking for a Virginia example to guide us in our dilemma, it is Alexandria—whose schools also have had to accept a few Negroes—which is building a superior educational system while Surry County's parents have never supported a good school system, did not finish high school themselves, and apparently are little interested in seeing that their children fare any better.

Otherwise this backward Virginia county which our legislature proposes as a model for Mississippi would have more than fifteen of its sons and daughters in college preparing for positions of future leadership.

June 9, 1964

"Be Just— Fear Not"

Daily Journal

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State's White Schools In Serious Danger

Mississippi's public schools are in more serious danger than the public realizes.

In calling the legislature into special session June 17 to consider a program of state tuition grants to pupils attending private schools, Gov. Paul Johnson indicated that he assumes public schools will be maintained even after private schools are set up.

But in the Virginia county which Mississippi officials are using as their model, public education — at least for white children—was abandoned altogether when a private school system was established.

What happened in Surry County, Virginia, was that white pupils who kept attending their usual school when Negroes moved in under court order were branded as Negro lovers. The whites then boycotted their school.

And when no white pupils remained in the county's one white school, it was closed and the integrated Negroes sent back to their former schools.

This meant an end of public education for white children in the county but not for Negro children.

And on the basis of past legislative actions, this may be exactly the course followed in our state, resulting indirectly in abandonment of public schools for whites even though Gov. Johnson implies that in theory he would like to see them kept open.

The issue of whether a state can make tuition grants to pupils attending private schools set up to avoid integration has been debated for five years or more, but it still remains to be decided.

And it will not be decided by the U. S. Supreme Court in time for the special Mississippi legislative session to benefit from the decision.

The Surry County, Virginia, tuition case was heard by a federal district judge in Richmond Monday. And that judge is under orders from the federal appeals court at Richmond to act in a hurry on the issue, indicating that a decision can be expected next Monday, two days before the Mississippi legislature meets.

But that ruling, whatever it is, will be carried to the federal appeals court and then to the U.S. Supreme Court.

No final decision by the high tribunal in the tuition grant controversy can thus be expected until July, by which time the Mississippi legislature will probably have passed whatever law it plans to enact. And the fate of our schools will be sealed.

Until the U.S. High Court bars tuition grants to pupils attending private schools — which it may or may not do —a good bet is that our legislators will follow the example of Surry County, Virginia, where the white boycott of integrated classes resulted in abandonment of those schools and operation only of Negro schools.

Now state and local governments in the Virginia County pay white pupils $275 tuition to apply on the cost of the county's private school. And parents make up the remaining $110 per child cost of attending the private academy.

Prime reason for assuming that the Mississippi legislature will follow the Surry County example when it convenes June 17 is that our governor and the legislative majority seem committed to a private school system of some kind, and the Surry County program is the only one now before federal courts for a decision.

Federal District Judge John Butzner, Jr., had been delaying his ruling in the dificult Surry County case in hope the U.S. Supreme Court would settle the issue when it ruled May 25 on the Prince Edward County case, where all public schools, white and Negro, had been abandoned.

But the Supreme Court sidetracked the tuition issue in the Prince Edward case and left it to Surry County to become the nation's testing ground on this issue.

Thus far Virginia is the only state actually making tuition grants to pupils attending private schools.

Alabama set up a private school in Macon County to serve white pupils who boycotted the integrated public school there.

But Alabama's attorney general ruled that the Supreme Court would probably bar use of state funds to make tuition payments to pupils attending the private school, so it operates on a voluntary basis which presumably cannot be touched by the courts.

Many of Mississippi's parents are not able to pay the high cost of private schools. Hence, state tuition grants to help bear the expense are considered necessary if private schools are to be substituted for public instruction as occurred in Surry County.

Apparently, then, about all that is needed to close white schools in Mississippi is for the Supreme Court to rule that state tuition grants to pupils attending private classes are legal.

Under such circumstances white pupils in many communities would flock from integrated schools to private schools. The boycotted white schools would then presumably be abandoned as they have been in rural, poverty-stricken Surry County, Virginia.

And the decline of Mississippi would, in our opinion, have begun.

Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.

July 11,1964

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

In Mississippi June 18-28, 1964

(Typed by me with apologies)

I have already submitted a comprehensive report enlarging upon my talk with Mr. Allen Dulles in Jackson June 25 about law enforcement in Mississippi. Information on the fast-moving situation in that state has been coming to the SCC from many sources. This is to give an account of myself during my eleven days in Mississippi, together with some items and observations that may still be of interest.

It took me an entire afternoon, June 18, to catch Jack Reed for a short interview in Tupelo. Reed is one of the laborers for sanity in Mississippi of whom I had often heard, but whom I had never met. A past president of the Mississippi Economic Council, he had taken an active part in the recent meetings of the MEC executive committee which reiterated an earlier plea for the preservation of public schools and issued a very fine statement on the summer visit of civil-rights crusaders. He surprised me by saying: "The Southern Regional Council is performing a useful service. I am glad to get your publications."

Though his public position is one of cautious moderation, in private conversation he was definitely liberal on the race issue. He said:"Silver's book gave the true picture."

A recent state convention of law-enforcement officers in Tupelo had shown a good spirit on the whole, he said, though some of them sounded off on state rights, etc. --"which did not help." With reference to public order in the state generally, he said: "I guess we'll pull through." But he said it without much conviction. The situation in Tupelo was relatively good. Mayor James J. Ballard had recently drawn up a plan for possible racial turmoil in Tupelo. In an emergency the mayor proposed to deputize city employees and firemen, but he would avoid using the auxiliary police. He was afraid of the auxiliary police--as many Mississippi mayors are.

Tupelo had gone for Coleman in the governor race, but Johnson was proving much better than had been feared. "Paul Johnson will not cause any school to close." The problem would be to keep white pupils attendeding integrated schools. He said:"Mississippi business men are away a head of the politicians on this thing. But the politicians are going crazy and we can't do much about it."

The Citizens' Council in Tupelo was feeble, muster only eight or ten at its meetings. Reed gave much of the credit for the relatively good situation in Tupelo to the Tupelo Daily Journal. (I have reported on its editor, George McClean before.) McClean, he said, was "controversial" (a loyal Kennedy-Johnson Democrat), but he

did a great deal of good. Local newspapers were a tremendous factor in the whole situation in Mississippi. Greenville was blessed like Tupelo. On the other hand, the Jackson papers were the greatest single cause of Mississippi's agony. Reed hinted that some pressure was being brought to bear on the Hedermans, and their papers have indeed shown some slight improvement in recent weeks.

Driving south June 19, my wife and I called upon Mrs.J.P. Coleman. The former governor was away.

At Canton I called at the Madison County Herald TxxxxxxxXxxx to see my liberal friend, editor Curtis Mullen. But Mullen was no longer there. He had sold out a month before and left to take over a small paper in Texas. I visited with his successor, W.C. Taylor, Jr. This aging comrade of linotypes and obsolete presses had more or less the opposite of Mullen's approach to the great problem. He said he paid $40,000 for the paper.

(I learned afterward that Mullen had yielded at last to Citizens' Council pressure, as have other liberal editors before him. It is rumored that segregationist capitalists, possibly the Hedermans, put up the $40,000.)

We engaged in some friendly newspaper shop talk. I made no attempt to save the old man's soul, while I drew him out on what is probably the prevailing white attitude in places like Canton. He said: " We don't trust niggers now--can't tell what's going on in their heads. Look at New York--5,000 men added to the police force. Nobody's life is safe. A lady told me yesterday she's given up going to the World's Fair. It was a sight to see "niggers" lined up for registration; it took hours to sort them out because they are so ignorant! Etc. Etc.

Significantly Taylor said that folks should stay away from the Ku Klux Klan and the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race and stand by the Citizens' Council. The CC was "orderly."

Saturday morning, June 20, I spent at the home of Mrs. Emanuel Crystal in Jackson with leaders of an embryonic organization to preserve public schools. Others present were: Mrs.Paul Perian, Mrs.George Butler (a cousin of Jack Reed, of Tupelo) and Mrs. T.L.Falls. They appeared to be ladies of the "best society," and I was impressed with their dedication and enthusiasm. They explained that, while their movement's official objective is limited to public schools, they were deeply concerned personally over the whole race situation in Mississippi. They said they were still unorganized and "off the record." They expected to hold a formal organization meeting shortly and elect officers. Though the public would not be invited to this meeting, a public announcement would be made afterward.

They said affiliated groups were active in Meridian, Tupelo, Oxford and Biloxi, and that groups were being formed in Greenville and Vicksburg. They gave me a reprint of two excellent editorials

from the Tupelo Daily Journal of June 9 and 10, to which they were giving some circulation and which they hoped to get into the hands of members of the legislature. They said the Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers had taken a position in favor of public schools and against tuition grants June 10, but that the press generally had ignored this action. The P-TA resolution read:

"In keeping with the traditions and policies of the Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers we pledge our support to the administration of the public schools at the state and local level in their effort to keep public schools open and educational opportunity available to all children.

"We are opposed to any proposal that state minimum program funds be diverted in order to finance a private school system. We believe any support for a private school system should come from other sources."

Mr. and Mrs. Wilson ("Bill") Minor dined with us Sunday evening and we visited in their home after dinner. Bill is the veteran Jackson reported for the New Orleans Times Picayune about whom I have written before. Odds and ends of information: Among the disturbing acts of Governor Johnson, State Senator George Yarborough, the racist"who pulled the Highway Patrol out of 'Ole Miss'," had been appointed to the college board. The Americans for the Preservation of the White Race--now flourishing in Mississippi-- are making quiet plans to promote a boycott of desegregated public schools by whites. Minor thought it would be hard for me to see Governor Johnson, especially during the session of the legislature. Frank Barber, the governor's administrative assistant, by the way, he said, is a Kennedy-Johnson Democrat. Minor saw litte hope of avoiding racial war in Mississippi without drastic federal action.

Monday I called at the Roman Catholic diocesan chancery for long talks, separately, with Bishop Richard O. Gerow and Rev. Bernard F. Law. Bishop Brunini was away. Bishop Gerow, 79, and young Father Law are closely associated in the many problems of the diocese related to the race crisis. They have widely different approaches. It was not so much a difference in their convictions on the moral question, but the venerable bishop is painfully cautious, Father Law, one of the boldest of crusaders.

There will be no desegregation of parochial schools this year. Bishop Gerow said the public schools will have to get through the "tangle" first. The church schools will, of course, be desegregated, but not yet. Moreover, the bishop has caused two priests to retire from the Freedom Project and has written Catholic authorities in the North asking them to discourage the participation by Catholic clergy. He said:"They accomplish absolutely nothing, and they make it harder for us to do what we're doing."

Then he went on to outline the steady progress which the diocese is making toward interracial brotherhood. Bishop Gerow is a gentle, priestly, deeply conscientous old man . The goings-on in Mississippi

caused him much sorrow and he appeared to be undergoing a constant inner struggle to determine the right course to follow in a variety of delicate situations.

The bishop and his church are indeed offering considerable leadership in the human relations field. Next to Tougaloo, the Catholic chancery and high school are the chief meeting places for interracial groups. The interracial ministerial association (Catholic, Protestant and Jewish) meets once a month at the chancery. (Mr.Dulles met with a mixed group of the clergy there.) Bishop Gerow said that in recent months two policemen had been posted outside the chancery during meetings. He was conscious of danger from racist extremists, from the police and from an irresponsible press. When a Catholic parish building was burned in Hattiesburg, the papers said a"civil-rights rally" had been held in the meeting the night before. Actually, it was a meeting of a committee of local Negroes (all from Hattiesburg) to plan quietly for a meeting with the mayor. The mayor had agreed to meet with them the following night. In the meantime the hall was burned to the ground.

Every Catholic church in Mississippi is desegregated, he said. When an usher in the cathedral in Jackson suggested to a Negro lady that she attend " her own" church next time, he was reprimanded and the pastor called upon the lady to insist that she continue to worship at the cathedral if it was convenient for her. Catholic organizations for men, women, youth, etc. are being integrated one by one. When I started to make a note of the next integration step in the schedule, the bishop stopped me: he did not want it on the record--even my record. He was greatly encouraged by the way Catholics were accepting integration in this gradual way.

(After passage of the civil-rights bill, Bishop Gerow issued a public statement calling for compliance with the new law.)

I called twice on Father Law and he lunched with us Tuesday. Civil rights are a passionate obsession with him, although he finds time to edit the diocesan newspaper, The Mississippi Register. The paper carries much material helpful to the cause. Father Law is constantly pushing the bishop on. He is working on two pastoral letters, which he hopes the bishop will issue, preparing Catholics for parochial school integration. His weekly TV sermons often stress interrracial brotherhood. His Thursday evening message was picked up in part by NBC.

Dr. and Mrs. A.D.Beittel dined with us Monday evening. A long out-pouring over his virtual dismissal from Tougaloo, and a blow-by-blow account. He is deeply hurt. Mississippi segregationists consider it a victory for them--one remark retailed to Dr.Beittel:" It was the best thing that's happened since we got rid of Medgar Evers!" Although a replacement has not yet been found, Dr.Beittel was not permitted to continue on an interim basis. He must leave in September. The college business manager will carry on.

Two crises were converging in Mississippi--the fight over the tuition-grant bill and the tragedy of the three missing civil-rights

crusaders. The latter by mid-week overshadowed all else. The Capitol, and the Sun-n-Sand, swarmed with newspaper men. Marquis Childs was a frequent table companion, also on one occasion Dave Halberstam, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ just back from Vietnam, remarked that he had "left one hopeless situation for another."

I visited the Capitol daily, saw much of Bill Minor and William Winter. Winter, still a public figure, has been making commencement ~~x~~ speeches and the like. On Tuesday he delivered the keynote address at the Jackson City Democratic Convention--a lofty appeal to high endeavor, which I read, with no reference to segregation or state rights. I was waiting in his office when he returned to the ~~x~~ Capitol, very depressed. He had been coldly received--they had wanted a "fighting speech." Furthermore, the convention had removed its chairman and secretary, who were merely segregationist, and elected ultra, ultra segregationists to succeed them.

A long friendly talk with State Attorney General Joel T. Patterson, referred to in my law-enforcement report. Patterson was long-winded in denunciation of the Supreme Court, etc., but Winter told me this was merely his usual speech to a stranger. He said Patterson is relatively moderate and full of anxiety now.

Called on Jackson McWhirter Tubb, the superintendent of public education. Tubb is distressed and apprehensive over the tuition-grant business, but he is no fighter. By way of pointing up the absurdity of the tuition grant plan I asked him for ~~x~~estimate of ~~xxxxxx~~ the number of first-grade pupils in Jackson, Biloxi and Leake County--the number who would be affected in September if desegregation took place in the first grade as expected. The figures ~~x~~ were: Biloxi, 1,330; Leake, 547; and Jackson (only 1962-1963 being at hand) 4,144--a total of 6,071, white and Negro. To "protect" these--or the whites among them--from integration it was proposed to offer tuition grants to 10,000 private school pupils!

I have already reported on my talk with Erle Johnston, director of the State Sovereignty Commission.

I did not meet Governor Johnson, but I attended the press conference Tuesday when he announced the discovery of the burning station wagon--"still burning," as he reported it and the police had not gotten near enough to know if there were any bodies. The governor looked harassed. Incidentally, when asked if the search would be pursued "with vigor," he replied with a faint smile: "That's not my type of expression, but you can say it will be pursued ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ unrelentingly."

I spent 40 minues with Mr. Dulles Thursday morning before his breakfast dishes had been cleared away. We talked along the lines of my memorandum in which I discussed law enforcement somewhat in detail. Asked if I thought his visit would do any good, I expressed the opinion that, ~~xx~~ while any ~~xxx~~ real investigation was impossible in a few hours (he spent 28 hours in Jackson), he might accomplish two things: (1) emphasize the President's concern and (2) establish friendly communication with the governor. I noted that statements of Governor Johnson indicated that he was having some success in the latter. Before his arrival, the governor's comment was to the effect

that his visit was unnecessary, that he would find no law-enforcement problem except as created by visiting "agitators." After an afternoon and evening with Dulles, the governor had said:"...We always welcome anyone like Mr.Dulles. I am sure he would be welcomed by all Mississippians."

Attended the Wallace rally in the Coliseum Thursday evening. There were not 10,000 in the audience,as reported; about 10 per cent of the seats were empty. But it was festive and tumultuous. Only one possible reference to the law-and-order crisis in Mississippi: the introducer of Governor Johnson described him, among other things, as a "valiant fighter for law and order." The occasion was embarrassing, however, for Johnson, who was completely overshadowed by Wallace..... Jars and other receptacles for contributions to the Wallace campaign fund are to be seen on store counters throughout Mississippi. The Holiday Inn, where we stopped in Columbus, was conspicuously soliciting contributions .

The Winters invited my wife and me for dinner Friday evening, and with great kindness William offered to invite anyone that I particularly wanted to talk to. I suggested Robert L.Ezelle, the president-elect of the Jackson chamber of commerce. Winter suggested Dr. William A. Bryant, vice-chancellor of the University of Mississippi, and the Rev. Dr.J. Moody McBill, pastor of the fashionable Fondren Presbyterian Church. (The wives of all except the last also came.) A long fascinating evening's discussion yielded much information and rumor which would add nothing important to the flood of Mississippi lore now pouring forth. It is significant, however, that I found this representative group completely congenial and that we all reacted in some or less the same way to the insanities current in Mississippi. All were gravely concerned. Listening to stories of bitter wrangling among business men over a question of which customers should use which toilets, or of Christian church elders torn with contention over the admission of two or three Negro worshippers, one seemed to be in an evil sort of Alice in Wonderland. Dr.McBill had been a promoter of the ill-fated manifesto for law and order. Many business men said at first:"This is fine! I'm glad to see this."--then later asked that their names be withheld.

Jim Silver's "Mississippi, the Closed Society" is on sale in Jackson. Dr.Bryant, who asked for a copy at a book store, was told the first consignment was sold within a few hours, but that a fresh supply was expected within a couple of days.

Saturday afternoon I called upon J.P.Coleman at Ackerman. The salient points of our conversation are given in my earlier report. The former governor is traveling a great deal and busily pursuing a lucrative law practice. He said frankly:"I'm making a lot of money." Aloof from politics, Minor and others say he is"dead politically," but I sensed that Coleman's political death is not without hope of resurrection.

My remaining time in Mississippi and part of the time while enroute to Atlanta were spent in drafting my report on law enforcement.

BENJAMIN MUSE

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

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LWD.
M7 file

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

FROM: Benjamin Muse
Box 312, Manassas, Virginia

RE : The Problem of Law Enforcement in Mississippi

(Enlargement of Remarks to Mr. Dulles in Jackson, June 25)

The deteriorating situation with respect to the public peace in Mississippi makes it necessary to examine realistically the law-enforcement capability of that state in conditions of racial turmoil.

What are the possibilities of halting the burnings, bombings, floggings and occasional killings? In the event of a massive interracial clash, what reliance could be placed upon Mississippi police to restrain a white mob?

We need first to consider the Mississippi theory of law enforcement in the area of race relations. In Mississippi, "law enforcement" means control of Negroes. Protection of Negroes and restraint of their white attackers are not included in the concept.

Public tranquility is expected to be preserved by intimidating -- if not terrorizing -- Negroes. The state attorney general expressed the aim quite naturally when he said to me: "The Negroes have to be restrained so they won't provoke irresponsible whites." White outrages are deplored and the danger of anti-Negro mobs is feared -- at least at the highest official levels -- but they are to be prevented by keeping the Negroes from giving "provocation." The rigorous surveillance of Negroes by the Jackson police, for instance, is born of a deep fear, not of Negro excesses, but of a possible rampage by white fanatics whom Negroes might "provoke." Police brutality is condoned by much of the public if it is directed toward keeping the Negroes "restrained." When the Negro is subdued, there is peace. That is the philosophy of a large element of the state's political leadership; it is deeply ingrained in the law-enforcement personnel.

An even more vicious sentiment is present among the now numerous members of the Ku Klux Klan and Americans for the Preservation of the White Race and other extremists.

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These feel that it is salutary to make an example of ~~the~~ a few Negroes, or "nigger-lovers" now and then. They are not shocked at the beatings, even the killing, of a Negro somewhere in the woods. Rather this is regarded as a contribution to a good cause -- that of keeping the Negro reminded that the white man is in control.

This one-sided system had kept a kind of peace in Mississippi for many decades past; the Negro minority was successfully intimidated. But it will not work in the 1960's. Apart from moral considerations, Mississippi has not yet grasped the fact that the old system will no longer work. White Mississippians do not understand the new Negro. They do not realize that he will not submit, will never submit again.

We have thus a deadly collision of an obsolete concept of "law enforcement" with an irrepressible upsurge on the part of the people against whom it is directed.

To reinforce the official machinery for repression of the Negro minority, two secret vigilante organizations have recently grown to ominous proportions. The revived Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi claims a membership of 91,000, and it probably has more than half that number in fact. Estimates of the membership of the new Americans for the Preservation of the White Race are not available, but it is substantial and growing. (At the rally in the Jackson Coliseum June 25, when Governor Wallace spoke, introduced by Governor Johnson, the programs were distributed by young people wearing APWR badges.)

The state administration is plainly disturbed over the burgeoning vigilante movement, though the numbers involved induce caution from a political point of view. The governor has given the KKK and the APWR no encouragement; he has said that he believes their strength to have been exaggerated. But he avoids condemning them by name. He denounces "extremists on both sides." (When extremists are denounces in Mississippi, it is politically necessary to refer to "both sides," although the Negroes initiate no violence.)

The Jackson Clarion Ledger, which is close to the administration, reports: "Many state officials have privately expressed alarm at the formation of 'vigilante'

groups of whites in some parts of Mississippi."

Somewhat ironically the most outspoken attack upon the racist vigilantes -- and some of the healthiest advice to the public in the matter of public order -- has come from the State Sovereignty Commission. The SSC, which is headed by the governor, is usually devoted to defending state rights and the "Mississippi way of life."

Erle Johnston, Jr., State Sovereignty Commission director, addressed a white civic club in Canton, a center of race tension, on May 13, saying:

"I would like to suggest to you and to all other Mississippians that you can do a greater service to your state and be more effective in helping to meet this challenge by cooperating with your county, municipal and state law enforcement agencies, rather than join any secret organization which might have well-meaning motives, but could get out of hand under emotional leadership."

The reference to the KKK and the APWR was transparent. It was so interpreted in the press. The sensitive APWR issued a blast in reply.

Erle Johnston has incurred the wrath of extremists by his whole attitude of "softness" toward the civil rights "invaders." In his conversation with me Johnston displayed anger at several instances where police "got out of line" in harassing the visitors, though he quickly explained that these were "exceptional" cases. The arrest of civil rights workers for traffic violations, etc., he said had been in the regular line of duty. He was himself arrested for speeding last week! In spite of his defensive attitude in talking to me, it was evident that he is gravely concerned and is exerting some pressure to improve the attitude of police -- also that he reflects the personal concern of the governor. Johnston said repeatedly: "We are only voicing the views of the governor. We are doing what he tells us to do."

The generally inflammatory Hederman newspapers have been surprisingly conciliatory in editorials about the Summer Freedom Project. The Mississippi Economic Council includes the state's leading corporation executives and, though over-cautious, this is the most powerful moderate influence in the state. Following a meeting of the MEC executive committee, June 18, its president issued the following statement:

Within the next few weeks the patience and self-control of Mississippians will, no doubt, be taxed to an extreme degree by the unfriendly activities of many outside students and adults coming into our state.

It is imperative that we conduct ourselves with dignity, poise, forbearance, and, if possible, even good humor. We should not gather into curious crowds or allow ourselves to be provoked into impulsive acts that would reflect discredit on our state. We should support the governor in his declarations that law and order will be maintained and leave law enforcement duties in the hands of those trained to handle these matters.

We have great confidence that the sound judgement, self-control and good sense of all our people of all races will prevail so the goodwill and good feelings which have always existed will continue among the races.

We urge the citizenship in every community to be alerted to the importance of these matters.

The Jackson Daily News quoted the MEC statement on its editorial page, terming it "a timely and common-sense appeal," which "makes an excellent editorial in itself."

Governor Johnson, addressing a grocers' convention in Biloxi June 19th, warned that all must obey Mississippi's laws whether they are "black, white or spotted."

But all this is very little and very late.

In addition to the prevailing concept of law-enforcement we have to consider the prevailing concept of wrongdoing -- in the area of race relations. A suggestion that a prominent white man favors racial integration, for instance, is matter-of-factly referred to in the press as an "indictment." From time immemorial, "stirring up the niggers" has been regarded as one of the most heinous of all crimes. Today the crime which arouses white indignation more than all others is that of "racial agitation." Physical assault, even murder, if committed by whites against Negroes, are relatively minor offenses. They are considered excusable

by many -- even desirable by some -- as a contribution to the general effort to keep the Negro under control. Any Negro, or white civil rights worker who is engaged in activity classed as "agitation" is a public enemy, who can be harassed with a large measure of impunity. Police officers arrest such persons on a variety of frivolous charges; they look the other way when white hoodlums belabor them.

The Summer Freedom Project has aroused fears in some quarters comparable to the ancient terror of a slave uprising. It is regarded by a majority of Mississippians as an "invasion" by a wicked scheming band -- "agents of Satan," Communists, etc., -- who from a variety of evil motives are seeking to foment strife in this state.

What reliance can be placed on the individuals and organizations responsible for law enforcement to protect these civil rights workers and Mississippi Negroes generally? How strong is the bulwark against interracial anarchy in Mississippi?

The most reliable -- or the only reliable -- force is the Mississippi National Guard. The National Guard met the test of combat with white fanatics in the insurrection at "Ole Miss" and behaved admirably. The Guardsmen who participated in that action have suffered some odium and abuse from their neighbors since; on the other hand, some of these Guardsmen conceived a lasting disgust for racist fanatics. At any rate, the discipline and integrity of the Mississippi National Guard are a safeguard in the type of situation in which the Guard might be used.

The State Highway Patrol has been made available for police functions, and its authorized strength has been increased from 275 to 475 men. Legislation was also enacted last spring to enable localities to merge their law-enforcement resources in time of crisis. In the argument for these measures the need was related to the racial tensions, and the impression was given that they were aimed at containing the civil rights movement. I am told, however, that the governor had very much in mind the danger from white vigilantes and said as much privately to some leaders of the legislature.

The danger of Negro aggression in Mississippi being

insignificant, the criterion of the effectiveness of any law enforcement agency must be the degree to which it can be relied upon to restrain whites. In this respect, the performance of the Highway Patrol at "Ole Miss", of course was lamentable. Would these troopers again turn away from white rioters or fraternize with them?

State Treasurer William Winter is deeply apprehensive over the outlook in Mississippi, and he speaks frankly to me. Winter thinks that under clearer political direction the Patrol would have done better at "Ole Miss." He said that a nucleous of veteran Patrolmen is well-disciplined and reliable. Some of these had told him they were ashamed of what happened at "Ole Miss." He said their commander, Col. T. B. Birdsong, is a capable officer, with a National Guard background and an instinctive sense of discipline and duty.

Former Governor J. P. Coleman, with whom I discussed the whole matter of law enforcement, also spoke well of Birdsong, although the latter has been a political opponent. I regard Coleman as a warm personal friend, but his remarks have to be judged in the light of his habitual propensity to defend all Mississippi institutions. I remarked that I had heard from various sources that dubious characters had gotten into the Patrol in recent years. He said no, the Patrol's "high standard" had been maintained. He added that applicants complete a six-weeks course of training, after which recruits are selected on the basis of competitive examination. I asked the former governor flatly: "Would the Highway Patrol do its duty in the event of a massive white attack upon Negroes?" After some hesitation, he answered that it would -- if the governor's wishes were clearly expressed and if his orders were firm.

The Jackson city police force is notorious for its brutality in handling Negroes, and in many instances -- some of them well publicized -- policemen have stood idly by while Negroes were beaten and kicked by white hoodlums. The police force is, however, efficient, and it should have learned some discipline in the course of its intensive training. Mayor Allen Thompson has sought to reassure the public with many boastful statements about the invincibility of his police force, but these are generally couched in slurs on the civil rights movement and they include no word of caution for white trouble-makers. Some Jackson financial

magnates who feel that they are close to the mayor, say that, "when the time comes," he intends to use the police with all vigor against any white mob. But the Jackson police have had no psychological preparation for such a duty. Moreover, Thompson is an ambitious politician with thoughts of running for governor; he would be extremely loath to give the impression of being a protector of Negroes and civil-rights "agitators."

In some of the smaller cities local community leadership has brought about a relatively stable law-enforcement situation, as in Tupelo and Greenville. Other cities like McComb, Greenwood, Canton, etc., are festering sores. Incidentally, I am told that the "auxiliary police" in many of these cities is a liability and a manace in case of interracial turmoil.

Of all areas of law enforcement, it is in the rural counties that protection for Negroes is most alarmingly lacking. Some sheriffs and deputy sheriffs are said to be members of extremist organizations; none would like to affront them or offend their racist constituents. The anti-Negro ruffian here is protected by the concealment of woods and swamps, by the sympathy of many of his neighbors, and by a paralysis of law enforcement.

The desperate need in Mississippi is not for more policemen, but for something far more difficult to secure -- a reorientation of law enforcement. One distinguished observer (Marquis Childs) said the state's whole law-enforcement apparatus would have to be "reorganized from top to bottom."

I find it the opinion of all who speak frankly that the worst is yet to come. Ultimate federal military intervention is foreseen by many (non-Mississippi) newspaper men as inevitable.

Robert Ezelle, president elect of the Jackson chamber of commerce, believes that outrages against Negroes will continue and get worse, but that at some point the public will be shocked into a revulsion of feeling. He says that odium will descend upon the extremists as it did upon the Ku Klux Klan of old, and that stability and decency will return to Mississippi by this route.

Governor Coleman was very serious when we came, at the end of our talk, to the outlook for his state. He thinks the change will come dramatically. "Mississippi will have to have a catharsis," he said. It will be a massive convulsion which will shake the entire state. After that Mississippi will come to itself and go forward to its great future. (This is a widely-held view.)

Many thoughtful people here can see no ray of light. My own pessimism is tempered by several hopeful considerations.

The FBI is popular in Mississippi as a symbol of anti-Communism. FBI agents are more acceptable than any other element of federal authority. Whatever their tangible accomplishment, their presence is a stimulus to proper police activity and a reminder of the meaning of even-handed law enforcement.

There is no element of clash between the state administration and the federal government in the present situation. Notwithstanding Paul Johnson's seconding of Barnette in the "Ole Miss" crisis of 1962, the posture of defiance of the federal government is foreign to Johnson's temperament and it has been absent from his performance as governor. There is no talk of resistance in the manner attempted on occasion by Barnette, Faubus, and Wallace. For all the fulminations and lamentations over civil rights agitation, the spirit precisely of defiance of the federal government has faded in this state. It has not been significantly present in this year's legislature. The planning of the governor and legislators for evasion of school desegregation has contemplated compliance with the letter of federal court orders.

I believe there is a possibility of developing a cooperative federal-state relationship in the area of law enforcement.

Benjamin Muse

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